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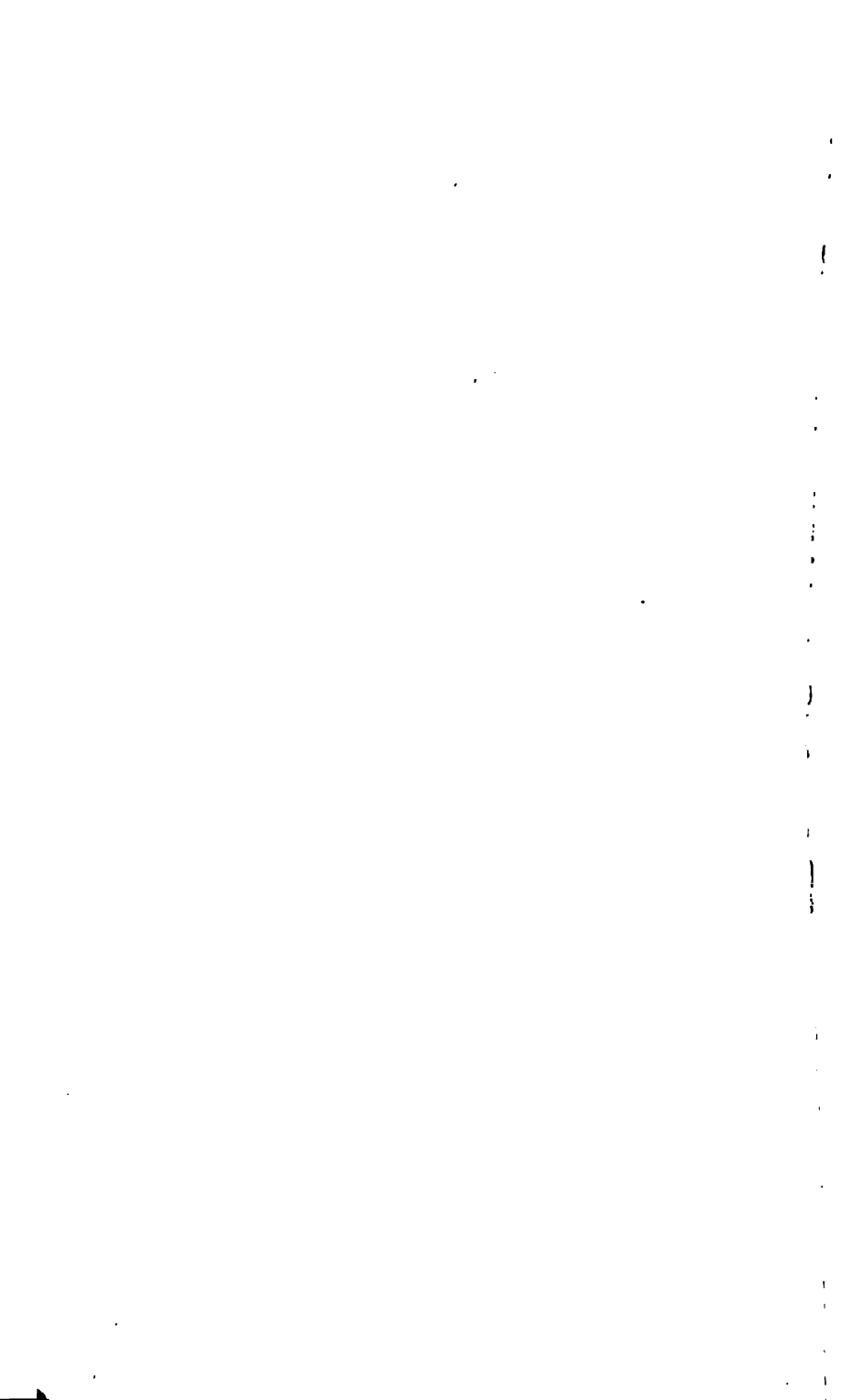
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THE NEW  
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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A CONTINUATION of the HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

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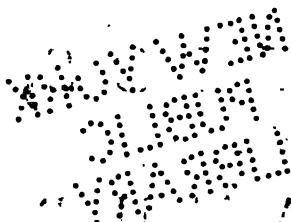
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## P R E F A C E.

**I**N presenting another volume to the Public, we feel no small satisfaction in having been able to fulfil our promise of "giving a compact and energetic account of the French revolution down to the completion of the national constitution." To that important subject, indeed, we profess to have been particularly attentive, and we must add that we have found that part of our work a most laborious and difficult task. So much has the spirit of party intermixed itself in the relation of these transactions, that there is not to be found either in French or English a fair and honest narrative. In this country, in particular, nothing has appeared but the most incorrect and inaccurate conjectures, for they so ought rather to be called than narratives; wretched compilations, which are as applicable to the affairs of Otaheite as to those of France.

Much of the history which we present to our readers has been collected from, or at least corroborated by, the testimony of eye-witnesses, and the rest is drawn from the journals of the national assembly,

sembly, or from other most respectable sources. We have endeavoured to state facts with the utmost impartiality; and though we profess to be the friends of freedom in general, the reader will find that we have not been sparing of our strictures on the conduct of both parties; whenever the principles of justice were outraged; and whenever the cause of liberty was disgraced, as in too many instances it was, by the populace of France and their demagogues. One effect we are led to hope for confidently from the representation we have drawn of these affairs, which is, that it will serve to abate the violence of both parties on the subject—Such is ever the effect of truth.—The favourers of the French revolution will learn from our statement, that though the principle is impregnable, the conduct of the actors in this great event was not always immaculate; and those who are, in the general, hostile to it, may perhaps be induced to allow that such an amazing change in a despotic government, the abuses of which so many were interested in preserving, could not be conducted without some acts of violence and outrage—Where the people are to do every thing, they will do some things wrong.

Another principle which a fair view of this subject will establish, and which may also serve to diminish the animosity of parties in this country, at least, is, that no grounds of comparison exist between  
the



the present state of this nation and that of France, previous to the revolution ; consequently there is no necessity for a revolution here, nor ought any apprehension of it to be entertained. The monarchy, the hierarchy, the aristocracy, of France were all totally different from ours, indeed formed upon almost opposite principles. We would not be understood to insinuate that our present constitution is perfect ; but the vices of our government are entirely different from the vices of the old government of France, and must be reformed in a different manner. The increasing information and sober sense of the people will gradually produce a legal reform in whatever parts of our constitution are decayed ; but corruption and tyranny were so rooted in the old government of France, that it could not be corrected, but must be necessarily overthrown.

We have also, in different parts of the narrative, given our sentiments very freely on the errors and imperfections which we think we have discovered in the new constitution of France : and in all discussions which appeared of general importance or utility we have endeavoured to condense the arguments and opinions on each side, so as to present the question to the reader, as nearly as we could, in that precise view in which we conceive it must have appeared to the national assembly.

In the debates of our own parliament we have proceeded upon nearly a similar plan, and have studied to give a concise view of all the arguments which were adduced on both sides on every great or important question ; and this we trust is done with fairness and impartiality.

The other departments of the work have been executed with the usual attention, and we flatter ourselves will be received with the usual candour.

C O N.

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# C O N T E N T S.

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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING,  
AND TASTE,  
IN GREAT BRITAIN,  
During the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.  
PART THE THIRD.

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**T**HE great objects of religion, of government, of naval discovery, and of philosophical and medical knowledge, so far as they relate to the period now before us, we have already considered. These are the objects that come under the head of Science, more distinctly so called; and they undoubtedly sustain the first rank in the departments of literature. It is not, however, to matters of small consequence that our attention is now to be directed. Classical and polite learning, history, poetry, and the fine arts in general, present to us very interesting, as well as very pleasing subjects of contemplation. With the cultivation and improvement of them the honour and advantage both of individuals and of nations are closely connected. They cannot be properly and rationally studied without contributing, in an eminent degree, to enlarge the understanding, to captivate the fancy, to engage the affections,

1791. a and

and to refine the taste ; and, therefore, we turn to the consideration of them with peculiar pleasure.

To the critical parts of Greek and Roman literature there were not so many persons devoted as could have been wished, and, indeed, as might have been expected, when we reflect upon the ardour with which the study of them was pursued abroad. But this must be ascribed to the circumstances of the times. In a scene of great and unavoidable theological disputation, the scholars of England were obliged to direct their principal attention to objects that were esteemed of infinite importance ; and consequently they had not much leisure for researches into the niceties of languages and learning. We have no names, in this period, that can be compared with those of sir John Cheke, sir Thomas Smith, and Roger Ascham, whom, in a former article, we have described as eminent improvers of classical taste. Smith and Ascham may in part be mentioned as belonging to the present reign ; for Smith's Treatises, on the just pronunciation of the Greek tongue, and on the proper mode of writing the English language, were not published till the year 1568, and Ascham's School-master was first printed in 1573. His Latin Epistles did not appear till 1576 ; but this was eight years after his decease. We may add to these distinguished names John Kaye, whom we have before spoken of in the medical line, and who united with his skill as a physician the talents of a philological scholar. In 1574, not long after his death, a work was published, which he had written on the pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages.

One of the most important effects of the revival of letters in Europe, was the giving to the world correct editions of ancient authors. In this the first scholars abroad were employed, and immense benefits have resulted from their labours. To the same kind of glory it was long before England could lay any considerable claim ; nor is it difficult to account for the fact. There were not many original manuscripts of the old classic writers in the libraries of our own country ; and the access to foreign libraries, and especially to foreign manuscripts, must have been

been peculiarly difficult. This department of literature, however, was not wholly neglected. It was attended to, at least, by one eminent individual, sir Henry Savile. The result of his skill and diligence did not, indeed, appear till the next reign; but it was through a great part of the present period that he was preparing his grand edition of St. Chrysostom, which is said to have cost him eight thousand pounds. There were two circumstances that contributed the better to qualify him for the undertaking; which were, his having resided some time abroad, and his ability of making such purchases as were adapted to his design.

The general turn of composition among the learned still continued to be in Latin. Nothing could be more natural than this was, at a period when the ancients were almost the only sources of knowledge, and when their beauties so powerfully struck every mind as to excite a strong desire of imitation. Indeed, the Roman tongue formed a mode of conveyance which was singularly and eminently useful, as it included the scholars of every country: and the same mode of conveyance has not yet entirely lost its advantages, with regard to certain objects, and on some particular occasions. What farther encouraged the custom of usually writing in Latin, was the imperfect and unformed state of most of the vernacular languages of Europe. They had hitherto been little cultivated, the Italian excepted, which, by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace, was carried early to a high degree of purity and elegance. The time, however, now approached for an attention's being paid to the enrichment of our native tongue. Of this, Ascham had set an admirable example, and had recommended it to imitation: nor were his exhortations and his pattern unproductive of valuable effects; as will be seen in the course of the article.

One circumstance which contributed to the increase of knowledge in general, and to the improvement of the English language in particular, was the multiplicity of translations. This multiplicity constitutes a striking feature in the literary character of the age, and therefore we shall

it a distinct consideration. On the benefits which may be derived from translations it is needless to enlarge. Besides the great store of materials, scientific, literary, and entertaining, which they import into a country, they promote a more accurate acquaintance with the language from which they are made, and enrich the tongue into which they are rendered. A much superior advantage might have been drawn from them, at the time we are treating of, if our writers had been better judges of the subject, and if they had not, in particular, most of them entertained an opinion, that it was necessary for versions to be strictly literal.

Of the Greek authors, from whom translations were made, the first place is due to Homer. Arthur Hall, a gentleman of fortune, and a member of parliament, published ten books of the Iliad, from a metrical French version of that work. Hall's translation is in the Alexandrine of Sternhold; and he is entitled to no other praise than that of being the first who exhibited a part of the Iliad in an English dress. The merit of giving a complete and regular version of Homer belongs to George Chapman. It was done, too, from the Greek; though Chapman did not a little avail himself of the assistance that was afforded by a Latin translation in prose. What he performed was, however, no small effort in literature for that period. He seems to have had just sentiments concerning the nature of translation, and the manner in which it ought to be conducted, though he was not capable of reducing his sentiments fully to practice. It cannot be said that he hath preserved either the dignity or the simplicity of Homer. He is sometimes redundant, and sometimes defective; and he was unfortunate in the measure of his verse, which was imposed upon him by custom, but which is awkward, inharmonious, and disgustful to modern ears. Nevertheless, he is not always destitute of strength or spirit; and he has enriched our language with many compound epithets, which are much in Homer's manner. Waller, it is reported, could never read Chapman's Homer without a degree of transport. Nor is it a small compliment that has

has been paid him by his illustrious successor; for Pope was of opinion, that Chapman covers his defects by a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, and which is something like what one might imagine Homer himself would have written before he arrived to years of discretion. It would have been well if Chapman's fire had not been darkened by bombast. He did not finish his version of the *Odyssey* till the next reign. The same author translated *Hesiod*, but the publication of it, if it was ever published, did not take place till the year 1618. If credit is to be given to a poetical passage of Drayton (and we do not see any reason why the fact should be doubted), Chapman was a translator of *Musæus*.

We find that the translation of Greek poetry extended to another instance of considerable importance. What we refer to is the *Jocasta*, or the *Phæniissæ* of Euripides, a version of which was made by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmerth, both of them students of Grays-Inn. This version, in the year 1566, was acted in the refectory of that society. The second, third, and fifth acts were translated by Gascoigne, and the first and fourth by Kinwelmerth. They have not, however, given a just or exact translation of the *Phæniissæ*, their performance being partly a paraphrase, and partly an abridgment of the Greek tragedy. There are, indeed, many omissions, retrenchments, and transpositions; but, at the same time, the chorus, the characters, and the substance of the story are retained, and the tenor of the dialogue is generally preserved. The beautiful odes of the Greek chorus are in some instances neglected, and others, written by the translators, are substituted in their stead. In one case, where Gascoigne has deserted the rich imagery of Euripides, he has in a certain degree compensated for the defect, by an ode of his own, which is far from being destitute of pathos or imagination. Another original ode, of which Kinwelmerth was probably the author, has great elegance of expression and versification. The principal fault with which the translators are chargeable, is their having weakened the force and pathetic brevity of Euripides by needless dilata-

tions and circumlocutions. On the whole, however, they are entitled to much applause for an attempt to introduce the Grecian drama to the notice of our ancestors, and their success was greatly superior to what might at that time have been expected. It is to be regretted that so noble an effort was not followed by other exertions of the same kind; that Gascoigne and Kinwelmersh did not proceed in their career; and that their example did not excite a spirit of emulation. We are told, indeed, that certain tragedies of Euripides were translated from the Greek by Thomas Key, a divine of that age, who wrote in defence of the antiquity of the university of Oxford. But the translation was not into English, but into Latin; nor is it certain that it was ever printed, but rather probable that it existed only in manuscript since it had not been seen by Anthony Wood.

Our language, during this period, was enriched, and the knowledge of our countrymen enlarged, by several translations of the Greek prose writers. We must not, however, under the present head reckon the *Nicocles* of Isocrates, and *Aristotle de Mirabilibus Mundi*, which works were translated from the originals by the Thomas Key just mentioned; because these versions appear to have been made in Latin, and there are the same doubts concerning their having been published which attend his Euripides.---Another piece of Aristotle's, his famous treatise on the ten categories, was rendered into English by Barnaby Googe; but whether it exists in print, or now exists at all, is not in our power to ascertain.---Thomas Wilson, an eminent scholar of the time, and whom we shall soon have occasion more particularly to speak of, gave a proof of his attention to the advancement of vernacular composition, by translating seven orations of Demosthenes. This work, the subject of which was so well chosen, was dedicated to sir William Cecil.---A translation of Herodian's history came from the hands of a Nicholas Smyth, of whom we have no farther information. It was not from the Greek that the version was made, but from the Latin of Angelus Politianus, as is

preſſly acknowledged in the title-page.—Xenophon's inſtitution of Cyrus was given to the public from the original; and the tranſlator was a Mr. William Bercher, or, as he is called in another edition of the book, Wylliam Barkar. —Sir Anthony Poyngz, a gentleman of rank, tranſlated the table of Cebes in a manner which was thought to be deſerving of commendation. This work he did not execute from the original Greek, but from a Latin verſion. It is the firſt tranſlation of Cebes that appeared in our language.—Abraham Fleming, who was a frequent tranſlator, among other works, produced in Engliſh *Ælian's* various Hiſtory. Something, likewise, of *Iſocrates* came from the ſame hand; and, alſo, *Syneſius's* Panegyric on Baldneſs, which had been brought into faſhion by *Eraſmus's* encomium on folly. This Abraham Fleming was of conſiderable ſervice to the literature of his country, by rendering into Engliſh many celebrated books which had been written in Latin about the fifteenth century, and at the reſtoration of learning.—The only remaining tranſlation from the Greek, or, at leaſt, the only remaining one of which we are able to give an account, is that of the ten books of *Heliodorus's* *Ethiopic* hiſtory. Thomas Underdowne, a native of Oxford, and, as may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, a ſcholar of the univerſity of that city, was the tranſlator. By the publication of this work a new field of romance was opened, which is thought to have ſuggeſted to ſir Philip Sidney the ſcheme of his *Arcadia*.

The tranſlations from the Latin poets were more numerous than from the Greek. Of theſe poets, *Seneca* the tragedian ſeems to have been no ſmall favourite: nor will this be thought ſurpriſing, when we reflect that ſound literature, and eſpecially a juſt taſte, were not yet arrived to a great degree of perfection. At different times, and by different poets, a verſion was completed of the whole of *Seneca's* ten tragedies; and they were all of them printed together in 1581. The *Hyppolitus*, the *Medea*, the *Hercules Oeteus*, and the *Agamemnon*, were tranſlated by John Studley, who had been educated at Weſtmiſter ſchool, and afterward became a member of Trinity college, in Cam-

bridge. His *Agamemnon*, had been separately published fifteen years before, and dedicated to secretary Cecil. This book is now become so exceedingly scarce, that it is not easy to meet with it in the choicest black letter collections. A whole scene is added by the translator to the end of the fifth act, for the purpose of explaining some circumstances which he imagined had not been sufficiently unfolded by the original writer. Though this attempt to improve the plot of the drama, by a new conduct or contrivance, was, in the present instance, needless and improper, it is in one respect deserving of notice, as it shews that authors began to think for themselves, and that they were not always implicitly enslaved to the prescribed letter of their models. Studley, who appears to have been a man of talents, was qualified for better things than some which were undertaken by him; for he condescended to translate Bale's *Acts of the Popes*. The version of the *Octavia* was done by Thomas Nuce, or Newce, who afterwards obtained several preferments in the church. Alexander Nevyle was the translator of the *Œdipus*, and he executed the task in the sixteenth year of his age. Notwithstanding Nevyle's youth, his translation is the most spirited and elegant version in the collection; and it would have been eminently to the advantage of the undertaking if the whole had been executed by him. Through a false idea of the gravity which was supposed to be attached to the clerical character, he seems to have been persuaded by his friends that poetry was only one of the lighter accomplishments of a young man, and that it ought soon to give way to the more weighty pursuits of literature. Nevyle became one of the learned men whom archbishop Parker patronised, and resided with him as his secretary. He projected an English translation of *Liivy*, but there is no reason to believe that he made any great progress in the design. The *Hercules Furens*, the *Thyestes*, and the *Troas* of Seneca were translated by Jasper Heywood, son of John Heywood the epigrammatist. In these versions some additions are made to the original writer. Jasper Heywood, after passing through several scenes in life, left England, and became a catholic priest and



and a Jesuit, at Rome. He is said to have been an accurate critic in the Hebrew language, no common quality in those days. The only remaining one of the ten tragedies of Seneca, the *Thebais*, was translated by Thomas Newton, the publisher of the whole. He seems to have undertaken the business more from a desire of completing the collection than from any strong poetical inclination. His version is more prosaic than that of most of the other tragedies, and it appears to have been his chief aim to preserve perspicuity and fidelity. If as an English poet he obtained no great praise, he otherwise deserved well of the literature of this country : for he became famous for the elegance of his Latin poetry, of which he left a specimen in his "*Illustrium aliquot Anglorum Encomia*." He is perhaps the first Englishman, after Leland, who wrote Latin elegies with a classical clearness and terseness. Newton was courted by most of the ingenious and learned men of that age, and Robert earl of Essex was his patron.

Ovid appears to have been another very favourite Latin poet in this period. Early in queen Elizabeth's reign, the four first books of the *Metamorphosis* were translated by Arthur Golding ; and in a short time afterwards, he completed the whole. This work was so acceptable to the public, that, in due course, it passed through several editions. Golding's style is poetical and spirited ; and though his manner is ornamental and diffusive, it was not carried to such an excess, as to prevent his retaining a sufficient observance of his original. On the whole, as a translator and a poet, he excelled many of his contemporaries. In various cases he shews himself to have felt the imagery, and to have been inspired with the spirit of his author. The *Metamorphosis* of Golding continued to be a popular book till it was in a great measure superseded, in 1632, by Sandys' translation of the same work of Ovid. Golding distinguished himself as a translator ; for he has left versions of many modern Latin writers, which were then of considerable utility, as being adapted to the condition and opinions of the times. Now, indeed, they are forgotten, in consequence of the introduction of better books, and a  
general

general change in the system of knowledge. Among other works, he finished a translation of Mornay's French treatise on the truth of christianity, which had been begun by sir Philip Sidney. The only original productions of Golding, were an account of an earthquake in 1580, and a small number of verses. Considering that he was a man of real genius, it would be deemed surprising that he should have confined himself so entirely to the business of a translator, if we did not reflect that, at a period in which English literature still continued in a state of imperfection, the increase of knowledge by the importation of foreign materials was an employment as honourable as it was useful. Golding, who was a gentleman by birth, and a native of the city of London, resided with secretary Cecil; and such was the esteem in which he was held, that he was patronised by the principal characters of the age. His having given a version of the whole *Metamorphosis* of Ovid, did not prevent some distinct fables of that work from being translated by different writers.—The *Fasts* of Ovid were rendered into English verse by an author whose name does not appear; and Thomas Underdowne not only gave a translation of the *Ibis*, but illustrated it with annotations.—Christopher Marlowe was so void of principle and of decency, as to translate the elegies of the same poet; the elegant language of which can make no atonement for their obscenities. That Marlowe was sensible of his acting wrong, or, at least, that he was in danger of giving offence by his conduct, may be conjectured from his procuring the work to be printed at Middleburg, and without a date. The subterfuge, however, did not avail him; for, by command of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, the book was ordered to be burnt at Stationer's-hall.—Ovid's *Remedy of Love* met with an anonymous translator.—For a version of the *Heroical Epistles*, with Sabinus's *Answers*, the public was indebted to Thomas Turberville, a name at that time of considerable celebrity. This version was so popular as speedily to occasion a demand for three editions. Six of the *Epistles* are in blank verse, and the rest in four-lined stanzas. Turberville was happy in the turn which he gave to various parts  
of

of his translation.—There exists, it is said, one of Ovid's Epistles translated by the accomplished earl of Essex. But if it could be recovered, it is probable that it would only be valued as a curiosity; since it is apparent, from a few of his Sonnets which are preserved in the Ashmolean museum, that he was not endued with a poetic genius.—To finish our account of what relates to Ovid, the three first books of his Tristia were translated by Thomas Churchyard. As Churchyard was a man of abilities, it is probable that his version is not destitute of merit, and this we rather judge, as from others of his productions it is apparent that he could occasionally rise to harmonious versification.—There were several short pieces dispersed abroad in this reign, concerning which it is doubtful, whether they were regular translations from Ovid, or poems formed from an imitation of the English editions of his works that were now in circulation.

Very early in queen Elizabeth's reign, an attention was paid to the prince of Latin poets, Virgil. Thomas Phayer, who in a former article has been mentioned as sustaining the threefold character of poet, lawyer, and physician, and as concerned in the "Mirror of Magistrates," had translated in the life of Mary, the seven first books of the *Æneid*. He afterwards finished the eighth and ninth books, but died soon after he had begun the tenth. This imperfect work, after a space of more than twenty years, was completed by Thomas Twyne, a native of Canterbury, and a physician at Lewes, who had been educated at both of our universities, was an admirer of John Dee's mysterious philosophy, and patronised by lord Buckhurst. To the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of Virgil, Twyne added a translation of Maphæus's supplemental book. So well was this work received, that from the year 1584 to 1620, it went through four editions; after which period it became obsolete, and is now totally forgotten. The reason of Phayer's undertaking his version, according to his own account, was to inspire the young nobility, gentry, and ladies of this country with a sense of the riches of their native tongue, and to shew that the English language was not,

not, as too many thought, incapable of propriety and elegance. In the execution of his undertaking he has omitted, misrepresented, and paraphrased many passages of his original; notwithstanding which, his performance is in every respect superior to Twyne's continuation. The measure is the fourteen-footed Alexandrine of Sternhold and Hopkins; a measure which, whatever may be judged of it at present, was then, from its familiarity, attuned to the popular ear, and used in most works of length and gravity. It seems to have been particularly consecrated to translation.—After the exertions of Phayer and Twyne, there was no occasion for others to labour in the same vineyard, unless they could have done it with superior success. This praise does not belong to Robert Stanyhurst, a native of Dublin, who translated the four first books of the *Eneid* into English hexameters. He was more unfortunate in the measure of his versification than his predecessors, and he was not equal to them in other respects. Even his contemporaries were sensible of his defects, and condemned him in strong terms. One of them describes him as having trod a foul, lumbering, boisterous, wallowing measure in his translation of Virgil. Notwithstanding this mistaken application of his talent, Stanyhurst was a real scholar, and the author of many theological, philosophical, and historical works. A high character, in point of erudition, is given of him by Camden; and it is represented that he was carested by many foreign princes, on account of his literature and politeness.—A translation of the *Bucolics* of Virgil was made by Abraham Fleming, whose plan was to be as literal as possible, by rendering verse for verse. When we have said this, it will not be imagined that the work was very poetical. Nevertheless, Fleming met with encouragement enough to engage him to proceed in his career; for, after an interval of some years, he added the *Georgics* to the *Bucolics*. Both the publications were accompanied with notes. The translation has been supposed to be in the common blank verse; but it is in the regular Alexandrine without rhyme. Abraham Fleming afterwards published separately the *Alexis* of Virgil, translated into English hexameters, verse for verse.

There

There was some obliquity in the spirit and taste of the age which rendered this eclogue the object of particular selection.—Edmund Spenser condescended to translate, though in a vague and paraphrastical manner, the *Culex* ascribed to Virgil.

It may be thought extraordinary that Horace's odes should not have been translated during the reign of Elizabeth. Perhaps our countrymen were discouraged by the peculiar nicety and difficulty of the undertaking. With regard, however, to his other works, they assumed a greater degree of courage. Thomas Drant published a translation of the two books of Horace's Satires, which was followed by the Epistles, and the Art of Poetry. The author was at first very paraphrastical, but afterwards endeavoured to be so literal as well nigh to render word for word, and line for line. From a passage in the address to the reader it should seem that the booksellers of that period had no great opinion of the success of moral writings. Drant appears to have been fully sensible of the difficulty of his undertaking; for he declares that he could sooner translate twelve verses out of the Greek Homer, than six out of Horace. His sentiment was undoubtedly just; nor was it to be expected that the Satires and Epistles of Horace should be happily rendered into English in the infancy of style and taste, when his delicate turns could not be expressed, nor his humour justly relished, nor his good sense and observations on human life thoroughly understood. Every man of literature knows, that in the politest and most cultivated ages, the successful translators and imitators of this delightful Roman poet have been small in number. It is observable, that Drant undertook his version of Horace, in the specific character of a grave divine, and a teacher of morality. He obtained several preferments and dignities in the church, and was a tolerable Latin poet. The "*Ecclesiastes*" was translated by him into hexameters, in the same language. There are two miscellanies of his Latin poetry extant, the one entitled "*Sylva*," and the other "*Pœmata varia et externa*." In the *Sylva* he says, that he had begun to translate the *Iliad*, but had proceeded no farther

farther than the fourth book ; and he mentions, likewise, his having been the author of a version of Gregory Nazianzen's Greek Epigrams ; but whether into Latin or into English has not been ascertained.

What regard might be paid to the epigrammatic exertions of the ancient father we are not able to say ; but we may be well assured that a translation from Martial would constitute a more popular book. This task was undertaken by Timothy Kendall, who, after being educated at Eton and at Oxford, became a student of the law at Staple's-Inn. He did not obtain much glory by the specimens which he exhibited of his application to classical literature. His performance cannot strictly be called a translation of Martial, because, it includes epigrams from many other writers, modern as well as ancient. Martial, however, forms the principal basis of the work.

Marloe, who had translated Coluthus's Rape of Helen, and the Loves of Hero and Leander, which go under the name of Musæus, gave a version, in blank verse, of the first book of Lucan. His death prevented his carrying on the design, which, in the next reign, was completed by George Chapman, but in a very inferior manner.—The Thebais of Statius was translated by Thomas Newton.

Besides the translation of the ancient Latin classic poets, versions were not uncommon from some of the modern poetical writers in the same language. Among others, Mantuan, who had acquired the rank of a classic, was translated by Turberville.—Another favourite author, among the English scholars in this period, was Palingenius, whose "Zodiac" was rendered into English verse by Barnaby Googe ; and the translation had the good fortune of the original, to be very much admired. Other productions of a similar nature might probably be mentioned ; but it may be sufficient to have touched upon the subject.

The translations from the ancient Latin prose writers were not so numerous as from the poets, and, indeed, not so numerous as might have been expected. Golding, of whom we have lately spoken with due respect, was a considerable benefactor to the public in the way which we are

now

now considering. The knowledge of the treasures of antiquity was enlarged to our countrymen, by his versions of Justin's History and Cæsar's Commentaries. By the same hand was translated Seneca's fine moral treatise on Benefits. Works of less consequence, rendered into English by Golding, were Pomponius Mela's geography, and the "Polyhistory" of Solinus; but they contributed something to the stock of literature.—Cicero's Oration for Archias was translated by Drant.—Abraham Fleming published a translation of certain select epistles of Cicero, and afterwards gave a large collection from the same author, to which were added letters of Pliny, and of other persons.—Tully's Offices were translated by Nicholas Grimald, a poet of the age; and so adapted was the book to general instruction, that it was several times reprinted.—One of the most important translations in this period, was that of the four first books of Tacitus, and the life of Agricola, by sir Henry Savile. This translation was accompanied with notes; which were deemed of such consequence, that they were afterwards rendered into Latin by Gruter, and published at Amsterdam. If there were other versions of the ancient Roman prose writers, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, (which may very possibly have been the case), they have escaped our researches.

The history of translation might be copiously pursued, as it was exercised with regard to the Italian and French authors, especially the former; but it would carry us too far to enter into a full discussion of the subject. The books that were chiefly rendered into English were of the fictitious and narrative kind. Among the productions of this nature, those of Boccace were the most distinguished favourites; and the versions that were made of different parts of them were very numerous. Indeed the Italian language now began to be so fashionable, that lexicons and grammars of it, written in English, became common publications. The principal persons who figured as translators, in the line we are treating of, were George Gascoigne, Geoffry Fenton, Thomas Turberville, George Whetstone, and sir James Harrington. To these, were it necessary, many other names

names might be added.—One of the works translated by Gascoigne is a comedy of Ariosto's, called "Suppositi," which was acted at Gray's Inn. This translation is in prose; and it is observable that it was the first comedy in prose which was composed in our language, and exhibited upon our stage.—The most valuable of Fenton's various performances must be reckoned his having given to the public a version of the twenty books of Guicciardin's History of Italy; for herein he presented to his readers not fiction but truth; and truth, too, of the first importance.—Sir James Harrington's translation of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso was too great an undertaking to let us suffer it to pass unnoticed. It is true that it is neither executed with spirit nor with accuracy: nevertheless, it contributed to enrich our poetry with new stores for the imagination, both of the romantic and comic species. A wonderful union was presented to the reader of Gothic machinery and familiar manners.—Although Fairfax is commonly supposed to be the first translator of Tasso, this was not the case. He was preceded, in the present reign, by an R. E. esq.; and there is reason to believe that a similar work, which exists only in manuscript, was performed by Turberville. One effect of the translations from Italian books was, that a precise and systematical knowledge of the ancient heathen theology seems to have been more universally circulated among the people of England. In general it may be observed, that the best stories of the early and original novelties of Italy, in one form or other, were given in an English dress. The versions of French authors were less frequent, and for the most part of less importance. With regard to translations from the ancients, Mr. Warton, to whom we are uncommonly obliged in the course of this article, has remarked, that almost all the Greek and Roman classics appeared before the year 1600. The remark we consider as too general. Were we to enter into an enumeration of them, it would be seen that many of the finest classic writers, both in prose and verse, were left untranslated.

Imperfect as the multifarious translations of this period were, obsolete as they are now become, and succeeded as they



they have been by many works of the same nature, far more accurate, more judicious, and more elegant, they were, nevertheless, of great consequence, in their day, to the general interests of knowledge and literature. They contributed, amongst other causes, to excite a spirit of criticism, and an attention to the laws of composition. However, previously to most of them, this spirit had been displayed, in a very instructive manner, with regard to one of the authors of the age, of whom little notice had been taken, till Mr. Warton drew him out of obscurity. The gentleman we refer to is Thomas Wilson, who, in queen Mary's reign, (though he flourished chiefly in Elizabeth's) published an Art of Rhetoric in English. A technical and elementary manual, in our own tongue, written by Leonard Cox, had, indeed, appeared many years before; but Wilson's treatise is more liberal and discursive. It has the merit of having illustrated the arts of eloquence by example, and of having examined and ascertained the beauties of composition with the speculative skill and sagacity of a critic; so that his work may justly be considered as the first system of criticism that appeared in our language. The four parts belonging to elocution he states to be plainness, aptness, composition, and exornation, and has some excellent observations on simplicity of style. Among other lessons, this, he says, should first be learned, never to affect any strange inkhorn terms, but to speak as is commonly received; and he strongly condemns those writers who seek so far for outlandish English, that they altogether forget their mother tongue. He enforces the application and explanation of the fables of antiquity, especially as they exist in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and has some pertinent remarks on the moral purposes to which they should be applied. The force of circumstantial description is recommended by him, which he calls an evident or plain setting forth of a thing as though it were presently done; and he produces an instance of it from Quintilian, which affords a proof, that we were now beginning to make the beauties of the ancients our own. On the necessity of maintaining a due preservation of character, he lays down

some precepts which seem to be directed to the writers of historical plays; and he afterwards points out the advantages of personification in enlivening composition. Prolix narratives, whether jocose or serious, not having yet ceased to be the entertainment of polite companies, Mr. Wilson has not thought it inconsistent with the design of a general book of rhetoric to give rules for telling a tale with grace and spirit. It appears from the work, that to write elegantly in English now began to be fashionable, and to meet with the highest applause.

This was so uncommon a production, in so early a period of our literary history, that it is but a just tribute of gratitude to the memory of Thomas Wilson, to add a few biographical particulars concerning him. He was a native of Lincolnshire, and, in 1541, was admitted a scholar of King's College, in Cambridge. He became a fellow of the college, and, whilst he resided at the university, was tutor to two celebrated youths, Henry duke of Suffolk, and lord Charles Brandon, his brother. In due course, he took the degree of doctor of laws, and was afterwards one of the ordinary masters of requests, and master of St. Katharine's hospital near the Tower. Being a man of business as well as learning, he was at times employed by queen Elizabeth as ambassador to Mary queen of Scots, and into the low countries. At length he rose to be a secretary of state, and a privy counsellor. In 1579 he was appointed dean of Durham, and died in 1581. It is said that Dr. Wilson was endued with an uncommon strength of memory, and that this enabled him to act with remarkable dispatch in his negotiations. He was the author of various other works besides the two which we have had occasion to mention, and was one of the most accomplished scholars of his time.

Another composition of a similar nature with Wilson's Art of Rhetoric, though more confined in its object, was Puttenham's Art of English Poesy. It is not, however, so strictly confined to poetry, as totally to exclude any observations that relate to eloquence in general. Puttenham had right notions of the true character of a poet, which

is, to be possessed of a creative genius. Accordingly, he commonly uses the word "Maker" for poet; and he was the first author that brought this expression into fashion, the significance of which has been much commended by sir Philip Sidney and Ben Jonson. Imperfect as Puttenham's work is upon the whole, it was the only piece of poetical criticism of any consequence that England produced for a long period. Indeed, nothing considerable appeared on the subject till Dryden began to write his prefaces.

During queen Elizabeth's reign, the English language was carried by some writers to a high degree of perfection. There have not been wanting persons who have thought that our native tongue then rose to the greatest excellence which it has ever attained; and Dr. Johnson, we believe, has expressed the same sentiment. In this sentiment, however, we do not agree, though we are sensible of the extraordinary merit of a few individuals in the point we are considering. Amongst these, particular praises are due to Richard Hooker, whom we have already celebrated as a divine. He exhibited a fine model of the reasoning style, and set a noble example to those who should come after him; an example which was successfully followed by a Chillingworth, a Locke, and a Hoadly.—Sir Walter Raleigh afforded several proofs in this reign of that dignity of composition which he afterwards displayed in his History of the World.—A book has lately fallen into our hands, which informs us that the style of William Perkins, an eminent divine at Cambridge, of the puritanical cast, is the best of any of that age or the next, and that many passages in his writings are equal to those of the best authors in modern times. Not having read Perkins's works, we cannot say how far this high character of them, in respect to language, is just. The puritans, in general, paid little attention to polite studies, and the elegancies of composition. Though they were not destitute of erudition, their learning was seldom accompanied with taste. But Perkins was above the common rank of the divines of that period;

and he was distinguished by his moderation, as well as by his ingenuity and literature.

Some of the statesmen of queen Elizabeth's reign excelled in the propriety, freedom, and strength of their style. This was the case with Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, one of whose letters, which is preserved in the *Biographia Britannica*, is admirable with regard to the manner in which it is written, and rises much above the general character of the times. Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, her majesty's great favourite, could occasionally distinguish himself in the same way. Several of his letters that have fallen under our observation are good models of epistolary composition. The name of Thomas Ratcliffe, earl of Suffex, might be added on the present occasion. But of all the illustrious characters of this period, none, with relation to the ability of English composition, came up to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the queen's other favourite. In a variety of instances he gave ample proofs of his being both a vigorous and an elegant writer. Indeed, public men may be more likely to excel in this respect than mere scholars. The latter, being confined to their closets, are in danger of contracting a formality and stiffness of style; and this was particularly the case, when the learned by profession did not so generally mix with the world as is customary at present. But those who are engaged in the grand scenes of business, who have their talents called into exercise by frequent and striking emergencies, and who follow the dictates of their immediate feelings, provided they have had a tolerable education, acquire an ease and a variety of expression, which the others cannot readily attain.

During the short reigns of Edward the Sixth and queen Mary, no historian occurred that was deemed worthy of notice. In Elizabeth's time, historical composition continued still to be very imperfect; notwithstanding which, several writers existed who must not be passed over in silence; for, though they are defective in elegance, they are useful for the information they have given, and the  
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light they have thrown on the circumstances and manners of the times,—Holinshed is often consulted and referred to in this view. His Chronicles which extend to Scotland and Ireland, were not written solely by himself. The part relating to England was in a great measure his own; but in the Irish history he was assisted by Richard Stanyhurst, and in the Scotch by Francis Boteville. The whole work is chiefly to be regarded as a compilation, Holinshed had various other assistants, two of whom were William Hamson, a divine, and John Hooker a principal citizen of Exeter, and uncle to the Richard Hooker whom we have had such particular occasion to celebrate.—

John Stow, is usually described as an antiquary, but he must be mentioned also as an historian. The utility of his works in this character has been experienced by many writers; for various facts are related by him that are curious and interesting, and which strongly mark the age wherein he lived. Stow was indefatigable in his Collections, and honest and faithful in his recitals; and there is a simplicity in him, which sometimes gives greater pleasure than more finished narratives.—Thomas Newton extended his historical views beyond the limits of his own nation; for he wrote a history of the Saracens, drawn out of Augustus Curio, and a summary, or brief chronicle of the Saracens and Turks.—Previously to the present period, a history of Italy, which escaped our notice in its proper place, was published by William Thomas, who had resided a considerable time at Bologna and Padua.—David Chambers, contrary to the spirit of the age, which, when our own tongue was not used, made Latin the vehicle of information, was the author of three historical works, relative to France, England, and Scotland, that were composed in the French language. This was a model not to be followed; nor do we recollect its having ever been followed. In David Chambers it arose from his peculiar situation: for he was intimately connected with France, and resided in that country the last twenty years of his life. He was a zealous partizan of Mary queen of Scots.

In the reign we are treating of, we meet with the first examples that have occurred to us of memoir writing. A beginning was made by a famous captain of the age, sir Roger Williams, who published the "Actions of the Low Countries," being the scene of his military employments. He wrote, likewise "a brief Discourse of War." His narrative has been well spoken of by competent judges. Another memoir writer was sir Francis Vere, who was one of the greatest heroes of an heroic age. Like Cæsar, he recorded his own exploits, and gave to his work the title of Commentaries, "being diverse pieces of service wherein he had command." We need not say that he did not attain to the glory of Cæsar as an author.—Sir Walter Raleigh drew up, in queen Elizabeth's time, a report of the truth of the fight about the isles of Azores, and a relation of the action at Cadiz; but the completion of his historical character was yet to come; and Camden's merit, in the same view, belongs to the next reign.

Hitherto (David Chambers excepted) we have confined our attention to those who wrote history in English; but there were several authors who still gave the preference to the Latin language as the vehicle of their narrations. It was in that language that Humphrey Llyud composed his *Breviary of Britain*, and his *Chronicle of Wales*. It was in the same language that Stanyhurst digested his four books concerning the *Transactions of Ireland*. Twyne acted in a similar manner with regard to his commentaries on the affairs of Albion, Britain, and England, as did Nevyle in his narrative, dedicated to archbishop Parker, of the Norfolk insurrection under Kett.—John Lesly, bishop of Ross, and the great and able advocate of Mary queen of Scots, deserves to be mentioned with particular respect as a Latin historian. His history of his country, from the beginning of the nation to his own times, is a testimony both of his learning and judgment. This prelate has lately been brought into notice, and justice has been done to his character.—But of all the historians who, during this period, wrote in Latin, the first rank is due to George Buchanan.

We enter not into the particular circumstances of his personal conduct. We do not deny that he has fallen into what was then the common error, of paying too much credit to early traditions. We do not mean to say that he was free from the influence of political prejudices and connections. These things we leave to be discussed by the angry controversialists of the present day. He has doubtless his faults: but as a beautiful writer of history in Latin, none of his contemporaries can be placed in competition with him. He may even be mentioned as a rival of the famed Roman historians. This praise will be granted him, whatever may be detracted from him in other respects, and this praise will be transmitted to the latest posterity.

Among the ecclesiastical historians of the reign, a just tribute of applause is due to John Fox, commonly called the martyrologist. In his acts and monuments of the church, he has left a proof of literary diligence, united with a considerable portion of literary ability. That there should be some errors in so large a work will not be esteemed surprising, and his zeal for protestantism has occasionally carried him too far. But in general, he is a very faithful writer; and his authorities have stood the test of a rigid examination. The simplicity of the style, and the interesting narratives of those who suffered for their integrity, have preserved a popularity to the book, especially among the lower class of religious readers, which still continues.—Another ecclesiastical historian of this period was on the different side of the question, being attached to the Roman hierarchy. We mean Nicholas Harpsfeld, whose works, which are written in Latin, are now nearly forgotten, though the author is understood to have been a man of ability. His chief performance, which is a church history of England, is reported to be learned and laborious.

The biographical productions of the age do not make a distinguished figure. John Pit's collections are not totally useless, though the errors of them are almost innumerable. He is disgraced, likewise, by his extreme partiality in favour of Romish writers. Nevertheless, he has the merit of giving some desirable information concerning several popish

authors of this country, who lived abroad at the time of the reformation.—A life of St. Patrick of Ireland was published by Stanyhurst, which we may conjecture not to have wanted a sufficient portion of credulity.—A far more valuable performance was the life of the excellent bishop Jewel by Lawrence Humphrey. These works were in Latin. There was no English biography at this time, or at least very little, excepting the materials of that nature which might be collected from Fox's book of Martyrs, and our general historians.

Antiquarian learning was diligently cultivated during the reign of Elizabeth. Several of the persons whom we have spoken of as historical writers, deserve to be particularly noticed as antiquaries. Boteville has had great applauses bestowed upon him in this view; and Twyne is entitled to equal praises.—As to Humphrey Lluyd, it is well known, that he sustained an eminent rank in the same department of literature. His researches were deep and curious, and his writings are still consulted by those who devote themselves to the study of antiquities.—The chief work of John Stowe was his "Survey of London," which has passed through many editions; and, in the present century, has been republished, with great advantage, by Strype. On this work have been founded the subsequent histories of London; and, whatever commendations they may claim from their additions and improvements, a large portion of merit will still belong to Stow.—Archbishop Parker must not here be forgotten, who was not only a zealous and liberal encourager of antiquarian pursuits, but an excellent antiquary himself. Of this he exhibited ample proofs in his Treatise concerning the Antiquity of the English Church, and in his edition of four of our best old historians, Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Aysserius, and Thomas Walsingham.—Sir Henry Savile exerted himself in the same walk, in his publication of several of the principal writers of English affairs after Bede.

In 1590, a society of antiquaries was formed, which subsisted to the year 1614, when it was dissolved by the despotic jealousy of King James the First. Its peculiar object



ject was, to illustrate whatever related to the history, laws, public offices, judicial courts, and customs of our country; and the members of it were most of them eminently qualified for the undertaking. Their discourses are, in general, learned, judicious, and instructive; and, at the same time, they have the quality of being very concise. The writers of them chiefly confined themselves to a simple representation of facts, and they seem to have known nothing of the art of spreading a small quantity of matter into a large space. Some of the persons who were ornaments of this society, and particularly sir Robert Cotton, sir John Doddridge, and Selden, properly belong to the next reign. The most illustrious names, that fall under our present survey, are those of Agard and Camden, who were antiquaries of the first distinction. Arthur Agard's *Essays* on various curious objects, shew, that in English antiquities, he had few equals, and scarcely any superiors.—It was in the period we are treating of that Camden published the first edition of his *Britannia*, the merit of which is universally known, and has again and again been testified by successive republications. The popularity of the work is as great as ever, and learned men have esteemed it an honour to have their names united with that of Camden.

We come now to a very important object; the state of Poetry in the age of Elizabeth. The precise nature of the English poetry of this reign, and the improvements to which it was carried, will demand a particular consideration: but, before we proceed to that part of the subject, it will be proper to take a survey of the degree in which Latin poetry was cultivated in Great Britain, during the period before us. We have already had occasion to observe, that Drant was tolerable in this way, and Thomas Newton elegant. Were it a point of sufficient importance, we could, without much labour, bring forward the names of a number of persons, who exercised themselves in Latin versification. Anthony Wood, in his *Athenæ*, frequently speaks of his learned men, as having been good poets; but it will be found, upon examination, that they had very slender pre-  
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tensions to the character. The poems mentioned often appear to be little more than college exertions, or occasional tributes of respect to the memory of deceased scholars. Many of them were never published; and those that were published received only the applauses of a limited circle, and were quickly forgotten. In general, it may be remarked, that Latin poetry was more successfully pursued in foreign countries, especially in Italy, than in our own; and with regard to Great Britain, it flourished less in England than in Scotland. This may partly be accounted for from the peculiar circumstances of the literary men of the latter kingdom; numbers of whom had their education, and resided much abroad; the consequence of which was, that they contracted a higher relish for a species of composition that was peculiarly fashionable in the places they visited, and an excellence in which recommended them to protection and patronage. Not having the "*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*" at hand, perhaps we may be obliged to omit a few names that might deserve to be noticed: but we cannot be guilty of any material injustice, in confining our attention only to the four following persons; Patrick Adamson, George Buchanan, James Crichton, and Mark Alexander Boyd.

Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, was a man of distinguished abilities, and left, it is said, several considerable manuscripts behind him. His published works, consist almost wholly of Latin poetry. Among these, the principal are a version of the book of Job, and Herod, a tragedy. As we have never read them, it is not in our power to say what is their specific poetical merit.

Of Buchanan, we can speak with some degree of knowledge. His character as a poet has usually been placed as high as his character as an historian. That in this view he has uncommon excellence cannot be doubted; but perhaps the praises bestowed upon him have sometimes been expressed in the language of exaggeration. It has been the opinion of the best judges, that he occasionally fails in the strictness of classical purity, and that he is often Ovidian rather than Virgilian. His poems were  
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very numerous, including tragedies, elegies, and compositions of a miscellaneous nature; but his prime work in the poetical line, is his translation of the psalms. As this work is very excellent in general, so the author particularly distinguished himself in his version of the hundred and fourth psalm. With regard to this psalm, nine Scottish poets displayed their emulation by shooting in the same bow; but they fell far short of him in the contest.—As we now take our leave of Buchanan, it may not be amiss to observe, that he was the chief literary glory of Scotland during the present period. His genius was of the first rate, and it was eminently enriched with the stores of learning. The subjects he wrote upon were various, and in all of them he shewed how much he could excel in the powers of composition. Those who are the most dissatisfied with his personal character, and the most abhorrent of his political conduct, will concur with us in our sentiments of his abilities as a writer and a scholar.

In the “Admirable Crichton,” as he has commonly been styled, we arrive to the prodigy of the Scotch Biographical History. His life, if credit may be given to a number of authors, was nothing but a scene of wonders. The powers, both of body and mind, which he possessed, and his exertions of them, are represented as having been transcendent. But it unfortunately happens, that several of the narratives which we have of him, cannot sufficiently be depended upon. They are of doubtful authority, and particularly, will not stand the rigid test of chronological discussion. Neither are the few monuments which are left of his genius of such a nature, as will support the extraordinary ideas that have been entertained concerning him. Four Latin poems constitute all his writings that have been transmitted to posterity; and it cannot be said of them, that they place his poetical invention and abilities in a very high point of view. The character which has been given of Crichton, by one who has examined the matter, is as follows: “He was a youth of such lively parts as excited great present admiration, and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine person, to have

have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar felicity in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and retentive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a fluency of speech, and a readiness of reply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound, may justly be questioned; and it may equally be doubted, whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment."

Mark Alexander Boyd was of a character similar to that of Crichton. He resembled him in the liveliness of his talents, the eccentricity of his disposition, and the variety of his adventures. In amiableness of temper and manners, Crichton appears to have been superior to Boyd. But however defective Boyd might be in this respect, he was undoubtedly a man of abilities, which he exerted on various occasions. He left behind him several manuscripts on philological, political, and historical subjects, written in Latin and in French, both which languages were as familiar to him as his native tongue. The only works of his that have ever been committed to the press are his Poems, which consist of two books of epigrams, fourteen Epistles of the Heroines, and fourteen Hymns. As a Latin poet, Boyd rises above many of his contemporaries. His Epistles of the Heroines are happy imitations of Ovid; and his Hymns, which are in the heroic measure, are endued with a poetic spirit. They are not, as might be expected from the appellation given them, of a devotional, but a miscellaneous nature. Three instances excepted, they derive their separate titles from some herb, flower, or plant. We have no difficulty in asserting, that Boyd was a better poet than Crichton.

English poetry assumed a peculiar importance and character in the reign of Elizabeth. This was owing to a variety

variety of causes and circumstances, in the delineation of which the best task we can perform, and the most acceptable service we can offer to our readers, is to give an abridged account of what Mr. Warton has advanced upon the subject. The age we are treating of has often been called the golden age of our poetry; and, if this may not be true in the strictest sense, it was certainly a very poetical æra, and few periods can be mentioned in our history which shine in that view with superior lustre. The principal features that strike us in the poetry of the times, are the predominancy of fables, fiction, and fancy, and a fondness for interesting adventures and pathetic events. This characteristic distinction may be chiefly referred to the following principles, which were sometimes blended, and sometimes had a single operation. The principles we speak of were the revival and vernacular versions of the classics; the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy; a degree of superstition, sufficient for the purposes of poetry; the adoption of the machineries of romance; and the frequency and improvement of allegoric exhibitions in the popular spectacles.

After the corruptions and impostures of popery had been detected and exposed, and the treasures of antiquity had been opened, a new turn was given to the human mind. The fashion of cultivating the Greek and Roman learning became general; and the literary character was no longer appropriated to scholars by profession, but assumed by the nobility and gentry. Formerly the ecclesiastics had found it their interest to keep the ancient languages to themselves, and for ages they had succeeded in being almost the sole depositaries of knowledge; but now men were eager to obtain an acquaintance with what had so long been injuriously concealed. The laity had been taught to assert their natural privileges, and would not permit the clergy to retain the monopoly of literature. Such was the curiosity for new discoveries, that all persons of leisure and fortune were excited to the study of the classics. What at present would be deemed pedantry, was then considered as politeness. An indispensable and almost the principal object in the circle

cle of a gentleman's education, was the acquisition of an accurate apprehension of the phraseology and peculiarities of the poets, historians, and orators of antiquity. This, however, often went little farther than to a kind of technical erudition. Even the young ladies of fashion were carefully instituted in classical letters; and the daughter of a duchess was taught not only to distil strong waters, but to construe Greek. Queen Elizabeth's passion for literary attainments was then natural, and resulted from the genius and habitudes of the age.

As the works of antiquity were thus familiarised to the great, every thing was tinctured with ancient history and mythology. Though the Heathen Gods were discountenanced by the rigid puritans, on a supposition that they tended to cherish and revive a spirit of idolatry, they came, nevertheless, into general vogue. Almost every pageant that was presented to the queen, when she paraded through a country town, might be regarded as a pantheon. If she paid a visit at the seat of any of her nobility, on entering the hall, she was saluted by the penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury. Nay, the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists; for at dinner, select transmutations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were exhibited in confectionary; and the splendid icing of an immense historic plumb-cake was embossed with a delicious basso-relievo of the destruction of Troy. When, in the afternoon, her majesty condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with tritons and nereids; the pages of the family were converted into wood-nymphs, who peeped from every bower; and the footmen gambolled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs. This inundation of classical pedantry speedily infected our poetry. These novel imaginations dazzled our writers, who were already trained in the school of Fancy, and induced them to decorate every composition with the divinities and heroes of Pagan antiquity. The consequence of this was, that allusions to ancient fable, were often introduced without any regard to propriety. The familiarity, however, with the ancient story, which by degrees had spread among the common people,

people, was not so much owing to the prevailing study of the original authors, as the numerous English versions of them, which were continually appearing, and employed many a pen. These translations had the effect of giving a general notoriety to the tables of antiquity. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in particular, translated by Golding, disclosed a new world of fiction, even to the illiterate; and as all the Pagan stories existed in the English language, and in books generally read, learned allusions; whether in a poem or a pageant, were understood by common readers and common spectators. It is observable, that our countrymen were first principally struck with the *fabulous inventions* of the classics. To their regularity of design, and justness of sentiment, little attention was paid. It was beyond the comprehension of a comparatively rude age, to imitate the natural beauties of the ancient poets, in preference to their mythological fictions. These fictions captivated so strongly the fancy of our writers, that they were pursued to a blameable excess.

Another prime source of the poetry peculiar to this period, may be traced in the numerous translations of Italian tales into our own tongue. As these narratives were not confined altogether to romantic inventions, but described real life and manners, and excelled in the artful arrangement of fictitious yet probable events, they afforded a new gratification to the public; and became the fashionable amusement of all who professed to read for pleasure. A multitude of plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed, took their rise from them; and they turned the thoughts of our writers to inventions of their own, of a similar nature. Previously to the circulation of these books, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe, were little known; and the distress in particular, that arises from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been painted in its most interesting forms. From a perusal of the works in question, our poets in general, and especially our dramatic poets, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts, necessary to constitute either a comic or a tragic story. As knowledge increased, genius  
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had wanted subjects and materials; but the translations from the Italian authors, supplied the place which had formerly been occupied by legends and chronicles. The old historical songs of the minstrels contained, indeed, much bold adventure, heroic enterprise, and strong touches of rude delineation; but they were defective in that multiplication and disposition of circumstances, and in that description of characters and events, approaching nearer to truth and reality, which a more curious and discerning age began to demand. By this sort of reading, the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were softened; and the Italian pastoral, with some mixture of the kind of incidents described in Heliodorus's *Ethiopic History*, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sidney's *Arcadia*.

One thing which deserves to be remembered is, that the reformation had not yet dispelled every delusion, nor disenchanted all the strong holds of superstition. In the mouldering creed of tradition a few dim characters were yet apparent; nor was it indeed to be expected that the first glimmerings of the morning of science should cause every goblin of ignorance to vanish. Reason permitted a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the direction of poetry. It was still the belief of men, or at least they were willing to believe, that spirits were hovering around, who brought with them "Airs from heaven or blasts from hell;" that the ghost was duly released from his prison of torment at the sound of the corseue; and that fairies imprinted mysterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Even the pretenders to science and profound speculation continued to be infected with much of this credulity. Most of these fabulous notions had undoubtedly been credited and entertained, in a far higher degree, in the preceding periods. But the poets of those times were too little skilled in the arts of composition, to manage the fictions of the age with proper address and judgment. In Elizabeth's reign we were arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chastened by reason, had produced a kind of civilised superstition, and left a set of traditions, which were sufficient for poetic decoration,



tion, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common sense. Even the scientific Hobbes gave his sanction to an extravagance of fancy in the productions of poetry.

Although the Gothic romance had been somewhat shaken by the classical fictions, and the tales of Boccace and Banello, it still maintained its ground; and the daring machineries of giants, dragons, and enchanted castles, borrowed from the magic store-house of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, began to be employed by the epic muse. Servile critics have censured these ornaments, as abounding in whimsical absurdities, and as unwarrantable deviations from the practice of Homer and Virgil. Homer and Virgil, however, are not free from absurdities, if such they are to be styled. On the principles of the critics in question, genuine poetry, especially in the highest species of it, would be destroyed.

From the religious dramas, allegory had been adopted into our civil spectacles. Not only were the masques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth furnished with heathen divinities, but the virtues and vices were impersonated, significantly decorated, accurately distinguished by their proper types, and represented by living actors. The ancient symbolical shews of this sort began to assume a degree of poetical elegance and precision; and it was not merely in the conformation of particular figures that much fancy was shewn, but in the contexture of some of the fables or devices presented by groupes of ideal personages. Creative invention was quickened by these exhibitions, which reflected back upon poetry, what poetry had given. In consequence of their familiarity and public nature, a national taste for allegory was formed; so that the allegorical poets now wrote to the understanding and feelings of the people. Even romance was turned to this channel; and in the Fairy Queen, allegory is built upon chivalry.

It added to the freedom, we may say to the boldness, of the poetry of this period, that our writers were not hampered by the strictness of rules. Very few critical treatises had been produced, and only one art of poetry. Canons of composition had not absolutely determined concerning sentiments and images; nor was genius awed by the ap-

prehension of a future and final arraignment at the tribunal of Taste. Every man indulged a capriciousness of invention, without too closely consulting the laws of correctness. It was chiefly to his voluntary feelings, to his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception, that the poet made his appeal. With this freedom of thought there was often joined an undisguised frankness of expression; and both together contributed to produce the flowing modulation which now marked the measures of our poets, and which, by an almost unaccountable perversion of taste, degenerated in the next age into the opposite extreme of dissonance and asperity. Selection and discrimination had not yet marked the character of our authors, who wandered in the pursuit of universal nature, without hesitating at breaking the boundaries of imaginary method.

It was not till the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, that satires, properly so called, were produced, and these were very few in number. Readers who loved to range in the regions of artificial manners and narratives were not attached to pictures at large of the vices of the times. The poetry of this period was too solemn and reserved to stoop to common life. Satire is never carried to perfection, or universally admired, excepting in an age that is highly polished.

As the importance of the female character was not commonly acknowledged, nor woman admitted into the general commerce of society, the intercourse of sexes had not imparted a comic air to poetry, or softened the severer tone of our versification, with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment. The absence of so material a circumstance must have influenced the contemporary poetical compositions. Many traces remain of what was in this respect the state of manners among our ancestors. Women, we see, usually make but a small figure in the tragedies and comedies of Shakspeare. However necessary the heroines may, on the whole, be to the piece, they are commonly degraded to the back-ground. As to the ladies in comedy, they are nothing more than "merry wives," plain and chearful matrons. If, in the smaller poems, a lover

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praises his mistress, she is complimented, without elegance and without affection, in strains that are neither polite nor pathetic. She is described not in the real colours, and with the genuine accomplishments of nature, but as an eccentric being, that inspired sentiments equally unmeaning, hyperbolical, and unnatural.

All, or most of the circumstances we have mentioned, contributed to give a descriptive, a picturesque, and figurative cast to the poetical language of our country; and even the prose compositions of Elizabeth's reign took a tincture from the same causes. In the mean while, general knowledge was widely and rapidly increasing. Books began to be multiplied, and many useful and rational topics had been discussed in our own tongue. Science, at the same time, had not made such great advances as to damp the spirit of invention. On the whole, we were now arrived at a period that was eminently propitious to original and true poetry. It was a period in which genius was rather directed than governed by judgment; and in which taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or controul, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied.

At a time when the objects pointed out by us were calculated to have such a powerful operation upon the nature and character of our poetry, a genius arose of the first order, who was animated with a full portion of the spirit of the age, and capable of painting it in all its energy. We need not say that this genius was Spenser, and that we refer to the Fairy Queen. Perhaps it might have been expected, from the revival and study of the ancient poets and critics, that instead of the romantic manner of composition which had formerly prevailed, a new, and what is commonly esteemed, a more legitimate taste of writing would have succeeded. But it was very slowly that such a change was effected; nor was any considerable improvement made in the state of criticism till a long time after the restoration of ancient learning. It was not to Homer, or Virgil, or even to Tasso, that Spenser looked up to for a model; but to Ariosto: and it was consequently his intention to produce

a poem which should consist of allegories, enchantments, and romantic expeditions, conducted by knights, giants, magicians, and fictitious beings. If he was blamable in this respect, the fault is not so much to be imputed to himself as to the times in which he lived. It was natural for him to follow the mode of composition which then was most admired, and to adopt those laws of taste, which Italian critics had approved : for Italy, not France, was in queen Elizabeth's reign the arbiter of elegance ; and in Italy Ariosto was greatly preferred to Tasso. Whether this opinion was just or not, we are not here called upon to determine. It is sufficient to our purpose to observe, that it was embraced by Spenser ; and that upon this principle, the plan of his poem, which is as follows, was framed.

It is supposed by the poet, that the FAERY QUEENE, according to an annual custom, held a magnificent feast, that continued twelve days, in the course of which twelve several complaints are presented before her. In order, therefore, to redress the injuries which occasioned these complaints, she dispatches, with proper commissions, twelve knights, each of whom, in the adventure allotted to him, proves an example of some particular virtue ; and has one complete book assigned to him, of which he is the hero. Besides these twelve knights, severally exemplifying twelve moral virtues, Spenser has constituted one principal knight or general hero, viz. PRINCE ARTHUR, who represents Magnificence ; a virtue which is supposed to be the perfection of all the rest. ARTHUR assists in every book, and the end of his actions is to discover, and win GLORIANA, or Glory. The character, in short, which the poet professes to pourtray, is " the image of a brave knight perfected in the twelve private moral virtues."

In establishing one hero, who should exemplify the grand character which the author had in view, he evidently copied the cast and construction of the ancient epic. But while he was sensible of the importance of maintaining the unity of the hero and of his design, he was not sufficiently convinced of the necessity of preserving that unity of action, without which the former could not be properly accomplished.

plished. His method, at least, is very different from that which was practised by Homer and Virgil, in conducting their heroes to their proposed end. If it should be enquired how it is that ARTHUR executes the grand, simple, and ultimate design intended by Spenser, it may be alleged that the hero, by lending his respective assistance to each of the twelve knights, approaches, in his allotted defence of them, still nearer and nearer to glory, till at last he gains a complete possession. But the reward in this case is superior to the merit. ARTHUR, instead of merely giving his aid to the other knights, should have been the leading adventurer. If in his own person he had exerted himself in the protection of the twelve virtues, he might deservedly have been styled the perfect pattern of all, and have succeeded in the task assigned, the attainment of glory. As matters now stand, the difficulties which we expect Arthur to surmount, in order to accomplish his final achievement, are removed by others; and therefore he only sustains a subordinate or accessory character. On the whole it may be remarked, that the adventures in the "Fairy Queen," when separately taken as the subject of each single book, have not always a mutual dependence upon each other, and consequently do not contribute, in the manner which they ought to have done, to form one legitimate poem. Spenser was probably aware, that by constituting twelve several adventures for twelve several heroes, the want of a general connection would often be discerned. Perhaps it was on this account that he was sometimes induced to resume and finish, in a distant book, a tale formerly begun and left imperfect. This conduct, however, is highly inartificial; as it destroys that repose of mind which is felt after having accompanied a hero, through a variety of struggles and distresses, to success and victory. To introduce him afterwards in a lower scene of action, is to derogate from his dignity, and to sully the transcendent lustre of his former exploits.

It is probable that Spenser would have involved both himself and his readers in less embarrassment, if he had made every book one entire detached poem of twelve cantos, without any reference to the rest. In that case he would

would have written twelve different books, in each of which he might have completed the pattern of a particular virtue in twelve knights respectively; whereas by the method he has adopted, his endeavour to represent all the virtues exemplified in one, has failed of success.

Whatever truth there may be in these observations, it is not meant to apply them, in the way of condemnation, to the "Fairy Queen." It would not be reasonable to judge Spenser by precepts which he did not attend to, and the authority of which was not acknowledged at the period wherein he lived. It would have been totally foreign to his design, and to the nature of his subject, to have conducted it according to the strict laws of classical taste, and the rules of Aristotle. Our great poet proceeded upon a plan which was derived from the established modes and ideas of chivalry; and in doing this he wrote with the exuberance of a warm imagination and a strong sensibility. His business was to engage the fancy, and to interest the attention by bold and striking images; which were conceived with rapidity, and arranged without art. As the chief sources of delight were the various and the marvellous, Spenser was naturally led to ransack alike the regions of reality and romance, of truth and fiction, in order to find the proper decorations and furniture for his noble undertaking. Destitute, therefore, as the "Fairy Queen" may be thought to be of that oeconomy which epic severity requires, we scarcely regret the loss, while it is so amply supplied by something more powerfully attracting; something which engages the feelings of the heart, in preference to the cold approbation of the head. If there be any poem, the graces of which please, because they are situated beyond the reach of art, and in which the force and faculties of creative imagination give the highest delight, Spenser's is that poem. Though the critic may not be satisfied, the reader is transported; which is perhaps the best of all praises.

Did the nature and limits of our article admit of it, we might, with the assistance of the able writer who has paid the best and completest attention to the subject, enter into a long discussion of the "Fairy Queen." We might enlarge

large on Spenser's imitations from old romances, and from Chaucer and Ariosto; on his use and abuse of ancient history and mythology; on his allegorical character; and on various other particulars: but it must suffice to take some notice of his stanza, versification, and language. The stanza, with the addition of one line, was adopted by him from the practice of Ariosto and Tasso, the fashionable poets of the age. But in chusing this stanza, Spenser did not pay a proper regard to the genius of the English language, which does not fall so easily as the Italian does, into a frequent repetition of the same termination. Nor did Ariosto and Tasso embarrass themselves with the necessity of finding out so many similar terminations as Spenser. In their "*Ottava Rima*" there were only three similar endings, alternatively rhyming; and the two last lines formed a distinct rhyme: whereas, in Spenser, the second rhyme is repeated four times, and the third three. By this constraint, our poet was almost unavoidably led into several faults of considerable magnitude. It hence happened, that however unimportant the thing might be which he intended to express, he was sometimes obliged to dilate it with trifling and tedious circumstances. At other times, when matter failed towards the close of a stanza, he was laid under the necessity of running into a ridiculous redundancy and repetition of words; and he was occasionally forced to make out his compliment of rhymes, by introducing a puerile or impertinent idea. To the difficulty of a stanza, so injudiciously chosen, may be properly imputed the great number of his ellipses; for it is easy to conceive, that the constraint which is productive of superfluity, should be likewise the cause of omission.

Though these inconveniences flowed from Spenser's measure, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that some advantages arose from it; and it may in particular be affirmed, that the fullness and significancy of his descriptions are frequently owing to the prolixity of his stanza. Laden as he was with so many shackles; it is indeed surprising that he should, upon the whole, execute a poem of such uncommon length with so much ease and spirit. He has not been so careless as to permit the same word to be repeated as a rhyme to itself, in more than four or five instances; which

which is an extraordinary circumstance, when we consider the time wherein he wrote, and the nature of his stanza. Amidst his affected and too frequent use of obsolete words and phrases, his style, in general, is distinguished by its perspicuity and facility. His lines are seldom broken by transpositions, antitheses, or parentheses; and his sense and sound are equally flowing and uninterrupted. In short, when every fault is pointed out which can be ascribed, either to the author himself, or to the age in which he flourished, it will still be found, that he eminently excelled in the richness of his harmony, and the beauty of his versification.

In the character of a poet, Spenser sustains a very high and eminent rank. We should run no hazard of rational contradiction, were we to assert, that in powers of invention and richness of fancy, he has scarcely ever been exceeded. To the display of these talents, the subjects he was led to by the fashionable reading of the times were peculiarly accommodated. There could not be more admirable instruments in the hands of a genuine poet, than the adventures and manners of chivalry, and the superstitions and enchantments of the dark ages. They gave scope for all the wildness and beauty of imagery, and for all the splendour and majesty of description; circumstances of which Spenser hath availed himself in the highest degree. As, therefore, the "Fairy Queen" comes recommended to us by so many excellencies, it may be thought surprising that, at present, it should, comparatively, have only a small number of readers. But this may be accounted for from several causes. The customs and manners described by Spenser are vanished away, and consequently are little understood by the bulk of mankind. His allusions, likewise, are often too abstruse and learned for common apprehension; and some degree of obsolescence hangs upon his language. Nor is allegorical poetry adapted to the general understanding. Hence it is that Spenser, with all his merit, can only be the lasting favourite of the few, who, by reading and true taste, are fully qualified to appreciate, and to feel, his transcendent beauties. By such persons, he will be admired and applauded, so long as poetry shall continue to be the object of admiration and applause.



BRITISH AND FOREIGN

H I S T O R Y;

For the Year 1791.

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# BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY;

For the Year 1791.

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## CHAPTER I.

*France. State of Parties previous to the Meeting of the States-General. Riot at Paris. Assembly of the States. Contest with respect to the Mode of voting by Orders or by Poll. The Tiers Etat constitute themselves a National Assembly. Assembly repulsed from the Hall of the States. Take an oath never to separate till the Constitution be settled. Royal Session. Union of the Orders. Projects of the Court. Paris encircled with Military. Soldiers released from Prison by the Populace. Famine in Paris. Remonstrance of the Assembly. Dismission of M. Neckar. Disturbances at Paris. Firmness of the National Assembly. The Bastille taken.*

**W**HATEVER may be the ultimate consequences of the French Revolution, its origin and progress constitute perhaps the most interesting subject of modern history. It has exhibited the singular spectacle of twenty-six millions of citizens, with a unanimity which is unparalleled, with a perseverance which was irresistible, and in opposition to the strongest of human prejudices, demanding and recovering their long-lost rights. It has exhibited something still more extraordinary; and has evinced, that a standing army is no longer that passive engine in the hand of despotism, that it was formerly imagined; and that to retain mankind in a state of slavery, they must be kept in a state of ignorance. In the detail of such a revolution, the eye of

humanity will necessarily be arrested by some scenes on which it is impossible to dwell with satisfaction, and the judgement of the politician will as necessarily meet with some transactions which it cannot approve. There is nothing so difficult to moderate and restrain as popular sentiment; and the vacillations of opinion are seldom regulated, but commonly vibrate from one extreme to the other.

The attention of all Europe was fixed on the meeting of the states-general, while the minds of the French themselves continued to be agitated by a variety of different and contending passions and opinions. Those who were in possession of power, were desirous of retaining it; and those who had no dependence but upon their abilities, hoped that

a new constitution of things would elevate them to that rank; to which, from their merits, they conceived themselves entitled. The two great parties, which were afterwards to divide the nation, were already formed. The pertinacity with which the privileged orders were determined to adhere to their peculiar advantages, is evident from what we have stated in our preceding volume; and on the other hand, a multitude of writers of the greatest eminence were employed in exciting the tiers état to the assertion of its rights. The claims of the nobility and clergy were examined with acuteness, with precision, with research. The balance of ability was greatly on the side of the people, and the usages of antiquity faded before the light of genius and of truth. Previous to this period, that extraordinary society or club was formed, which has since had so considerable, and perhaps so dangerous an influence over the public affairs. Its members instituted an active correspondence throughout the kingdom, and, by cultivating a uniformity of opinion on political subjects, produced, in time, that uniformity of will which afterwards appeared to govern the popular counsels.

The political schism which had already taken place, was not likely to be composed during the necessary turbulence of an election. Yet the system on which the French elections are conducted, is less liable to tumult and disorder than where there is an open and immediate poll; and though the leaders of parties were sufficiently animated in the support of their particular sentiments, the great body of the people were either dubious of the consequences, or were not yet warmed in the contest. The meetings for the nomination

of electors were not so numerously attended as might have been supposed; and even in some places where a thousand voters were expected, not above fifty appeared.

The spirit of the two parties appeared in the *cabiers* (or instructions to their representatives) which were drawn up upon this occasion. The nobility and the clergy in their separate chambers digested their instructions, the first object of which was to preserve what they were pleased to consider as their own rights, the second to demand the rights of the people. The monarch, according to this system, was the only devoted party; and with his rights the states-general might make as free as they pleased. All parties, however, agreed in renouncing a part of their pecuniary privileges. The instructions of the tiers état were hastily composed; but that uniformity of sentiment, which the sufferings of the people, and the activity of their leaders had produced, was evident in them all. They demanded the suppression of more abuses than the national assembly has been able in three years to destroy, more than perhaps ever can be eradicated; and a considerable number of their requisitions are still remitted to the consideration of posterity;—all, however, were unanimous in demanding a constitution, liberty, the assumption of natural rights, and the protection of the public treasure from the depredations of the court. The deputies of each order departed thus instructed to maintain the claims of their particular party. “Those of the tiers état,” says a distinguished member of the assembly, “carried with them the benedictions and the prayers of the multitude.”

Such were the objects which occupied the reflecting part of the nation;

tion; but whatever might be the expectations of others, the favourites of the court could not fail to perceive that the violence of the storm would break upon their heads. The instructions which were dictated by the tiers état for the government of its representatives, the vast extent of its demands, and the number and ability of the publications in support of these demands, made them feel the necessity of opposing against that order the full force of every existing authority. Mr. Neckar was desirous that the states might be assembled at Paris; but the king preferred Versailles, where the communication between the deputies and the court would be more immediate. It is evident that the deputies of the tiers état, who were collected from every remote quarter of the kingdom, and many of them entirely unacquainted with the great world, assembled under considerable disadvantages, in a place where every thing bore the stamp of despotism, and where intrigue and venality had industriously spread their choicest allurements. The agents of the court had already established conferences at the house of Madame Polignac—and it is said by the democratic party, that the chief object of their deliberation was to unite the two principal orders, the clergy and nobles, and to retain the commons in a state of dependence and subjection. On the other hand, the deputies of the people were not without their jealousies; and those of each province held their separate meetings, till at length they became united in that of Brittany.

It is evident that the voting by orders, and not by poll, that is, the assembling of the different orders in their separate chambers, and investing each with the prerogative of

putting a negative on the proceedings of the other two, was the only stratagem which the court party could employ to disconcert the measures of the patriots; and it must be confessed, that such an arrangement would probably have rendered the whole proceedings of the states-general a solemn farce, and could never have established any substantial reform. This was the great question which was presently to involve the national representatives in faction and contest.

Whilst these important affairs were in agitation, a circumstance occurred which is supposed on all sides to have originated in some malevolent motive, whether of a public or a private nature is not so easy to decide. In the populous suburb of St. Antoine, a very considerable paper-manufactory was carried on, and a number of workmen consequently maintained by a respectable citizen of the name of Reveillon. This gentleman had accused a certain Abbé Roy, a dependant of the Count d'Artois, of forgery, and the matter was before the courts. Whether, therefore, it arose from a private revenge in the abbé, or whether the court party might imagine that a riot at Paris would afford a fair apology for the approach of such a number of troops as might effectually awe the representatives of the nation, is uncertain. A groundless report was maliciously spread, that Mr. Reveillon intended considerably to lower the wages of his workmen, that he had asserted the bread was too good for them, and that they might subsist as well upon potatoe flour, with many insinuations to the same purpose. On the 27th of April, both the suburbs of St. Marc and St. Antoine were in motion, and Mr. Reveillon was burnt in effigy. The

most extraordinary circumstance was, that it had been announced to the police, that the preceding days a number of strangers had entered the city, and these men were now the leaders of the insurrection, and by profusely scattering money amongst the mob, increased both its numbers and its ferocity. A small detachment of the French guards was sent to effect their dispersion; but it was too weak to resist the rabble. At the dawn of the following day, the outrages were renewed, and Mr. Reveillon's house was pillaged and destroyed. At length a formidable party of the military was ordered out, and, after a considerable carnage, the tumult was quelled.

Paris was scarcely recovered from the great terror and apprehension which this insurrection occasioned, when the day appointed for the meeting of the states-general arrived. The 5th of May 1789 will be long memorable in the annals of France, and it was indeed a day of festivity to the whole nation. It commenced, agreeably to ancient custom, with a religious act. The representatives of the people, preceded by the clergy, and followed by the king, repaired to the temple of God, accompanied with an immense crowd, offering vows and prayers for success to their labours.

The whole ceremony indicated the distinction of orders, and evinced that it was the secret determination of the court strictly to maintain it. Faithful to the customs of 1614, the nobility were arrayed in a sumptuous robe, and the deputies of the commons in the habit of the law. Thus while the nobility and the higher clergy glittered in gold and jewels, the representatives of the people appeared in mourning; but the spectators were not dazzled by splendid appearances, that body

which represented the nation engrossed all its applause, and *Vive le tiers état!* was echoed from every quarter.

The assembly was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the monarch declared his satisfaction at seeing himself surrounded, after so long an interval, by the representatives of his people—he mentioned the heavy debt of the public, a part of which had accumulated during his own reign, but in an honourable cause—he hinted at the general disquiet and the love of innovation which had taken possession of the minds of the people; but depended on their wisdom and moderation in the adoption of alterations; and concluded by warm professions of his own attachment to the public welfare.

The speech of M. Barretin, the keeper of the seals, was but little attended to:—it, as well as that of the king, recommended temper in adopting alterations in the government; intimated, that the king had acceded to the wishes of his people in granting to the tiers état a double representation, but left the great question of voting by orders or by poll entirely undecided.

The attention which was refused to the keeper of the seals, was most liberally accorded to Mr. Neckar, though his address continued for three hours. It did not, however, pass exempt from criticism—some alleged that it was an ill-arranged and ill-digested mass; the republicans complained that he did not enlarge sufficiently on their favourite topic; they expected it to be filled with projects and with systems—the privileged orders wished him to be more explicit in tracing out a plan of proceedings for the states-general—but all agreed that nothing could be more luminous and satisfactory

factory than the details which he recited concerning the finances of the nation; nothing more simple and correct than the plans which he proposed.

The situation of Mr. Neckar, indeed, at this critical period, was peculiarly delicate. He was placed between the court and the people, at a time when it was impossible for an honest man to attend equally to the claims of each party. From him every thing was expected by the people, while it was impossible to comply with the plenitude of their demands. On the contrary, the love and admiration of the people was sufficient to render him suspected by the courtiers. He was despised by the high nobility, for his inferiority of birth and family; and he was odious to the bigoted clergy, because he was a protestant. Fortunately for Mr. Neckar, his integrity was above all suspicion; every person in the kingdom, from the monarch to the peasant, was satisfied of the rectitude of his heart. His temper and moderation were of the utmost importance in turbulent times. His influence frequently interposed against the excesses of popular infatuation; and the dignity and virtue of his character, gave him consequence even with the enemies of liberty.

The first object of the states was the *verification of their powers*, that is, the production of their writs of return, and the identification of the deputies, which is equivalent to our members of parliament taking their seats. On this occasion the fatal contest between the three orders commenced. The deputies of the commons saw evidently that the people had in vain achieved their wish with respect to the number of representatives—in vain the deputies of the tiers état in number con-

stituted a half of the states-general, if by the mode of voting they were to be reduced to a third. They saw further, that should the verification of their powers be effected in separate chambers, each order would then be constituted a legal assembly, and the union be rendered for ever impossible.

Thus the dispute which was of so much importance, concerning the voting by orders or by poll, commenced even upon the verification of the returns. At the appointed hour the deputies of the tiers état assembled in the common hall. After half an hour spent in that confusion to which so numerous an assembly was naturally liable, a voice more articulate than the rest proclaimed the necessity of order, and advised the appointment of a temporary president, a secretary and clerks. When the chair was to be taken, the public voice demanded the oldest citizen—he presented himself, and asked of the assembly the assistance of some younger man to act as his herald. Some debates and motions succeeded this appointment, the general object of which was, that the orders should proceed to verify their powers in common, and not in separate chambers.

The deliberations of the clergy and nobility were not less tumultuous. In the first order, the members deliberated under the temporary presidency of the cardinal de la Rochefoucault, whether the powers should be verified and legitimated in the chamber appropriated to the order?—133 members were for the affirmative; 114 were of opinion that this ceremony could only take place in the general assembly, and before commissioners chosen from all the three orders.

In the second, M. de Montbois-

fier, as the oldest nobleman present, was called to the chair—Two motions were made, one for the verification of the powers, by commissioners exclusively chosen from the order of nobility; and the other, for the same verification, before commissioners selected from the three orders—The principal argument in favour of the first of these opinions, was, that the order themselves were the only judges competent to decide the legality of pretensions to nobility; and in answer it was urged, that the elections had been sanctioned by the three orders of each bailiwick, and the oaths administered in their presence. It was, however, determined in favour of the verification in their own chamber, by 188 voices against 47.

The commons satisfied that a state of inaction would in a short time effect their wishes, determined to persevere. They carried their respect to this principle so far as not to open the addresses which were directed to the deputies of the tiers état, and which lay upon their table. The clergy also suspended the verification of their powers; but the nobility, who conceived that every thing was to give way to their rank and privileges, declared themselves a legal assembly, and on the 13th of May sent a deputation to the commons to acquaint them with these proceedings.

In the mean time, the clergy, who were divided in their opinions, and among whom the *cures*\* (or parochial clergy) were in general attached to the cause of the people, proposed to the other orders the nomination of commissioners to conciliate the present disputes. To this proposal the nobility assented; and

in the assembly of the commons, it was moved by M. Rabaud de St. Etienne, a protestant clergyman, "that commissioners should be named to treat with the clergy and nobility concerning the union of the orders in one common assembly."—M. Chapellier, an advocate of Rennes in Brittany followed it by a motion, declaring "that no mode of conciliation could be admitted which had not for its basis, the deliberation of all the orders in common; and censuring in strong terms the conduct of the nobility." The count de Mirabeau observed, "that the nobility commanded, while the clergy negotiated." He was therefore of opinion, that the commissioners should not treat with the nobles, but with the clergy only; but at length the simple proposition of M. Rabaud was adopted, with a trifling amendment.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that the negotiation proved fruitless. The nobility, having heard the report of the commissioners, voted, "that in the present assembly of the states-general, the powers should for this time be verified separately; and that the examination of the advantages or inconveniences resulting from this method, should be referred to a future period, when the orders should take into consideration the future organization of the states-general." Thus every hope being defeated of a union with the nobles, the commons determined, on the 27th of May, to send a solemn deputation to the clergy, to invite them, "in the name of the God of peace, and of the true interest of the nation, to unite themselves with them in one general assembly, to

\* Mr. Burke and other Englishmen have strangely translated this word literally *cure*, whereas it strictly answers to the legal meaning of our word *parson*, and means an ecclesiastical person possessed of a benefice with cure (or care) of souls.



consult together on the means of restoring unity and concord."

While this matter was in agitation, a letter was received from the king, desiring "that the conciliatory commissioners would meet in the presence of the keeper of the seals, and some other commissioners to be appointed by the monarch, in order to renew their conferences, &c."—In the mean time the chamber of the nobles (this sovereign legislative chamber, as it was called by one of its members) passed a decree, asserting, "that they regarded as a part of the constitution, the division of orders, and their respective veto, and that in these principles they were determined to persevere." The second conferences therefore were equally unsuccessful with the first.

In the course of these conferences, however, the ministers proposed on the part of the king, a plan of conciliation, or rather of arbitration, the principal articles of which were, 1st. That the three orders should verify their powers separately, and should reciprocally communicate the same to each other.

2d. That in case any contests should arise, commissioners should be appointed from the three orders to take the same into consideration, and report their opinions to their different orders.

3d. That should the three orders not agree upon any topic in dispute, the final determination should be referred to the king.

The two superior orders applauded this plan of conciliation; but while the nobles pretended to accept it, they qualified their acquiescence with a decided resolution to adhere to their former decree, and to the plan of voting only by orders. At the same time they proceeded to the verification of the powers, to determine the controverted returns, &c.

While these affairs were transacting among the nobles, the clergy sent a deputation to the tiers état, lamenting the high price of bread, and proposing a committee of the three orders to concert on the means of alleviating this evil.—This proceeding of the clergy was represented by some members as deeply insidious, as a means of ingratiating themselves with the people, and of rendering the deputies of the commons unpopular should they refuse to co-operate. It was therefore immediately resolved to return for answer, the following address:—

"Penetrated with the same zeal as yourselves, and viewing with tears of compassion the public distress, we beseech and conjure you to unite with us immediately in the common hall, to consult on the means of remedying these calamities."

It was now near five weeks since the states-general had assembled, and the three orders found themselves in the same inactive state as at first. The commons now conceived it was full time to emerge from this criminal inactivity, and to afford an opportunity to those of the nobility and clergy who professed a sincere love for their country, to become active in its favour. They divided themselves into twenty committees, to facilitate the public business; and on the 10th of June, the Abbé Sieyès proposed that they should make a last effort for a union of the orders; and should this fail, that they should then form themselves into an *active assembly*, for the dispatch of business.

In consequence of this proposal, notice was sent on the 12th, that they would immediately order a general call of the deputies of all the bailiwicks, including those of the privileged classes; and in default of their appearance, that they would proceed to the verification of the powers, and

to every other public object, as well in the absence, as in the presence of the nobility and clergy.

On the 13th, they proceeded to the call of the deputies, and to the verification of the returns—Not one of the nobility appeared; but on the call of the bailiwick of Poitou, three curés, Messrs. Colve, Ballard, and Jalot, presented themselves with the writs of their return, which they laid respectfully upon the table. These venerable pastors were received with the warmest transports of joy and acclamation. They had declared their patriotic intentions the preceding evening in the chamber of the clergy; and they were followed the next day by five more of their brethren, among whom were Messrs. Dillon, Gregoire, and Bodineau.

In the mean time the unpopularity of the nobility increased almost to detestation, and to their obstinacy the inactivity of the states was wholly attributed—At length the deputies of the people felt themselves supported by the public opinion, and on the 17th of June proceeded to the daring step of assuming to themselves the legislative government. On that memorable day, in the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, the deputies of the people, with such of the clergy as had already joined them, announced themselves to the public by the since celebrated denomination of the *national assembly*. The hall resounded with the exclamations of joy—"Long live the king and the national assembly!" But when the representatives of the people rose in solemn silence to take the oath to fulfil with fidelity their duty, every eye was melted into tears, and the enthusiasm of liberty took possession of every heart. This solemn ceremony was succeeded by the nomination of M. Bailly to the office of president for four days only, and that

of Messrs. Camus and Pison de Garland, as secretaries for the same space of time.

The first resolutions of the assembly, while they were declaratory of the constitutional power vested in the representatives of the people, had also a regard to the urgent necessities of the state.—They pronounced "all levies, imposts or taxes, unconstitutional, which were not enacted by the formal consent of the representatives of the nation—that consequently the existing taxes were illegal and null;—that notwithstanding this, they, in the name of the nation, gave a temporary sanction to the present taxes and levies, which were to continue to be levied in the manner they had hitherto been, only until the separation of the assembly, from whatever cause that might happen." The assembly proceeded to declare, "that as soon as, in concert with his majesty, it should be able to fix and determine the principles of national regeneration, it would take into formal consideration the *national debt*, placing from the present moment the creditors of the state under the safeguard of the honour and faith of the French nation." These decrees conclude with a resolution "to inquire into the causes of the scarcity which at that period afflicted the kingdom, and into the means of remedying and averting that calamity."

The firm and temperate conduct of the national assembly awed at first, but did not entirely disconcert the aristocratic party, which assiduously employed every artifice to elude the blow with which they were threatened. The chamber of the clergy had been engaged for some days in discussing the manner in which they should verify their powers; and a number of curés had, during the discussion, presented their writs or titles

to the assembly, and returned to their own chamber to defend the popular cause. At length, on the 19th of June, a majority of that body voted for the verification of their powers in common with the national assembly; which so much alarmed the court party, that it is confidently reported that M. d'Espremeuil proposed, in the chamber of the nobles, an address to the king, beseeching him to dissolve the states-general.

The court was then at Marly, and M. Neckar, engaged with a dying sister, left the king exposed to every stratagem that was spread for his unsuspecting goodness. Repeated councils were held, the result of which could not be very favourable to the views of the people: at last the king was impressed with the necessity of commanding the advance of an immense military force to the capital; but both the object and the consequences evince that the designs of the party did not end there.

On Saturday the 20th of June, the day on which the clergy were to unite themselves to the national assembly, the heralds proclaimed a royal session; and a detachment of the guards surrounded the hall of the states, in order, as it was alleged, that it might be properly prepared for the reception of the king. The president and members were repulsed from the door, and acquainted by the commanding officer, that his orders were—"to admit no person into the hall of the states-general."—"And I protest against these orders," replied the president, "and the assembly shall take cognizance of them."

Supported as they perceived themselves to be by the voice of the people, the assembly were not to be discouraged by this puerile expedient. On the motion of M. Bailly, they immediately adjourned to a tennis-court

situated in the street of old Versailles, where, in the presence of applauding thousands, they took a solemn oath, "never to separate till the constitution should be completed."

On the 22d another proclamation was issued, intimating, that the royal session was deferred till the succeeding day; and the hall of the states-general still remained closed, on account of the preparations. The assembly wandered from place to place, before they could find a roof capacious enough to shelter so considerable a number. They at length assembled in the church of St. Louis; and the majority of the clergy, amounting to 149, assembled in the choir. After a deputation to arrange the ceremonials, the doors of the choir were thrown open; the clergy advanced with their president, the archbishop of Vienne at their head, and the deputies cordially embraced each other. The sanctity of the place contributed to render the meeting more solemn and affecting, and the plaudits of the spectators testified at once their triumph and their joy. Two nobles of Dauphiné, the marquis de Blacon, and the count d'Agoult, attended at the same time to present their powers; the rest of the minority of the first order waited the result of the royal session.

The events which had taken place at Versailles, and the change which they announced in the dispositions of the government, with respect to the national assembly, excited at Paris the utmost consternation. Nor could a letter from Mr. Neckar to the magistrates, assuring them that no such measure was intended as the dissolution of the states-general, entirely allay the ferment. The royal session took place on the 23d. It was at once attended with all that is awful, and all that is magnificent in arbitrary

arbitrary authority. The hall was surrounded with soldiers. The two privileged orders were seated; while the representatives of the people were left without, exposed for more than an hour to the rain. M. de Mirabeau urged the president to conduct the nation immediately to the presence of the king, or to demand at least that the gates should be opened—They were opened at length to the deputies, but not to the people. The throne was raised upon a kind of stage or platform at the bottom of the hall; on the right the clergy were seated, and on the left the nobility. The four heralds, with their king at arms, were stationed in the middle; and at the bottom of the platform was a table, round which the ministers were seated: one chair however was vacant, which should have been occupied by Mr. Neckar; nor did any part of this ill-conducted business excite more general disgust than the absence of that favourite minister.

The speech and declarations of the king were a singular mixture of patriotism and despotic authority. He spoke of the *favours which he conferred* upon his people; and caused to be read a declaration of his sovereign will, as if the legislature were only called to consent to such laws as should be proposed by the executive power, without being competent to propose any themselves. He suggested a plan of government, in which the distinction of orders was to be preserved, allowing them however occasionally to debate in common with the king's approbation. Not a word was advanced on the subject of the responsibility of ministers, nor on the participation of the states-general in the legislative power. The odious tyranny of *lettres de cachet* was formally announced to be continued, with only a few mo-

difications. A guarded silence was observed concerning the liberty of the press, and the pernicious tax of lotteries. In fine, the king declared *null* the deliberations and resolves of the 17th, and ordered the deputies immediately to separate, and to appear before him on the following day.

When the king retired, he was followed by all the nobility, and by a part of the clergy. The deputies of the commons remained motionless on the benches, and preserved a gloomy silence. The marquis de Breze, grand-master of the ceremonies, entered the hall, and addressing himself to the president—"You know, Sir, (said he) the intentions of the king."—The president answered respectfully, that the assembly was not constituted to receive orders from any person; but the servid Mirabeau, rising from his seat, and addressing himself to M. de Breze, replied—"The commons of France have determined to debate. We have heard the intentions which have been suggested by the king; and you who cannot be his agent at the states-general, you who have here neither seat, nor voice, nor a right to speak, are not the person to remind us of his speech. Go tell your master, that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing shall expel us but the bayonet." The enthusiasm of the assembly seconded that of the orator, and with one unanimous voice they declared that such was their determination.

The grand-master retired, and a profound silence pervaded the hall. It was at length broken by M. Camus, who declaimed against the royal session, which he stigmatized by the contemptuous appellation of a *bed of justice*, and proposed a resolution declaratory of the assembly's adherence to their former decrees, which

which he asserted no power could annul. He was warmly supported by Messrs. Barnave, Glaiizen, Pethion, the abbé Gregoire, and many others. The abbé Sieyès only observed—"Gentlemen, you are the same to-day, that you were before." The motion of M. Camus was unanimously decreed: and was followed by another, which pronounced "the persons of the deputies inviolable."

Mr. Neckar had several times solicited his dismissal, but was constantly refused by the king. When his majesty returned from the royal session, he was followed by a crowd of more than 600 citizens, and the public discontent was manifested by murmurs and exclamations. The majority of the members of the assembly waited on Mr. Neckar, and conjured him to continue faithful to the nation and the king, and to remain in the ministry. The consternation however became general, when, at six in the evening, the queen sent for the director-general of the finances, and through her apartments introduced him to the royal closet. At about half past six the minister came out of the palace on foot by a private door; but as soon as he appeared, there was a general shout of *Vive M. Neckar!* Some of the populace prostrated themselves on their knees, intreating him to remain with them as their father and their guide. He satisfied their importunities, by assuring them, that he would not abandon them; that he had pledged himself to the king, and was resolved to live or die with them.

The assembly met the next day, and were joined by the majority of the clergy; and on the 25th, forty-nine members of the nobility, with the duke d'Orleans at their head, made their appearance in the assem-

bly. The rector of the university of Paris, and the prior of Marmontiers, came the same day to augment the number of the patriotic clergy. In the mean time, the dissidents among the privileged orders continued in a violent state of agitation; and M. d'Espreménil even accused the deputies of the tiers état of high treason. The archbishop of Paris, pressed by his connections into the service of a party which in his heart he condemned, passed at this period for one of the chiefs of the aristocratic cabal; and his house had been attacked by a furious mob, who, however, were dispersed without mischief by a detachment of the guards. On the 26th he was introduced to the assembly by the archbishop of Bourdeaux. Some others of the superior clergy, and the count de Crecy, took their seats on the same day; and even in the chamber of the nobles, the union was again deliberated upon, and with less animosity than before.

In the midst of contending factions, which occasionally sported with his credulity or his fears, the king still preserved a genuine love of his people, and an unviolated regard to the claims of humanity. He felt himself unhappy at the divisions which existed, and determined to end them if possible at any expence. In a private conversation with the duke de Luxembourg, president of the chamber of nobles, he is said to have urged his wishes for a union of the orders. He was answered by that nobleman, "That the order to which I belonged, were not contending for themselves, but for the crown—he represented that the nobility was the only body on which his majesty could depend to defeat the exorbitant claims of the people—that while the states-general continued

tinued divided, the royal authority was safe; but whenever the day should arrive that the states should vote by numbers only, from that moment the monarch was at their mercy.”—

“I conjure your majesty,” continued the duke, “to condescend to reflect upon what I have the honour to state.”—“M. de Luxembourg,” replied the king with firmness, “I have reflected, I am determined upon any sacrifice; nor will I that a single man lose his life in my cause.” In consequence of this determination, the king on the 27th sent a pressing letter to the president of the nobility, and to the minority of the clergy, repeating the union of the orders.—The clergy obeyed without hesitation; but it was not till after a very warm debate, that the nobility submitted to the mandate of the sovereign. At the first news of this joyful event, Versailles was transported with joy; the people ran in crowds to the palace, and demanded the king and queen. Their majesties appeared at a balcony, and the atmosphere re-echoed with the shouts of *Vive le roi! Vive la reine!* A general illumination concluded the triumph of the day.

The union of the orders, however, instead of terminating their machinations, served but to increase the secret opposition of those who were likely to be the only sufferers by the prosperity of France; the courtiers and favourites who battered on its ruin. The dissolution of the assembly was now the only means which could restore to power these harpies of the state; and there is no cause to doubt that this was at least their first object. Whether the king was acquainted or not with the project is uncertain, but probably he was not. His fears and his passions were doubtless excited by the artful circle that surrounded him; every intem-

perate expression that escaped in the assembly, was assiduously conveyed to his ears, and its object even magnified. The turbulence of the metropolis was made an excuse for besieging it with mercenary armies. Thirty-five thousand men had been gradually collected from the extremities of the kingdom, and stationed in the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles. Camps were traced out for a still greater force; the lines of fortification were already drawn upon every eminence, and almost every post was occupied which commanded the city, or the roads which communicated with it. These arrangements were made under the inspection and authority of Marshall Broglio, an approved commander, a man habituated from his youth to the subordination of a military life, and generally supposed to be completely devoted to the party of the court.

It must be remarked, however, that if the enemies of the popular cause were thus active, its friends (whatever might be their motives, whether selfish or patriotic) were not deficient in vigilance and foresight. A just apprehension of what might happen, had certainly induced them to insert in the *cabiers*, or instructions of the tiers état, a clause insisting that the pay of the soldiers should be increased; and on the same ground there is reason to credit the reports of the aristocratic writers, that the democrats had taken every means to ingratiate themselves with the soldiery, and to persuade them that in that capacity they did not cease to be citizens, but that on the contrary it was degrading and dishonourable to them to be considered as mere automata, as mere passive instruments in the hands of power. Among the active *apostles* of liberty, as they are termed, who preached with such suc-

cells to the military, the marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in the French guards, is particularly noted. It was indeed absurd to suppose, that amidst the general spread of information, the soldiery should either want means of acquiring it, or be callous to its influence. So early, therefore, as the 23d of June, two companies of the grenadier guards had refused to fire upon the populace in some trifling riot. For this and other symptoms of disobedience the troops were confined to their barracks; but on the 25th and 26th they were seen by hundreds entering into the Palais Royal, the theatre of popular politics, and joining with the crowd in shouting *Vive les tiers état!* In the same manner all the military that entered Paris were conducted to the Palais Royal; they were loaded with favours and caresses by the populace, and heard with an attentive ear the declamations against the baseness of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow citizens, and against the slavery of their present condition. The soldiers melted into tenderness, exclaimed with ardour, *Vive la nation!* and returned to their camp to extend the conquests of democracy. An incident happened on the 30th of June, which, while it evinced the dispositions of the nation and the soldiery, was probably not without its effects in attaching still more strongly the army to the people. About seven o'clock in the evening, a letter was brought to a coffee-house adjacent to the Palais Royal, intimating that eleven of the French guards were at that moment confined in the prisons of the abbey St. Germain, for having refused to fire on their fellow-citizens; and that the same night they were to be transferred to the dungeons of the Bicêtre, a place destined for the vilest miscreants.

Their cause was presently considered as the cause of the public; a mob was almost instantly collected, the prison was forced, and the dragoons and hussars which were called out to quell the riot grounded their arms. A soldier who had been committed for some other crime, was reconducted to prison by the populace, who declared that they would only take under their protection those who were the victims of patriotism.

The eleven prisoners, who had been thus taken from the abbey, were conducted by the people to the hotel de Geneve, where they were kept, as they expressed it, under the guard of the nation, while a deputation of twenty young citizens of Paris was dispatched to the national assembly to solicit their pardon. After some deliberation, in which it was doubted whether the assembly ought to receive a deputation from persons not appearing in a public character, a decree was passed, recommending in strong terms to the citizens, a strict attention to peace and order, and promising to apply to the king, to whose province the matter in question entirely belonged, in favour of the soldiers. A deputation from the assembly accordingly waited on his majesty, who declared himself much satisfied with the decree of the assembly, and granted a free pardon to the prisoners.

In the mean time, Paris was not only threatened with the sword, but was actually visited with one of the severest calamities that can affect a country. A most alarming scarcity pervaded the whole kingdom; but it may well be conceived that its effects were most severely felt in the capital, which has no resources of its own, and in which the accumulation of human beings must necessarily increase the misery. The gates

of the assembly were surrounded by famishing multitudes, beseeching their compassion and assistance. A committee of subsistence was formed, and various reports were received—prohibitions were issued against the exportation of corn, and a subscription was opened in Paris for the relief of the poor.

Under the pressure of such a calamity, it may well be supposed that the people were not in the most tranquil state. The general exclamation was for bread; and unfortunately the unsettled state of the metropolis afforded a daily excuse for the augmentation of the military in its neighbourhood, at a time when their presence served but to increase the general distress. The jealousy of the assembly was awakened farther, by observing, that for this service foreigners were preferred to the native troops; and that more soldiers were assembled round the hall of the states-general itself, than would have sufficed to repel a foreign invasion. On the 10th of July a spirited remonstrance to the king was proposed by the count de Mirabeau, and enforced by that commanding eloquence of which he was master.

The address itself was a model of fine composition—It stated, “that in consequence of the royal invitation to the assembly to give his majesty some proofs of its confidence, they now came to inform him of the alarms at present existing, though not among themselves—that they came not to solicit his protection, for they entertained no fears—that in a recent instance, his majesty had seen the power which he possessed over the minds of his people—that the prisoners to whom the populace had given liberty, had of themselves resumed their fetters, and a single word from the mouth of the king had restored the public tranquillity—

that such a sway was the only one which could now be exercised in France—that the danger from the assembling of the troops did not threaten the assembly, but the provinces, the capital, which might be jealous for their representatives—that the danger was for the troops themselves, who might be alienated from authority by their communication with the metropolis—for the labours of the assembly, which might be interrupted by popular commotions—and for the king himself. It concluded with expressing their own firmness, and beseeching his majesty to remove the troops, since a monarch adored by twenty-five millions of Frenchmen could not possibly stand in need of foreign support.”

The king's answer was cool and unsatisfactory. It alleged that “the tumultuous conduct of the metropolis was the reason for having surrounded it with troops—disclaimed every idea of interrupting the freedom of the assembly's deliberations—but added, that if the presence of the troops gave umbrage, he was ready, at the request of the assembly, to transfer the states-general to Noyon or Soissons, and to repair himself to Compiègne in order to maintain the necessary communication with the assembly.” This answer was applauded by some of the members, but its design could not escape the penetration of Mirabeau, who in a short speech detected its fallacy. “The answer of the king,” said he, “is a direct refusal to our requisition—we will remove neither to Noyon nor to Soissons—we will not place ourselves between two hostile armies, that which is besieging Paris, and that which may fall upon us from Flanders or Alsace—we have not asked permission to run away from the troops; we have desired



fired that the troops should be removed from the capital."

The plot which had been meditated by the court party for the dissolution of the assembly, and the full resumption of despotic authority, was now nearly matured. The democratic writers assert, that the night of the 14th or 15th of July was fixed upon for the attack of the metropolis, which was already besieged by fifty thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon. They describe the arrangement which was planned for the assault, and assert that not only the dissolution of the assembly, but a dreadful and sanguinary execution of its most distinguished members, was to succeed. However little we may be disposed to credit this statement, the least we can believe is, that, agreeably to the declaration in the royal session of the 23d of June, the authority, if not the very phantom, of the states-general was to be annihilated; and that something evil was intended was most evident from the dismissal of M. Neckar, which prematurely took place on the 11th of July. He was at dinner when the letter of the king, ordering him to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours, was brought him by the count de la Luzerne. Without appearing in the least concerned, he had the presence of mind to tell the count, as he went out of the room, "We shall meet this evening at the council;" and continued to converse with the archbishop of Bourdeaux and the rest of the company that were dining with him, as if nothing had happened. About five o'clock in the afternoon he complained of his head, and asked madame Neckar, if she would accompany him in an airing. He was not more than a league from Versailles, when he desired the coachman to drive on more quickly

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to St. Ouen, his country house. He passed the night there, and prepared for the journey; and this was the first opportunity he had of acquainting his daughter the baroness de Stael with the event, though she was present when he received the order of the king to quit the country like a criminal. He took the road to Brussels, as the nearest frontier; and carried with him, says M. Rabaud, the confidence of the nation.

The new arrangements in the ministry were the marshal Broglio, minister of war; the baron de Breteuil, president of finance; M. de la Galeziere, comptroller-general; M. de la Porte, intendant of the war department; and M. Foulon, intendant of the navy.

It is impossible to describe the consternation which pervaded the whole city of Paris on the receipt of this afflicting intelligence. The person who first reported it at the Hôtel de Ville was considered as a madman, and with difficulty escaped some harsh treatment. It was no sooner confirmed than the shops and places of public amusement were all shut up. A body of citizens ran to the warehouse of a statuary, and having procured the busts of M. Neckar and the duke d'Orleans, dressed them in mourning, and carried them about the streets. In their progress they were stopped by a German regiment, the royal Allemand, when the busts were broken by the soldiers; one man lost his life, and others of the populace were wounded. The army now came forward in force, with the prince de Lambesq, grand ecuyer of France, at their head, who was ordered to take post at the Thuilleries. Irritated, perhaps, at the spirit of resistance which he observed in the citizens, he imprudently wounded with his

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fabre a poor old man who was walking peaceably in the gardens. The French have a remarkable respect for age, and this wanton outrage proved the signal of revolt; an instantaneous alarm was spread through the city, and the cry of *To arms* resounded in every quarter. The Germans were vigorously attacked by the populace, who were joined by the French guards, and, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat. From that moment the guards took leave of their officers, they set fire to their several barracks, and formed themselves into companies with the citizens, to patrol the streets, and preserve, if possible, the public tranquillity.

The citizens of Paris at this moment beheld themselves in the most disagreeable and critical situation. Whether true or not, the reports of the intended attack upon the city were universally credited; and the mysterious and impolitic proceedings of the court gave countenance, it must be confessed, to every suspicion. On the other hand, troops of banditti, the pests of a populous city, such as are ever ready to take advantage of public commotion, were beginning to collect; and, either from these on the one hand, or the foreign soldiery on the other, a general pillage was the only event that could be expected. Covered by the darkness of the night, several bands of these ruffians paraded the streets, and even set fire to the city in different places: the horrid silence was interrupted only by confused shouts, and occasional discharges of musketry. In this disastrous night sleep only sealed the eyes of infants; they alone reposed in peace, while their anxious parents watched over their cradles.

Verfailles was not more tranquil; but the court party, abandoning

themselves to an indecent joy, concluded the evening of the 12th with a tumultuous banquet. The women of the court mingled with the foreign soldiers in lascivious dances to the sound of the German music—their triumph, however, was not of long duration; a false report of 100,000 armed citizens being on the road to Versailles, joined to their mistrust of the national troops, gave at least a momentary check to their extravagant exultation.

The morning of the 13th displayed at Paris a most affecting spectacle of confusion and dismay—a band of villains had already pillaged the charitable house of St. Lazare—at six o'clock the alarm bells sounded throughout the city, and the terror became universal. The citizens assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, and no alternative appeared for the protection of their lives and property, but that of embodying themselves, and forming a regular militia for the defence of the capital. Sixty thousand citizens were soon enrolled, and marshalled under different commanders: the French guards spontaneously offered their services, and were distributed among the different companies. The standards of the city were displayed; trenches were thrown up, and barricadoes formed in different parts of the suburbs. Regulations were next established for the preservation of order, and a permanent council or committee, to sit night and day, was appointed. At about half past five in the afternoon this committee dispatched a deputation to acquaint the national assembly with the occurrences which had taken place at Paris.

The assembly had been engaged, from the day when they presented their address to the king, in framing a declaration of rights, and the plan of

of a constitution; and even in the midst of these alarms they continued without intermission their patriotic labours. In the disgrace of M. Neckar they saw their own ruin determined; yet proceeded with a firmness tempered with moderation, a courage ennobled by dignity, which reflects on their conduct immortal honour. In their debates they carefully drew the line, and distinguished between the prerogatives and functions of the legislative and those of the executive powers; and on receiving the intelligence that Paris was in a state of uproar and confusion, a deputation was dispatched to the king, informing him once more of the danger which threatened the state from the presence of the troops that invested the metropolis; intreating in the most pressing terms their removal; and offering to oppose their own persons to the impending storm, and to proceed immediately to Paris to assist, by their persuasion and authority, in the re-establishment of order and peace. The king remained immovable in his determination—he replied, “that he was the only judge of the necessity of removing the troops; that the presence of the deputies could be of no service in Paris; on the contrary, they were necessary at Versailles, to prosecute there those important labours which he should continue to recommend.”

It is evident that the answer of the king could not by any means be agreeable to the assembly. It was therefore no sooner communicated than the marquis de la Fayette demanded an immediate declaration of the responsibility of ministers, and the assembly unanimously resolved:

“That M. Neckar and the rest of the late ministry carried with them the confidence and the regret of the assembly—that they would not

cease to insist on the removal of the troops—that no intermediate power can exist between the king and the representatives of the nation—that the ministers and agents of authority civil and military are responsible to the people for their conduct—that the present ministers and counsellors of his majesty were personally responsible for the present calamities, and those which might be the consequences of their advice—that the assembly having placed the public debts under the safeguard of the honour and loyalty of the French nation, no power has a right even to pronounce the infamous word *bankruptcy*—that they persisted in all their former decrees—and that these minutes should be presented to the king and the late ministry, and committed to the press.”

The courage of the Parisians was answerable to the firmness of the national assembly. By the accession of the French guards, they had obtained a supply of arms and ammunition; and a considerable train of artillery; the shops of the armourers were ransacked for weapons, and the soldier-citizens were even trained to some appearance of discipline. The night of the 13th passed without any event of consequence: the morning discovered that, taking advantage of the darkness, the troops encamped in the Champs Elysées had moved off. The people, however, were ignorant of the causes of this removal, and an immediate attack was expected. The national guard, for that was the name which the mixed band of soldiers and citizens now assumed, amounted to the number of 150,000 men; but the majority were still without arms. The marquis de la Salle was named commander in chief; the green cockade which they had at first adopted, was changed for the since famous national colours,

red, blue and white; the new army was now more regularly officered; and various deputations were dispatched in quest of arms and implements of war. M. de Flelles, the *prévôt de marchands* (or mayor), made many promises on this subject; but they all proved, like every part of his conduct, delusive.

In the course of their inquiries after arms, a party of more than 30,000, conducted by M. Ethis de Corny, repaired to the *Hôtel des Invalides*. M. Sombreuil, the governor, had received orders so early as on Sunday the 12th to hold himself in readiness for an attack, and his men had remained during the whole of Monday under arms; and on the morning of Tuesday he permitted them to take a few hours rest. At this moment M. de Corny arrived; and, on making known to the governor the object of his mission, he was answered, that the invalids had not any arms. M. Corny was re-conducted by M. Sombreuil to the gate; but it was no sooner opened than the multitude rushed in, in an irresistible torrent, and in a few minutes ransacked every part of the hôtel. More than 30,000 muskets, and twenty pieces of cannon, were the fruit of this expedition. On the opposite side of the Seine a similar event occurred; there another party attacked the *garde-muble de la couronne*, and from that ancient store an immense number of weapons of different kinds were procured.

It has been generally believed that the taking of the Bastille was the preconcerted effort of reviving liberty; but this was really not the case. Some of the most important actions which have been achieved by courage or activity, have in their origin been directed by that imperceptible chain of events which human blindness terms accident or

chance. Like the *Hôtel des Invalides*, the Bastille had from the first moment of the alarms in Paris been put in a state of defence. Fifteen pieces of cannon were mounted on the towers; and three field-pieces, loaded with grape and case shot, guarded the first gate. An immense quantity of powder and military stores had been brought from the arsenal, and distributed to the different corps; the mortars had been exercised, the draw-bridge and gates strengthened and repaired; the house of the governor himself was fortified, and guarded by light pieces of artillery. The shortness of the time had not permitted him to be equally provident in laying in a sufficient store of provisions. The forces which the fortress included were chiefly foreigners. On the morning of the 14th, several deputations had waited on the marquis de Launay, the governor, to demand arms and peace: they were courteously received by him, and he gave them the strongest assurances of his good intentions. Indeed, it is said, that he was himself averse to hostile measures, had he not been seduced by the perfidious counsels of the *sieur Louis de Flue*, commander of the Swiss guards, by the orders of the baron de Bezenval, and by the promises of M. de Flelles. The Swiss soldiers had even been engaged by an oath to fire on the invalids who were in the fortress, if they refused to obey the governor; and the invalids themselves, it is said, were intoxicated with a profusion of liquor which had been distributed among them.

At about eleven o'clock in the morning, M. de la Rosiere, a deputy of the district of St. Louis de la Culture, waited on the governor, and was accompanied by a mixed multitude of all descriptions. He entered

entered alone into the house of the governor, and the people remained in the outer court. "I come, sir," said the deputy, "in the name of the nation, to represent to you, that the cannons which are levelled against the city from the towers of the Bastille have excited the most alarming apprehensions, and I must intreat that you will remove them." The governor replied, "that it was not in his power to remove the guns, as they had always been there, without an order from the king; that he would, however, dismount them, and turn them out of the embrasures." The deputy having with difficulty obtained leave from M. de Lofme, major of the fortress, to enter into the interior court, summoned the officers and soldiers in the name of honour and their country to alter the direction of the guns, &c.—and the whole of them, at the desire even of the governor, engaged themselves by oath to make no use of their arms, unless attacked. M. de la Rofiere, after having ascended one of the towers with M. de Launay, went out of the castle, promising to engage the citizens to send a part of the national guard to do the duty of the Bastille in conjunction with the troops.

The deputy had scarcely retired before a number of citizens approached the gate, and demanded arms and ammunition. As the majority of them were unarmed, and announced no hostile intention, M. de Launay made no difficulty of receiving them, and lowered the first draw-bridge to admit them. The more determined of the party advanced to acquaint him with the object of their mission: but they had scarcely entered the first court, than the bridge was drawn up, and a general discharge of musketry de-

stroyed the greater part of these unfortunate people.

The motives of the governor for this apparent act of perfidy have never been explained, and it cannot be sufficiently regretted that the rash justice of the populace did not allow him to enter on his defence before some impartial court. All, therefore, that can be said at present is, that its immediate effect was to raise the resentment of the people almost to phrensy. The instantaneous determination was to storm the fortress, and the execution was as vigorous as the resolution was daring. An immense multitude, armed with muskets, sabres, &c. rushed at once into the outer courts. A soldier of the name of Tournay climbed over the corps-de-garde, and leaped alone into the interior court. After searching in vain for the keys of the draw-bridges in the corps-de-garde, he called out for a hatchet—he soon broke the locks and the bolts; and being seconded by the efforts of the people on the other side, the two draw-bridges were immediately lowered. The people lost no time in making good their station, where for more than an hour they sustained a most severe fire from the garrison, and answered it with equal vigour.

During the contest several deputations from the Hôtel de Ville appeared before the walls with flags of truce, intending to persuade the besieged to a peaceful surrender: but either they were not discovered amidst the general confusion, or, what is more probable, M. de Launay despaired of finding mercy at the hands of the populace, and still flattered himself with some delusive hope of deliverance. The guards, who now acted openly with the people, proved of essential service; and, by the advice of some of the veter-

rans of this corps, three waggons loaded with straw were set on fire under the walls, the smoke of which interrupted the view, and consequently intercepted the aim of the besieged; while the assailants, being at a greater distance, were able to direct their fire to the battlements with an unerring aim. In the mean time the arsenal was stormed, and a most dreadful havoc was prevented there by the prudence and courage of M. Humbert, who first mounted the towers of the Bastille: a hair-dresser was in the very act of setting fire to the magazine of powder, when M. H. whose notice was attracted by the cries of a woman, knocked the desperado down with the butt-end of his musket—next, instantly seizing a barrel of salt-petre which had already caught fire, and turning it upside down, he was happy enough to extinguish it.

Nothing could equal the ardour and spirit of the besiegers; an immense crowd, as if unconscious of danger, filled the courts of the fortress in spite of the unremitted fire of the garrison, and even approached so near the towers, that M. de Launay himself frequently rolled large masses of stone from the platform upon their heads. Within, all was confusion and terror; the officers themselves served at the guns, and discharged their firelocks in the ranks. But when the governor saw the assailants take possession of the first bridge, and draw up their cannon against the second, his courage then was changed into despair, and even his understanding appeared to be deranged. He rashly sought to bury himself under the enormous mass, which he had in vain attempted to defend. While a turnkey was engaged in distributing wine to the soldiers, he caught the match from one of the pieces of cannon, and ran

to the magazine with an intention to set it on fire: but a subaltern of the name of Ferrand repulsed him with his bayonet. He then went down to the *tour de la liberté*, where he had deposited a quantity of powder: but here also he was opposed by the *sieur* Beguard, another subaltern officer, who thus prevented an act of insanity which must have destroyed thousands of citizens, and with the Bastille would have infallibly blown up all the adjacent buildings, and a considerable part of the suburb of St. Antoine. De Launay at length proposed seriously to the garrison to blow up the fortress, as it was impossible that they could hope for mercy from the mob. But he was answered by the soldiers, that they would rather perish than destroy in this insidious manner such a number of their fellow-citizens. He then hung out a white flag, intimating his desire to capitulate; and a Swiss officer would have addressed the assailants through one of the loopholes of the draw-bridge—but the hour was past, and the exasperated populace would attend to no offer of capitulation. Through the same opening he next displayed a paper, which the distance prevented the besiegers from reading. A person brought a plank, which was rested on the parapet, and poised by a number of others. The brave unknown advanced upon the plank; but just as he was ready to seize the paper, he received a musket shot, and fell into the ditch. He was followed by a young man of the name of Mailard, son to an officer of the chateau, who was fortunate enough to reach the paper, the contents of which were—"We have twenty thousand pounds weight of gun-powder, and will blow up the garrison and all its environs, if you do not accept the capitulation."—M. Elie,

an officer of the queen's regiment, who was invested with a kind of spontaneous authority, was for agreeing to terms; but the people indignantly rejected the very word capitulation, and immediately drew up to the spot three pieces of artillery.

The enemy now perceiving that the great bridge was going to be attacked, let down the small draw-bridge, which was to the left of the entrance into the fortress. Messrs. Elie, Hulin, Maillard, Reole, Humbert, Tournay, and some others, leaped instantly on the bridge, and, securing the bolts, proceeded to the door. In the mean time the French guards, preserving their habitual coolness and discipline, formed a column on the other side of the bridge, to prevent the citizens from rushing upon it in too great numbers. An invalid came to open the gate behind the draw-bridge, and asked the invaders what they wanted? "The surrender of the Bastille," they cried, and he permitted them to enter. The conquerors immediately lowered the great bridge, and the multitude entered without resistance—the invalids were ranged to the right, and the Swiss on the left hand, and their arms piled against the wall. They took off their hats, clapped their hands, and cried out *bravo* as the besiegers entered. The first moments of this meeting passed in peace and reconciliation; but some soldiers on the platforms, ignorant of the surrender, unhappily fired upon the people; who suspecting a second act of perfidy, fell upon the invalids, two of whom, the unfortunate Beguard, who had prevented the governor from blowing up the Bastille, and another equally innocent, were dragged to the *Place de Grève*, and hanged.

The sieurs Maillard, Cholat,

Arné, and some others, dispute the honour of having first seized M. de Launay. He was not in a uniform, but in a plain grey frock: he had a cane in his hand, and would have killed himself with the sword that it contained, but the grenadier Arné wrested it out of his hand. He was escorted by Messrs. Hulin, Arné, Legris, Elie, and some others, and every effort was exerted by these patriots to save his life, but in vain—they had scarcely arrived at the Hôtel de Ville before his defenders were overpowered, and even wounded by the enraged populace, and he fell under a thousand wounds. M. de Losme Salbrai, his major, a gentleman distinguished for his virtues and his humanity, was also the victim of the popular fury. The marquis de Pelleport, who had been five years in the Bastille, and during that time had been treated by him with particular kindness, interposed to save him at the risk of his life, but was struck down by a hatchet, and M. de Losme was instantly put to death. The heads of the governor and the major were struck off, and carried on pikes through the streets of the city. The rage of the populace would not have ended here—the invalids who defended the fortress would all have been sacrificed, had not the humanity of the French guards interposed, and insisted on their pardon.

The keys of the Bastille were carried to M. Brissot de Warville, who had been a few years before an inhabitant of these caverns of despotism; and a guard of 3000 men was appointed over the fortress till the council at the Hôtel de Ville should decree its demolition. In the intoxication of success the prisoners were forgotten; and as the keys had been carried to Paris, the

dungeons were forced open—seven prisoners only were found, three of whom had lost their reason, having been detained there as state prisoners from the reign of Louis XV.

Thus, by the irresistible enthusiasm of liberty, in a few hours was reduced that fortress which mercenary armies had considered as impregnable, and which had been in vain besieged by the force of the great Condé for upwards of three weeks.

The fate of M. de Launay involved that of M. de Flesselles, the *prévôt de marchands*. He had been long suspected of a design to betray the people; and all his manoeuvres evidently tended to that point. In the pocket of M. de Launay a letter from him was discovered, which contained these remarkable words—"I will amuse the Parisians with cockades and promises. Keep your station till the evening—you shall then have a reinforcement." At the sight of this letter the unfortunate de Flesselles was struck dumb—a voice was heard in the hall—"Begone, M. de F. you are a traitor."—"I see," said he, "gentlemen, that I am not agreeable to you—I shall retire."—He hastened down the stairs; but as he crossed the Grève, accompanied by a number of persons to defend him, a young man, who had waited an opportunity, shot him with a pistol. His head was cut off, placed on a pike, and carried through the streets along with that of M. de Launay.

A tumultuous night succeeded this wonderful day; and the songs of joy and triumph which had celebrated the victory of the people, were converted into confused murmurs expressive only of anxiety and alarm. A report was spread that the troops were about to enter the city at the *Barrière d'Enfer*: thither the citizens crowded under the conduct

of the French guards, and preceded by a train of artillery—the body of troops, however, that appeared in that quarter were dispersed by a single volley. The alarm-bells were then sounded; barricadoes were formed at the barriers; deep holes were dug in different parts, to prevent the approach of the cavalry; the tops of the houses were manned; a general illumination was ordered; and the silence of the night was interrupted by discharges of artillery, and by the warning voice of the patroles—"Citizens, do not go to bed; take care of your lights; we must see clearly this night."

The first news of the taking of the Bastille was regarded by the court as an imposture of the popular party: it was, however, at length irresistibly confirmed. The first resolves of the cabal are said to have been desperate, and orders were issued to the commanders to push the projected plot with all possible vigour. In the dead of the night, marshal Broglie is said to have arrived to inform them that it was impossible to obey the mandate he had received of investing the hall of the national assembly with a train of artillery, as the soldiers would not comply with his orders. "Pres then the siege of Paris," was the answer. The general replied, he could not depend on the army for the execution of that project.

The king was the only person in the palace who was kept totally ignorant of these transactions. The duke de Liancourt, a distinguished patriot, who was then master of the wardrobe, saved the state: he forced his way in the middle of the night into the king's apartment, informed him of every circumstance, and announced to the count d'Artois that a price was set upon his head. The intelligence of the duke was



supported by the authority of Monsieur, who accompanied him, and the king was immediately convinced that he had been deceived by evil counsels. Early the next morning the monarch appeared in the assembly, but without the pomp and parade of despotism. His address was affectionate and consolatory. He "lamented the disturbances at Paris; disavowed all consciousness of any meditated attack on the persons of the deputies; and added, that he had issued orders for the immediate removal of the troops from the vicinity of the metropolis." It is impossible to express the feelings of the assembly on this affecting occasion. —The tear of sympathy started in almost every eye.—An expressive silence first pervaded the assembly,

which presently was succeeded by a burst of applause and acclamation. The king rose to return to the palace; and the deputies, by a sudden impulse, formed a train of loyalty, in which all distinction of orders was forgotten, and accompanied him to the royal apartments. The joy became general throughout Versailles; the people flocked to the palace, where the queen, with the dauphin in her arms, shewed herself from a balcony. The music in the mean time played the pathetic air, *Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille*, which was only interrupted by shouts of loyalty, and exclamations of joy. On their return to the hall, the assembly appointed a deputation to convey this happy intelligence to the metropolis.

## CHAP. II.

*State of Paris after the Capture of the Bastille. Nomination of Mess. Bailly and La Fayette to the Offices of Mayor of Paris, and Commander in Chief of the National Guard. Te Deum sung at Paris in celebration of the taking of the Bastille. M. Neckar recalled. The King visits Paris. Dispersion of the Ministry. Murder of MM. Foulon and Berthier. Revolt in the Provinces. Affair of Quincey. Persecution of the Nobility. Private Correspondence held sacred. Triumphant Return of M. Neckar. Unpopular Act of the Electors of Paris. Outrages in the Provinces. Abolition of the Feudal System, &c. Projected Loans. Riot at Paris. Organization of the Municipality and Militia of the Metropolis. Debates on the King's Veto. On the Permanence of the Legislature. On two Chambers. New Scheme of Finance. Dreadful Insurrection of the 5th of October. The Royal Family remove from Versailles to Paris.*

PARIS, which had been an unhappy scene of commotion, of terror, and of bloodshed, from the 14th of July, began on the 15th to assume some appearance of order and tranquillity. The livid and bloody heads were still carried about the streets as trophies of popular resentment: but on the morning of that day a sensible citizen persuaded

the multitude to listen to the voice of humanity, and they were thrown into the Seine. The electors at the Hôtel de Ville laboured incessantly in the organization of the civil establishment, and in the regulation of the city militia. The odious name of *Prévôt* was abolished; the more ancient and honourable appellation of Mayor was substituted in its

its place ; and to this office M. Bailly, who had been president of the tiers état, was called by the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens.

In our detail of the late proceedings of the national assembly, we omitted to notice, that the duc d'Orléans, having been elected president of that body, had declined the honour, and that the venerable archbishop of Vienne had been chosen in his room. During the laborious sessions which succeeded the disgrace of M. Neckar, however, it was thought that his age and infirmities would scarcely allow him to exercise so difficult an office without the assistance of a younger person, and the marquis de la Fayette was unanimously nominated vice-president. A further distinction now awaited the disciple of Washington ; and his services to the state, his disinterested patriotism, and his abilities, pointed him out to the citizens as the only man fit to be entrusted with the important commission of general and commander in chief of the national guard.

The troops, which had assembled on the Champ de Mars, had decamped during the night, leaving their tents and the greater part of their baggage behind them : but a spectacle still more interesting to the citizens soon presented itself :—this was a deputation of eighty-four of the most distinguished members of the national assembly, accompanied by an immense crowd, who covered the road from Versailles to the capital, and loaded them with blessings, and the most unequivocal proofs of prodigal affection. The surprise and exultation of these patriots must have been extreme, when they beheld more than 100,000 citizens transformed into soldiers, all of them armed and already trained to military discipline. On their arrival at

the Hôtel de Ville, the marquis de la Fayette, count Lally Tolendal, the marquis Clermont Tonnerre, the duke de Liancourt, and the archbishop of Paris, addressed the people.—From this place they adjourned to the church of Notre Dame, where *Te Deum* was sung in celebration of the happy and cheerful return of peace accompanied with liberty. As they returned from the church, the acclamations of the populace were occasionally interrupted by the expression of two further demands, the wish of seeing their beloved sovereign in Paris, and the recall of the patriotic ministry. The deputies returned in the evening to Versailles.

Public tranquillity, however, when interrupted by circumstances of such importance as those we have just related, is not so easily restored. It was natural that the people should be jealous of their newly acquired liberties, and should view with suspicion transactions which in their intention were probably innocent. The ministry, which had shewn themselves so inimical to the cause of the people, were not yet dismissed, nor had the troops yet evacuated the environs of Paris : two fresh regiments had arrived at St. Denis ; a strange and unsuccessful attack had even been made on the Bastille, by a serjeant and two companies of guards ; and a convoy of flour had been intercepted by the orders of a person well known. The night of the 15th, therefore, was spent with the same anxiety, and with the same warlike preparations, as the preceding ; and in the morning a fresh deputation was sent to the assembly, entreating them to interest themselves in procuring the dismissal of the ministry, and the recall of M. Neckar.

After a short debate, which chiefly

ly respected the decorum of interfering with the appointments of the executive power, the assembly were on the point of voting a spirited address to the king, which had been proposed by Mirabeau, when they were informed that the ministers themselves had anticipated the wish of the assembly by giving in their resignations. The same evening, a letter from his majesty to M. Neckar, inviting him to return, was read by the president. It was received with the loudest acclamations, and was seconded by an address from the assembly themselves to that upright minister, couched in the strongest terms of affection and respect. The king having at the same time intimated his intention of visiting Paris the following day, the assembly immediately decreed a deputation to convey this exhilarating intelligence, and to calm the disquietude that prevailed in the metropolis.

It was not without consternation that the king's determination to visit Paris was received at the palace of Versailles. Those who really loved him were apprehensive for his safety; those who had been guilty of malversation were apprehensive for themselves. Rumours of projected assassinations were spread, and the least consequence that could ensue was supposed to be the detention of the sovereign in Paris. The king however, with a degree of courage and patriotism which does honour to his character, remained immovable in his determination. On the morning of the 17th he left Versailles, in a plain dress, and with no other equipage than two carriages with eight horses each; in the first of which he rode himself—a part of the national assembly, in their robes, accompanied him on foot; and the militia of Versailles

composed his only guard till the procession arrived at the Seve, where they were relieved by the Paris militia, with the marquis de la Fayette at their head; and from this place the suite of the monarch amounted to about 20,000 men. The horse-guards led the procession; and these were followed by the city cavalry; some battalions of the French guards and other soldiers, who had fought in defence of the nation, succeeded; then the different companies and corporations; and M. de la Fayette, with a large body of militia, brought up the rear. A quarter of an hour before the arrival of the king, whether from accident, or from some plot concerted by the enemies of liberty, a woman was shot by a musket-ball, from the opposite side of the river. The king looked pale and melancholy, and an expression of anxiety was even apparent in the faces of the national assembly. The progress was remarkably slow; and no shout was to be heard but *Vive la nation!* At the Barriere des Conferences, the king was met by M. Bailly, who acted as mayor, with the other magistrates.—M. Bailly, on presenting the keys of the city, addressed his majesty in a short but elegant speech, the exordium of which was:—"These, sir, are the keys which were presented to Henry IV. He came to reconquer his people; it is our happiness to have reconquered our king." At the Pont Neuf the passage was lined by a numerous train of artillery; but, in the true spirit of French gallantry, the mouths and touch-holes of the cannon were adorned with bouquets of flowers. On their arrival at the Hôtel de Ville, the king solemnly confirmed the election of M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette; and on receiving the complimentary ad-

dresses

dress of the mayor, the president of electors, count Lally Tolendal, &c. he exclaimed with an air of pathetic emotion, which scarcely allowed him utterance—"My people may always rely upon my affection." He received from the hands of the mayor the national cockade; and when he shewed himself at the window with this badge of patriotism, the joy of the people could no longer be restrained; the shout of *Vive le roi!* which had scarcely been heard in the former part of the day, filled the whole atmosphere, and resounded from one extremity of the city to the other. The return of the king to Versailles was a real triumph. The citizens, almost intoxicated with joy, surrounded his carriage; his countenance, which in the morning bore the aspect of melancholy, was now cheerful and smiling; and he appeared sincerely to partake in the general satisfaction.

The royal visit to Paris was the signal for the dispersion of the ministry. Marshal Broglio retired to Luxembourg; madame Polignac, in the habit of a waiting-woman, took the route of Brussels; even the count d'Artois, with his family, withdrew during the stillness of the night, and was followed by the princes of Condé and Conti, the duke de Luxembourg, and others of the nobility. But of all who were connected with the court, none was more odious than M. Foulon, who had long been obnoxious to the people, for his unfeeling tyranny and his insatiable avarice. This unfortunate person had risen from a very low situation in life to the possession of immense riches. He had been commissary to the army in the war of 1755, and by his rapacity and extortions is said to have irretrievably dishonoured the French

name in the provinces of Germany. He is said to have made a common boast of his depraved principles.—His favourite maxim was, that "that country would be best governed, where the common people should be compelled to feed upon grass;" and he had boasted, "that if ever it should be his good fortune to be minister, he would make the people of France live upon hay." On the first news of the riots in Paris he had withdrawn himself from the public eye, and had caused a report of his death to be industriously circulated, and his funeral had even been performed in a manner suitable to his immense riches. In the mean time he had secretly retired to Very, an estate belonging to M. de Sartines, where he was in hopes of remaining concealed: but his character commanded no man's affection, and the general unfeelingness of his heart left him without a friend. His own vassals were the first to pursue and detect him; and on the 22d of July he was brought to Paris with a bundle of hay at his back, in allusion to the language which he is said to have employed in expressing his contempt for the people. The committee at the Hôtel de Ville determined to send him to the prison of the abbey St. Germain, where he might be detained till the return of tranquillity should afford him an impartial trial: but the immense crowd which was assembled in the Place de Grève, resisted this determination. It was with difficulty M. Bailly could make himself heard, when he urged with all the eloquence of humanity the flagrant injustice of condemning a citizen to death without hearing him in his own defence.—The marquis de la Fayette took still more popular ground by urging the detention of the criminal, in the hope of obtain-  
ing

ing from him a discovery of his accomplices. To this demand the populace appeared to assent by their tokens of applause: but the unhappy Foulon, whether in testimony of his innocence, or by a mechanical movement, clapped his hands at the same time in approbation. A general exclamation was immediately raised:—"They are conniving at his guilt; they intend to save him." He was immediately seized, and dragged under the fatal lamp-iron, which during the revolution the populace had employed as the instrument of their vengeance. Every circumstance of horror attended his execution: the rope, by which he was suspended, broke twice; and he was detained for a quarter of an hour in a half expiring state, before a new one could be procured. His head was cut off and placed upon a pike, with the mouth stuffed with hay, and was carried through the streets of Paris. This victim of popular fury was 74 years of age.

M. Berthier, who had married the daughter of M. Foulon, was implicated in the fate of his father-in-law, and was perhaps odious to the people from the exercise of an arbitrary and oppressive employment, the intendant of police. He had been seized at Compiègne, and one of the electors, with 400 horse, had been dispatched to conduct him to Paris. He also was accused of speculation and extortion, of being the principal agent in regulating the movements of the camp at St. Denis, and of the still more unpopular crime of speculating in grain, and contributing to the general scarcity. Unhappily for him, he arrived in Paris the very evening in which the populace had imbrued their hands in the blood of his relation; his death was therefore inevitable. If how-

ever he did not suffer innocently, he sustained his unhappy fate with courage and dignity. During the greater part of the way he conversed tranquilly with M. Riviere, the elector who accompanied him. When he entered the city, however, the bloody head of his father-in-law was presented to him, and at this dreadful sight he is said to have turned pale, and to have lost his fortitude. When interrogated at the Hôtel de Ville as to his conduct, he answered calmly: "That he had obeyed the orders of his superiors, and that the inspection of his papers would instruct them as to the extent of his guilt." It was determined to send him immediately to the abbey; but it was impossible to penetrate the concourse of people that surrounded the hôtel. It was in vain that M. Bailly opposed his utmost eloquence to the fury of the multitude; in vain the commander in chief prostrated himself on his knees to entreat that the popular cause should no more be defiled with blood. Numerous as his escort was, they were soon dispersed, and he was dragged to the fatal lamp-iron, where a new cord was already prepared for him. His despair inspired him with new courage; and snatching a bayonet out of the hands of one of the guards, he attempted to defend himself, if not from death, at least from ignominy.—He fell pierced with innumerable wounds.—A monster of inhumanity, a dragoon, plunged his hand into his reeking entrails, and tearing out his heart, and fixing it on the point of his cutlass, carried it as a trophy through the streets. The head was also cut off, and carried about along with that of M. Foulon.

It is said that the dragoon, who in this brutal manner tore out the heart of M. Berthier, did it in revenge

venge for the death of a father: be this as it may, his comrades were so completely disgusted with the barbarity of the action, that they determined to fight him successively till by his death they had removed the dishonour which it fixed upon their corps. He fought, and was killed the same evening.

To apologize for such actions would be in some degree to partake of their criminality. Wretched is the fate of that nation which is obliged to employ the agency of a mob to counteract the usurpations of tyranny. If, however, we candidly consider the grievances and oppressions under which the people of France had for centuries languished; if we consider the licentiousness inherent in the canaille of a populous city, and how prone human nature is to the abuse of power; if we recollect the individual provocations and injuries which men suffer from persons high in office under an arbitrary government, perhaps we shall rather wonder that the victims of popular resentment were so few. In justice also to the insurgents of Paris, it must be recorded, that while, under the mistaken sentiment of revenging the oppressions of their government, they involved themselves in the guilt of murder, they were still superior to such a crime as theft. The bodies of the marquis de Launay and of the major of the Bastille lay exposed in the Place de Grève for a number of hours, and neither their watches or any one of their valuables were even touched by the mob; and when M. Foulon was massacred, his pockets were full of money and bank-notes, which were taken carefully out by some of the mob, and deposited before the committee on the table of the Hôtel de Ville. On what foundation we cannot pretend to say, but it has been

advanced by the popular party, that with respect to Mess. Foulon and Berthier, the people were made the blind instruments of private enmity, or of their accomplices themselves; who probably saw no other means of concealing the atrociousness of their own conduct from public enquiry. From the windows of the Hôtel de Ville a number of persons of superior appearance were observed exciting the populace to outrage, and who appeared to be the main springs of all their motions. These could scarcely be friends to the popular cause, since nothing could involve it in such disgrace as the perpetration of these barbarities.

This day of horror and of blood filled indeed every good citizen with disgust and apprehension—they trembled lest they should have only exchanged one tyranny for another, and condemned in the strongest terms these gulfs of inhumanity, these bloody proscriptions, these outrages against public justice. The marquis de la Fayette in particular was so much exasperated by this contempt of all authority, that he determined at once to resign his office of commander in chief: happily for France, the eloquence of M. Bailly had sufficient influence to prevail with him to resume it.

The example of the capital gave the signal for revolt in all the provinces; and it was no sooner understood that a conspiracy had been formed against the liberties of the nation, than all the citizens became soldiers, and all the soldiers citizens.

At Rennes, the capital of Brittany, the young men took up arms about the 20th of July, seized the arsenal, and the principal posts, and raised at once the standard of liberty. The count de Langeron, who commanded there, marched out against them,

them, at the head of the regiments d'Artois and Lorraine, and the dragoons d'Orleans: but the soldiers were no sooner drawn up in order of battle than they unanimously shouted *Vive la nation!* Eight hundred immediately joined the patriotic standard, and the rest returned to their barracks, after having taken a solemn oath, not to stain their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens. In the mean time the principal people being assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, they decreed the suspension of all levies and contributions on the part of the king or the feudal lords; deputations were sent to every town in Brittany; the whole province was presently in arms to support the public cause; and all declared themselves ready to march, if necessary, to the relief of the national assembly. The commanding officer, finding all his efforts in vain, retired from the province.

At St. Malo, the younger citizens determined to form two divisions, one of horse, and the other of foot, and to proceed immediately to the national assembly, to participate with them the danger or the glory of saving their country. As they were without artillery, their first step was to take possession of the city fort, and that of the Chateau Neuf, in order to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition. The commandant reinforced each of the fortresses, but in vain; the soldiers declared they would not act, and the citizens by some stratagem got possession of the keys. It is pleasing to add, that they made the happiest use of their success; they resisted the revengeful impulse which would lead them to punish the obduracy of the king's lieutenant, and respected human life even in an enemy.

The city of Bourdeaux has been always distinguished by its attach-

ment to liberty. On the fatal night of St. Bartholomew, the chief magistrate of this city was among the few who contended for the rights of humanity in opposition to the blind dictates of fanaticism. On the present occasion, the members of the parliament enrolled themselves voluntarily in the city militia, and mounted guard along with the other inhabitants; and the governor of the castle, animated by a similar spirit, presented the keys to a deputation of citizens. A statue of M. Neckar was elevated on a pedestal hastily erected for the purpose, and was crowned with a garland of laurel.

The duke de Liancourt succeeded the archbishop of Vienne as president of the national assembly. One of the first circumstances which signalized his presidency, was the permission which was granted by the king to the French guards to enrol themselves among the national militia: in the mean time, addresses expressive of the highest degree of patriotism and confidence, poured in upon the assembly from all parts of the kingdom; and there appeared no visible obstruction to the consummation of its patriotic labours.

The task, however, was not quite so easy as at first sight we might be disposed to conclude:—besides the enmity of those who subsisted by the corruptions of the former government, the assembly had to contend with other difficulties, and the approach of famine was not the least calamity with which the nation was threatened.

The hasty exile of M. Neckar had frustrated the plans which he had laid for the acquisition of subsistence. An actual scarcity took place; the granaries and magazines were pillaged; and bands of ruffians were dispersed over the country, and increased the

the scarcity by their desperate ravages. The enemies of the revolution took advantage of this state of things, to disturb and agitate the popular mind by alarming reports. It was even believed that they monopolized the grain themselves, in order to cast an odium on their opposers. Among the riots excited upon these occasions none were more disgraceful than those at St. Germain and Poissy—to the latter of which a deputation was sent from the national assembly, with the humane bishop of Chartres at their head. They arrived just time enough to save an innocent person of the name of Thomassin, though the fatal cord was already round his neck.

These proceedings, joined with the affair of M. Foulon, determined the assembly on the 23d of July to publish a proclamation, inviting all good citizens to the maintenance of order and government; and declaring that to try and punish for all crimes of *lese-nation*, was the sole prerogative of the assembly, till, by the constitution which it was about to establish, a regular tribunal should be instituted for the punishment of such offences.

On the 25th the assembly was thrown into the utmost consternation by the report of M. Punelle, one of the deputies of Franche-Comté, who related that M. de Mesmay, a counsellor to the parliament of Besançon and lord of Quincey, had invited the people of his neighbourhood, and the officers of the garrison of Vesoul, to celebrate, at his castle of Quincey, the happy union of the three orders of the state. The entertainment was sumptuous, and the best wines were distributed with a liberal hand; but amidst this scene of festivity, the company were at once dispersed by a dreadful explosion of gunpowder, and some persons were even killed upon the spot.

It is easy to conceive the horror and indignation which such a representation must inspire. The president of the assembly was instantly directed to wait upon the king, to request that the transaction might be immediately inquired into; and he was further requested to give orders to his minister for foreign affairs, to claim any of the parties who might have taken refuge in foreign countries.

It was some time before the matter could be investigated, nor has it ever been cleared up to general satisfaction. The best account that has been given of it is, that three drunken soldiers having gone to sleep in the pavilion, and having procured a light, a barrel of gunpowder which was kept there accidentally exploded, and the soldiers, and they only, fell the victims of their indiscretion.

Unfounded, however, as these reports concerning M. Mesmay appear to have been, their effects were more or less felt by all the nobility of France. The populace of the neighbourhood would have immediately pulled down the castle of Quincey, but were prevented by the militia and citizens of Besançon. In other places, as soon as the report was received, riots were excited, some castles were ransacked, and two or three gentlemen of irreproachable characters lost their lives.

In this period of general distrust, we cannot wonder that even circumstances trifling in themselves should produce new troubles. The baron de Castelnau, resident in France from Geneva, was arrested on the Pont Royal; and the moment he was arrested he tore in pieces a letter; but the fragments were carefully collected, and transmitted, with three other open letters found upon him,



by M. Bailly to the duke de Liancourt. When the packet arrived there were but few members in the hall, and the delicacy of the president would not permit him to keep open letters in his possession. Considering also that the assembly was invested with no executive power, he thought it his duty to send back the packet to M. Bailly, not doubting but it would be produced when called for. A long and important discussion of this business ensued. On the one side, it was proposed by the count de Chatenai, M. Reubel, and others, "that all intercepted letters should be deposited in a proper place for the inspection of a committee of the assembly; and that the papers found in the Bastille should be collected, in order to form a history of the crimes of the old government, which would serve as a kind of preface to the constitution." On the other hand, it was urged by M. Camus—"That all the instructions of their constituents had consecrated the inviolability of private correspondence; that the national assembly ought not to set the example of a public breach of faith; and that the only exception ought to regard the correspondence of those persons who are actually in the hands of justice."—The bishop of Langres observed, "that all ages had applauded the generosity of Pompey, who committed to the flames the letters which the senators had addressed to Sertorius." M. Duport remarked, "that the advantage was dubious, and the danger manifest: that the most virtuous citizen, and the greatest of men, M. Turgot, had been ruined by a fictitious correspondence." The assembly, much to its honour, decreed, that in such a case there was no room for debate. Thus the sanctity of private correspondence was held inviolate; and in the

midst of treasons and conspiracies, while the national assembly was engaged in the great work of establishing liberty, it declared itself above employing or imitating any of the disgraceful resources of tyranny.

Among the alarms and reports to which the unsettled state of France at this time gave rise, a very formidable rumour was circulated, That the court of London was disposed to take advantage of the troubles of the nation—That the English fleets in both Indies had already commenced the attack—and that St. Domingo and Pondicherry were already among the number of their conquests. So injurious a calumny could not be overlooked by the ambassador of Great Britain. He wrote immediately to the minister, the count de Montmorin, disclaiming on the part of his court every hostile intention, and, in corroboration of his assertion, appealing to his recollection, that in the beginning of June a plot had been concerted for seizing the port of Brest, by certain persons who claimed the countenance and protection of Great Britain; but that the proposal had been rejected with indignation by the English cabinet, and that he (the duke of Dorset) had immediately apprised the French ministry of the danger.

The letter of the ambassador being read in the assembly, and communicated to the people of Paris, sufficiently quieted every apprehension concerning the interference of Great Britain; and to prevent in future the interruption of the national business, a committee of twelve members was immediately appointed to take cognizance of every report or information which respected the public safety.

The consequences of the duke of Dorset's letter were more serious in the province of Brittany. The plot

which he had mentioned against Brest was immediately laid to the charge of the nobility; and the enemies of some of that body, who had shewn themselves averse to the revolution, industriously represented them to the people as the criminals. Several were arrested, and confined in the castles of Nantes and St. Malo. The nobility of the province appealed to the justice of the national assembly, and entreated that the duke of Dorset might be requested to give more precise documents, that the criminality might no longer be extended to all the ancient families of a respectable quarter of the kingdom; but might attach to those only who were really concerned. The assembly referred the investigation to the executive power; but declared at the same time their opinion, that the evidence appeared so vague and indirect, that the gentlemen ought to be liberated.

A letter from M. Neckar, in answer to the requisition of the assembly, was received on the 27th of July. It was dated Basil, and was expressive of his gratitude and devotion to their commands. Posterity will regard it as an incident more resembling the visions of romance than the occurrences of real life, that the first intimation he received of the revolution was from the mouth of the duchess de Polignac, his bitterest enemy. M. Neckar had quitted Brussels in the determination of retiring from public life, and forgetting his disgrace and his unsuccessful labours in the peaceful retirement of his estate in the vicinity of Geneva. In his way thither, he arrived at Basil accidentally at the very moment when madame Polignac, in her precipitate flight, stopped at that city. We may easily conceive his surprise when an interview was requested by

that lady; but it must have been still greater, when she acquainted him with the surprising revolution of which his exile had been the proximate occasion. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, he determined, without hesitation, to resume his office.—“I would rather,” said he, “expose myself to danger than to remorse.” He waited at Basil till he received the orders of the king, and then followed immediately the courier who announced his approach.

As he passed through Villenau, on the road from Nogent to Versailles, he was informed that the baron de Bezenval, commandant of the Swiss guards, who had acted under marshal Broglio, was arrested by the militia of that place, and that his life was in danger. The humanity of M. Neckar was immediately interested, and he wrote in the carriage the following short note to the municipal officers of Villenau:

“I know to a certainty, gentlemen, that the baron de Bezenval, who has been arrested by the militia of Villenau, had the king's permission to return to Switzerland, his own country. I entreat, gentlemen, that you will respect this permission, of which I am your guarantee, and I shall consider myself as under a particular obligation. Every motive that can affect a feeling mind impels me to make this request, &c.”

Pressing as was this requisition, it was not complied with, as the municipal officers determined, that before the baron should be released, it was proper to consult the permanent committee at the Hôtel de Ville.

The passage of M. Neckar through France, was more gratifying to the human feelings than the most

most distinguished triumph of the most celebrated conqueror. He was followed by the acclamations, not of servile multitudes, but of a free people; who saluted him not as their governor, but as their deliverer, their father, their tutelary genius. In Paris the news of his arrival was celebrated like that of a splendid victory; and the exultation visible in every countenance evinced, that every Frenchman considered the republic as in safety when committed to his care. On the 29th of July, the day after his return, he repaired to the national assembly, to render his respects to that august body. He was introduced by four gentlemen ushers, and every mark of attention and respect was paid to this martyr in the public cause; this minister, who taught the sovereign to respect the rights of the people, and who instructed the multitude in their duty to the throne. The president complimented him on his arrival in a very elegant address, which, in honour both of the speaker and the minister, was directed to be printed.

Even these testimonies of esteem, however, appear little when compared with the splendour of his reception in Paris: that city, which so much exceeded the rest of the kingdom in wealth, population, and magnificence, exceeded every other part in its zeal for liberty, and its joy on the restoration of its favourite minister. On the morning of the 30th, the day he had appointed for visiting the metropolis, numerous detachments of infantry and cavalry were stationed on the road to Versailles to meet him. He arrived in a coach and four, with M. St. Priest, his colleague, who had participated in his principles, and in his disgrace. At half past twelve they reached the Hôtel de Ville,

amidst the acclamations of thousands.—M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette, with the 120 representatives of the commune, received him in the great hall; where he was complimented by M. Bailly in a strain of eloquence in which dignity was happily blended with simplicity. The speech of M. Neckar, in reply, was distinguished by that pathetic sweetness of expression which marks all his compositions. “He expressed his gratitude in modest terms, and informed them that the king had received him in the kindest manner, and assured him of his entire confidence. He observed, however, that the whole welfare of the state was now placed in their hands, and in those of the national assembly: from this circumstance he took occasion most earnestly to recommend the re-establishment of order and government. He entreated them, in the name of Heaven, that the world should hear no more of proscriptions; no more of such bloody scenes as had so lately been acted. From this topic he passed to the baron de Bezenval, to whose merits, in his station, he bore honourable testimony; and entreated, in the most persuasive terms, that he might be set at liberty. He even went further, and insisted on a general amnesty, as the only measure consistent with their honour, and with the restoration of liberty.” The enthusiasm of humanity communicated itself from the orator to all his auditors, and an amnesty was unanimously decreed by the general assembly of the electors of Paris.

That the assembly of electors in this instance transgressed the powers constitutionally vested in them, cannot be doubted; and unfortunately too many were interested both in the repeal of the amnesty, and in lower-

ing the consequence of the elective body, to permit such an act to pass without animadversion. It was scarcely made known before the sixty districts of Paris were in the most violent agitation.—They exclaimed, that the electors, delegated for the sole purpose of choosing deputies to the states-general, had assumed new powers, and could only have in view the perpetuating of their own authority. They had indeed, during the moments of popular confusion, submitted to the orders of this body, because some active and directing principle was then wanting; but the present step they considered as trenching on the authority of the national assembly, without precedent, without excuse. The enemies of the minister eagerly grasped the opportunity to lessen him in the public esteem. They insinuated, that he would sacrifice the public welfare to his own ambition; and that he wished to save the baron de Bezenval, only from a conviction that it would render him particularly agreeable to the court: that the whole of the conspirators would speedily return in triumph, insolently to brave the resentment of the nation, and to vent their cruelty on the defenders of liberty. These injurious insinuations were unhappily too favourably received; the alarm-bells were sounded, the Place de Grève re-echoed with frightful menaces, even at the precise time when at the Palais Royal the return of M. Neckar was celebrated with concerts and illuminations. The electors, alarmed, immediately issued a proclamation explanatory of their former resolution, “which, they asserted, implied no assumption of judicial authority to condemn or acquit the enemies of the nation; but was to be understood simply as a declaration that the citizens from

that day would punish no man but according to law.”—They dispatched messengers at the same time to prevent the liberation of Bezenval; and closed all by a formal renunciation of the powers which, they said, only the necessities of the times had compelled them to assume.

These facts were no sooner communicated to the national assembly, than they produced an interesting and important debate among the friends of liberty. Some, in particular Mess. Lally Tolendal, Mounier, Clermont Tonnerre, and Garat the younger, supported the sacred principle of civil liberty, that no person ought to be arrested without a positive accusation. “Let us not be told,” said they, “of the popular clamours: if a mere suspicion be called a popular clamour, what citizen can be assured for a moment of that liberty which we are seated here to protect?”

Mess. Gleizen, Robertspierre, Mirabeau, and Barnave, replied:—“That the present question was not relative to the general principles of civil liberty:—that the people had a right to arrest a man who had publicly appeared at the head of their enemies, and who fled the kingdom at the instant when the assembly announced its intention of prosecuting the enemies of the nation. M. Bezenval, they urged, is accused by the voice of the public:—if he is innocent, let him be acquitted; if he is guilty, let him be punished. The object at present is to preserve him from the fury of the multitude, to declare him under the safeguard of the law. A legal prosecution only can prevent popular outrage.”

The debate concluded in a resolution “approving of the explanation which the electors had given of their decree; adding, that if a generous nation prohibited proscription, it was still the duty of the representatives

presentatives to take care that justice should be duly executed;—and that, as to the person of the baron de Bezenval, it was to remain in secure custody near the place where he was arrested, he being from that time under the safeguard of the law."

M. de Bezenval had been in the mean time conducted to Briec-Comte-Robert, where he was committed to the castle, which was put in a posture of defence. It was fortunate for him, that the courier dispatched by the assembly to prevent his being brought to Paris used extraordinary diligence. Thirty thousand desperadoes waited for him at the Grève, where a gallows and a rope were made ready; and every thing announced the renewal of the horrid scenes which had so lately been acted.

Had he indeed entered the city, no human power could have saved him.

The affair of M. de Bezenval was not the only circumstance which at this tumultuous period outraged the sensibility and interrupted the proceedings of the national assembly. At St. Denis, near Paris, a most horrid murder was committed. The *sieur* Chatel, lieutenant to the mayor, was charged with the distribution of corn there; and the bread which the bakers offered for sale not proving agreeable to the mob, a riot was excited. The personal enemies of M. Chatel, and those who were disaffected to the new order of things, assiduously mingled in the mob. After a vigorous defence, this unfortunate gentleman escaped to the belfry of the collegiate church; but was discovered by a child, and pursued immediately by the multitude. There the savages fastening the bell-ropes round his neck, and pulling them different ways, inhumanly

strangled him; and what adds to the atrociousness of the crime is, that he was a gentleman of known worth, and of great humanity; a friend of liberty, and the patron of the poor.

It is some time before a people can learn how to be free. At Caen in Normandy, disturbances similar to those in Paris took place in a few days after the revolution. The circumstance which gave rise to these fatal broils, is said to be as follows: Some soldiers of the regiment of Artois came either by accident or on business to Caen, and were decorated with medals, as the honourable marks of their devotion to the cause of liberty and their country. These patriotic soldiers, who were unarmed, were insulted by some dragoons of the regiment of Bourbon, who, after an unequal though bloody combat, robbed them of their medals. The wounded men complained to the citizens; and the marquis de Belzune, who was major of the dragoons, was accused of having excited his soldiers to this atrocious conduct. The people immediately took to their arms; the municipal officers, as well as those of the regiment, exerted themselves to prevent the effusion of blood. M. de Belzune protested his innocence, and offered to appear at the Hôtel de Ville, where he would render them the most convincing proofs. The regiment, however, would not permit him to proceed, unless they had hostages for his safe return; which were immediately given. The unfortunate major bravely delivered himself into the hands of the multitude; and the national guard surrounded him, with a view of conducting him to the citadel, where he might be in safety. In the mean time the marquis de Harcourt, commander in chief of the province, ordered

ordered the regiment out of the town; and tranquillity appeared so completely re-established, that the hostages were set at liberty. The regiment was however scarcely out of the boundaries, than the insurrection rekindled; the mob broke in upon the national guard, and murdered the unfortunate marquis de Belzune, with every circumstance of barbarity.

The city of Strasbourg was also the theatre of some bloody scenes. This city, when it became united to France, had preserved its ancient form of government, which was originally democratic, but had degenerated insensibly (as all institutions purely democratic generally will) into an aristocracy. The people, therefore, disgusted with the usurpations of the magistracy, had for a considerable period only waited an opportunity to revolt; and the news of the taking of the Bastille excited a universal ferment. A general illumination took place on the night of the 20th of July; and those houses which did not follow the example, had the windows presently demolished by the populace.—The city continued in a state of uproar till the 22d; during which time the magistrates had pacified the more respectable citizens; and all would have been quiet, had not a band of ruffians, from the German side of the Rhine, insinuated themselves into the city during the troubles. At about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, the Hôtel de Ville was invaded by this banditti, and the succeeding night and morning the city was on fire in several places: the citizens, however, joining with the soldiery, orders were at length given to charge the mob, many of whom were killed by the soldiers, and a few were afterwards executed; the greater part of whom

were foreigners from the other side of the river. The city, however, continued under a kind of military discipline till the 6th of August, when another riot ensued from the intemperance of the soldiers; but was quieted by the timely interference of the count de Rochambeau, commander in chief of the province.

Hitherto, in the midst of these disastrous events, the assembly itself had preserved a degree of unanimity, from the time when the orders became united, which gave a force and dignity to all its proceedings. The latent seeds of discord, however, germinated within its constitution; and the first appearance of disorder was at the time when a successor was to be chosen to the duke de Liancourt. M. Thouret, a celebrated advocate of Rouen, a distinguished patriot, and a most excellent citizen, was elected by a considerable majority to the president's chair. The scrutiny was no sooner declared, than a considerable party expressed the strongest dissatisfaction, and, it is said, even proceeded to threats. M. Thouret, however, had the magnanimity and patriotism to decline the high honour that awaited him, and M. Chappelier, one of the deputies of Brittany, was elected in his stead.

The assembly had been assiduously employed for some time on the great question of a declaration of the natural rights of men and citizens; and the debates upon this subject were full of ingenious disquisition, and profound moral and political speculation. On the 4th of August, however, this body saw the object of its deliberations take a very different course; and instead of metaphysical discussion, and abstract reasoning, it was at once turned to decisive measures, and those the boldest and most interesting, perhaps, that ever

ever distinguished the proceedings of a legislative assembly.

The committee of reports, after having exhibited an affecting picture of the public and private calamities with which the kingdom was convulsed, proposed, as a means of remedying these evils, "that the assembly should publish as soon as possible a solemn declaration, intimating its anxiety and concern for the troubles which agitated the provinces, its entire disapprobation of the non-payment of taxes, rents, and other feudal incumbrances; and declaring, that till the assembly had passed a decree upon these subjects, there existed no motive to justify such non-payment."

Considerable debates succeeded upon this proposition, and a variety of projects were proposed for extricating the nation from the difficulties and troubles in which it was involved.—At length the viscount de Noailles arose to point out, he said, the only effectual means of restoring peace. "We are called upon (said he) to quiet the troubles, and quell the insurrections, which exist in the nation: to do this, we must enquire into the cause of these troubles, and this will lead us to the proper remedy. The communities have made a demand upon us; they have demanded that they should be released from the chains of vassalage, and that the seignorial oppressions should be alleviated or changed. For three months the communities have beheld us engaged in verbal disputes, while their own attention and their wishes are directed to things: they are acquainted only with two classes of people, those who now bear arms to assert their liberties, and those higher orders whose interest it is to oppose them.—What is the consequence? They are armed to reclaim their rights, and they see no pro-

spect of obtaining their object but by force. Thus the whole kingdom is convulsed; and thus there are no means of restoring tranquillity, but by convincing the people that we are in earnest in their cause, and that we resist them only where it is manifestly for their interest that they should be resisted.

"I propose, therefore, 1. That the committee be instructed to propose a declaration, that every *TAX* shall henceforward be levied in proportion to the income of each individual. 2. That the burthens of the state be equally borne by every member of the state. 3. That all feudal claims which are not of a personal nature, shall be redeemable on a fair valuation. 4. That all the claims of the lord which are of a personal nature, such as personal service, &c. shall cease without any ransom."

This motion was highly applauded, and was seconded by the duke d'Aiguillon in a very able speech. M. le Grand established a most accurate distinction between the different species of feudal rights. "They are," said he, "real, personal, or mixed. The first, such as *main-morte* or vassalage, the *corvées* or right to the labour of the peasant, &c. are vicious in their origin, contrary to the imprescriptible rights of man, and consequently so unjust, that to order them to be ransomed would be an act deserving of the severest censure. With respect to real rights, such as quit-rents, rents, rents in kind, &c. they must not only be made redeemable, but the whole of such claims on any individual must be consolidated, and the valuation made accordingly. Mixed rights, such as the *bannalités* (or compulsion to bake in the landlord's oven, upon paying a toll out of the flour), as they partake of the nature of

of both the others, ought to be redeemed, but at a more moderate ransom than those claims which are actually real."

M. Guen de Kerangall enumerated several absurd species of feudal claims, many of which cannot even be named without offence to modest ears. By the feudal laws of some cantons, the vassals were subject to be yoked to the carriage of the lord, like beasts of burden; in some the tenants were obliged to pass whole nights in beating the ponds, that his rest might not be disturbed by the croaking of frogs; in others they were compelled to maintain his hounds; but the most dreadful instance of feudal barbarism, was a law (obsolete indeed for ages) which authorized the lord, in certain districts, on his return from hunting, to rip open the bellies of two of his vassals, that he might foment his feet in their warm bowels by way of refreshment.

In fine, the motions of M. de Noailles were approved unanimously; and the disinterested patriotism of the assembly being wound up to the highest pitch, they were followed by other sacrifices truly honourable to the members of the privileged orders. The first of these was *the total abolition of the inferior courts of justice established upon feudal principles throughout the kingdom, and which were in every respect corrupt and oppressive.*

M. Foucault proposed the *immediate suppression of all places and emoluments granted by the court, except those which were the due rewards of merit and actual services; and this motion also was received with applause.*

The president was now proceeding to put these motions to the vote; but he stopped himself by remarking—"That as the clergy had

not yet had an opportunity of declaring their sentiments, he should esteem himself guilty of an indecorum, if he did not particularly request their opinions upon this interesting discussion." This invitation brought up the bishop of Nancy, who requested, in the name of the clergy, that if the *ransom of the feudal rights should be decreed, it might not be converted to the profit of the ecclesiastical lords, but might be appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings.*

The bishop of Chartres, after approving the sacrifices already made, recommended the *suppression of the game laws.*—"He represented in strong terms the absurdity of those impositions which condemned the husbandman to be the patient spectator of the ravage of his fields, and exposed him to severe punishment if he presumed to destroy those animals which were most detrimental to his labours."—A number of voices from the nobility concurred in these sentiments, and demanded the renunciation of what were termed the rights of the chase, reserving only to the proprietors of the land the right of sporting within their own demesnes.

The acclamations of the assembly were interrupted by the president de S. Fargeau, who demanded an explanation of the declarations of the nobility and clergy concerning the *equalization of taxes.* "We have given a hope to the people," said he; "let us give them a reality. Why should we delay a moment to perform what all the instructions from the different orders have constituted as almost the first of our labours? I propose, that not only for the last six months of the year, but from the very commencement of it, all the members of the privileged classes, without exception, support



support their proportional part of the public imposts; and until this assembly shall have established the principles upon which taxes shall in future be paid, I am of opinion the adjustment of the proportion should be left to the discretion of the provincial assemblies, the assemblies of the departments, &c."

These renunciations were followed by those of the exclusive *right of rabbit warrens*, and of *fisheries*. M. de Riché proposed to abolish the *sale of offices*; and the count de Vieux recommended the demolition of *dove-cotes*, which, trifling as the evil may appear to us, were from their numbers a serious grievance to the peasantry of France. The curé of Souppes offered, in the name of his brethren, the relinquishment of casualties, and all fees exacted from the poor. This generous declaration was followed by that of several dignitaries of the church, who stated, that, agreeably to the spirit of the canons, they were determined to limit themselves to the possession of a *single benefice*. M. Dupont embraced this opportunity to compliment the inferior clergy, and to propose an *augmentation of their stipends*.

After confirming these proposals by a vote of the assembly, the business of reform appeared almost exhausted, when the deputies of those provinces which enjoyed peculiar privileges, came forward to lay their charters and their franchises at the feet of the national representatives. Dauphiné, which was always forward to sacrifice its advantages to the welfare of the nation, was the first to testify its acquiescence on the present occasion. The marquis de Blazons called the attention of the assembly to the resolution which his province had passed at Vizille, to renounce its peculiar privileges. He

expressed his wish that all the other provinces would imitate this example, and declare themselves satisfied with the name and privileges of French citizens. He had scarcely spoken when the deputies of Brittany, which had always been the rival of Dauphiné in patriotism, pressed round the table to make a similar sacrifice. The impatience of the representatives of Provence and Forcalquier scarcely suffered them to wait till those of Brittany had made their patriotic declaration; and they were followed by the deputation of Burgundy, Languedoc, and by the representatives of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Strasbourg, &c.

A number of motions of less importance succeeded; and the suppression of deport, vacat, annates, and pluralities, was immediately decreed. The duke de Liancourt proposed that a medal should be struck off in commemoration of this unparalleled session, and that a solemn Te Deum should be performed. On the reigning monarch the august title of RESTORER of GALLIC LIBERTY was conferred by a decree, and a deputation appointed to wait upon his majesty, respectfully to inform him of these transactions.

It is evident that these sacrifices, disinterested as they were, could not be generally acceptable. The great body of the nobility and clergy were disposed to deny the power of their representatives, who, they asserted, had voted away what was not their own. That they should not have had more weight with the people, is more surprising; but the spirit of anarchy and licentiousness was excited, and could not soon subside. In some places, the decrees of the assembly seemed to be made the excuse for new disorders—The game in particular was made a common prey;

prey ; and, in the pursuit, even the extreme necessities of the kingdom were disregarded, as the standing corn was trodden down and destroyed. But the great cause of confusion was the increasing scarcity of bread, which seemed to render the populace desperate, and totally regardless of order. Some convoys of bread and provisions were stopped on the road to Paris ; and two electors of that city, who were employed at Provence in purchasing supplies for the metropolis, were arrested on the suspicion of being monopolists, and narrowly escaped with their lives.

On the 7th of August the new ministers, the keeper of the seals, the marshal Bauvau, the count de Montmorin, the count de la Luzerne, M. Neckar, the count de St. Priest, the archbishop of Vienne, and the count de la Tour du Pin, were introduced at their request to the assembly ; and the archbishop of Bourdeaux, the keeper of the seals, drew a most lamentable picture of the disorders which prevailed throughout the kingdom. He was followed by M. Neckar, who represented, in strong terms, the miserable state of the public treasury, which on his entrance into office was found to contain only 400,000 livres, chiefly in notes of the *caisse d'escompte*.—He added, that the deficit between the income and the expences was enormous ; and that such had been the sums which the king had been obliged to issue for the purchase of grain, and for the support of the poor, and such the deficiency created by the non-payment of taxes, that no resource remained but to raise a loan of thirty millions to satisfy the engagements and inevitable expences of the state for two months, by which time he presumed that considerable progress would be made in

the establishing of a constitution. This loan he proposed at 5 per cent. But the proposal was remitted to the consideration of the committee of finance ; which presuming too far upon the patriotism of the people, retrenched the terms of the loan of all those little advantages which the minister had annexed to it, in order to induce the moneyed people to subscribe, and reduced the interest to four and a half. In the debates which took place upon the proposals of the minister, there appears reason to suspect that the count de Mirabeau was instigated by a personal opposition to M. Neckar ; and it was certainly owing to his influence in the assembly that the plan of the minister was not adopted. The consequence was, that in three weeks not more than 2,600,000 livres were subscribed to the loan, and the project utterly failed. In order therefore to procure a supply of forty millions, another scheme was offered by M. Neckar, and adopted by the assembly, which was, to solicit a loan of eighty millions at five per cent. one half of which might be paid in stock ; but the assembly had lost the favourable opportunity, and, by the impediments which they threw in the way of M. Neckar's first project, had unsettled the faith of the moneyed interest in the new government.

In the mean time the tumultuous state of the nation obliged the legislature to pass a decree, recommending to the municipalities to be vigilant for the public safety, and rigorously to prosecute all who should be found exciting public alarms or disturbances. The decrees of the 4th of August also had been sent to a committee, which was appointed for the purpose of reducing them into the form of a law ; and from the 5th to the 11th the differ-

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ent articles were debated. Most of those which respected the feudal claims were confirmed with little variation; but the committee considering tithes as a species of feudal tax levied on the land, had inserted them in the decree as redeemable like the other feudal assessments. To this construction the clergy vehemently objected, and alleged that it confounded two things essentially different, the feudal tithes and those which were purely ecclesiastical, which last constituted a species of private property, not at the disposal of the nation. The necessities of the state, on the other hand, had for some time induced the popular party to look upon the wealth of the church as a last resource for the replenishment of an exhausted treasury; and with this view the proposal of the committee was strenuously supported by Mess. Chassell, Mirabeau, &c. The abbé Sieyès was the ablest defender of the rights of the clergy: With great logical precision and accurate information, he evinced "that the tithes were not a tax imposed by the nation, but a rent-charge laid upon their estates by the original proprietors for the maintenance of the church; that the actual proprietors had purchased their estates subject to this rent-charge; and that the legislature had no authority to transfer this, which was a real property, from the hands of the clergy to the landholders, who had no legitimate nor apparent claim to it.—If you wish to be free," added he, "begin by being just." The necessities of the nation, however, constituted a plea on the other side, which was not to be resisted; and on the morning after this debate, fifteen curés sent to the assembly an act, by which they voluntarily resigned into the hands of the nation the whole of their ecclesiastical

rights, and declared that they were content to rely on the justice of that body for an equitable provision. This act of patriotism was received with the loudest burst of applause; and, as if by a sudden emotion, all the parochial clergy in the assembly stepped forward to the table to make the same sacrifice. The archbishop of Paris next declared, "that, in the name of his brethren, he begged leave to place the whole of their tithes under the discretion of the representatives of the nation—claiming only for themselves enough to support the decency and dignity of public worship, and to enable them to administer to the relief of the poor." "Such is the wish of all the clergy (exclaimed the cardinal de la Rochefoucault): we place our confidence in the nation."

The decree which abolished the feudal system, and the exclusive privileges of hunting, fishing, &c. and which laid all offices and dignities open to every citizen without distinction of birth; which declared that the tithes should be commuted for by a certain stipend; which prohibited the sale of offices, the payment of fees to the clergy on casualties, and all payments to the see of Rome; which annihilated the feudal jurisdictions, pluralities, pensions, and the particular privileges of those provinces which were called *pays d'états*, was finally passed on the 13th of August, and accepted by the king.

Tacitus has somewhere lamented, that the scenes which his duty compelled him to record, wanted that interest and variety which decorated the more flourishing periods of the republic, and complains that his *Annals* contain little more than details of bloodshed and assassinations. In this respect the historian of anarchy will find himself in a similar predicament

cement with the annalist of despotism; and the necessity of recurring so frequently to the odious topic of popular commotion and phrensy, may perhaps be supposed to stand in need of an apology. The truth is, the kingdom of France, at the period we are describing, was destitute of regular government. The executive power, which is supported only by public opinion, was seized with a kind of political paralysis; it was neither capable of restraining the public impetuosity, nor of directing its motions. The whole kingdom was in agitation, and the slightest rumour was sufficient to produce a paroxysm of popular delusion and madness. The metropolis was however agitated beyond every other part; it was the centre of political discussion, and the theatre where those who were disaffected to the new order of things could put in action their artifices with most safety and with most effect. The calamities which the people had so lately escaped, and the malevolence and well-known perfidy of their enemies, had generated in them habits of suspicion; and the acts of bloodshed into which they had been betrayed, had familiarized them with cruelty.

In this state of things we are not to wonder if we see the populace on the point of sacrificing one of their best friends, and in the course of a few weeks demanding clamorously the life of him whom they had chosen for their general. Thus, while the assembly were engaged in performing the most important services to the people, the inhabitants of Paris were endeavouring to dip their hands in the blood of a man (the marquis de la Salle) who, though one of the first of the nobles, had deserted the cause of his order from an affection for the people. On the 5th of August, about nine in the

evening, a boat was discovered on the river, rowed by three men, and was stopped by the inhabitants of Port St. Paul: it was found loaded with ammunition from the arsenal; and this discovery was no sooner made, than a general alarm was excited. The boatmen were examined, and M. de la Voisliere and some other persons who had the custody of the powder, &c. were sent for, who produced an order signed "De la Salle, acting for the M. de la Fayette."—It was in vain that it was represented to the mob, that this powder was *poudre de traite*, that is, of an inferior quality, such as is sent to Guinea, which was transporting from the arsenal only to be changed for better. The mob immediately exclaimed, It is *poudre de traite*! and clamoured for vengeance. M. de la Salle had been dining in the country, and in the evening had returned to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was no sooner arrived than he found upwards of forty thousand people demanding his life. Learning by accident the cause of the tumult, he had, however, the good fortune to retreat without being discovered.

During this time a miscreant had mounted the lamp-post, with a new rope in his hand, where he is said to have remained for not less than three quarters of an hour, while a crew of banditti broke into the Hôtel de Ville, and ascended even into the clock, in quest of the marquis de la Salle. The coolness and serenity of the marquis de la Fayette appeared to increase with the tumult and the danger. In the mean time he had given secret orders, and had arranged every thing for the public safety by the agency of a faithful serjeant. At length, when he was satisfied that every thing was right, he suddenly arose, and addressing himself to the committee who had

sat with him the whole evening, he said—"You are fatigued, gentlemen, and I am fatigued also—let us retire; the Grève is completely free; and I give you my word, that Paris was never in a more perfect state of tranquillity." On looking out of the windows, nothing was to be seen of the mob who had so lately filled the square; it was entirely occupied by soldiers of the national guard drawn up in most excellent order, who had been gradually introduced by the marquis, and by this means without tumult or trouble expelled their opponents.

The restoration of tranquillity and order was an object of the first importance with the friends of liberty; and it was evident, that to place the municipal governments under proper regulation was the only method of effecting this desired end. As Paris also was not only the first in importance, but the most exposed to the disasters of anarchy, to put a stop to the disorders of the capital was a matter of the most urgent necessity. This could only be done by giving the citizens an interest in the support of good government; and by conferring on those who had property to defend, functions and authority adequate to this purpose; by establishing a regular chain of subordination, and enabling each person to comprehend his proper duties as a public man. A temporary plan of municipal regulation was therefore devised by M. Bailly for the metropolis, which was to exist only till the assembly had perfected that more enlarged scheme by which the whole of the kingdom was to be regulated. As this plan was only temporary, it is unnecessary to enter into any detail concerning it. It is sufficient to say, that the number of the representatives of the districts were augmented to three hun-

dred; that a committee of subsistence was established, which delivered the city from the horrors of famine; and that a lieutenant of the mayor was appointed in every department, who contributed greatly to preserve the harmony of government, and to facilitate the execution of every measure for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

Another operation no less important was the organization of the national guard in Paris. The plan of M. de la Fayette for this purpose was simple, but excellent. The Parisian infantry was limited to thirty-one thousand men, of whom one thousand were officers; six thousand were paid as soldiers, and the other twenty-four thousand consisted entirely of the citizens without pay. The city of Paris was apportioned into six military divisions; a commandant was created for each; and to each district a battalion was appointed, composed of five companies of one hundred men each: in those battalions, one company consisted of regular soldiers, or the old French guards, and was termed the centre company. The districts elected their military officers. The choice of each of the six commandants was referred to an electoral assembly of the division, composed of representatives of the districts. The right of electing a commander in chief was vested in the districts at large, who appointed a major and lieutenant-general. To these important posts the marquis de la Fayette promoted M. Gouvion, who had been his colleague and companion when he fought for American liberty; and M. Jarré, who had been distinguished in Holland by his attachment to the patriotic party.

After having satisfied the immediate demands of the nation, by the abolition of the feudal absurdities, the

the national assembly returned to its great work, a declaration of the rights of man. Among the many schemes or systems which were presented to the assembly on this occasion, three principally arrested their attention; those of M. de la Fayette, of the abbé Sieyès, and of M. Mounier. The first of these, in its clearness and simplicity, greatly resembled the celebrated American declaration: that of the abbé Sieyès embraced the whole fabric of man, and pointed out his rights and his duties in the various departments of social life—it was however too complex and profound to be adopted as a kind of popular catechism: that of M. Mounier was not quite so plain and simple as that of the marquis de la Fayette, and was yet less complex than the other. It was however neither sufficiently clear and decisive in its principles, nor precise in its phraseology; and the assembly, after long debates, referred the matter to a committee of five members. M. Mirabeau proposed, that the declaration of rights might serve as a kind of preface or introduction to the system of the constitution.—After long debates upon the subject, however, it was agreed, that the declaration of rights should be immediately published; and on the 20th of August that form was adopted, which at present appears at the head of the new constitution\*.

It would be at once useless and uninteresting to enter into a minute detail of the circumstances under which the several articles of the French constitution were voted, or of the debates which they occasioned. The day after the declaration of rights was decreed, six articles, chiefly relating to the nature of the

monarchy, collected literally from the instructions, were read in the assembly, and were upon the point of being collectively passed; but M. Pethion called the attention of the legislature to the importance of the subject, and demonstrated in strong terms the rashness of passing a number of articles without a specific examination. After a debate of some length, it appeared that the great object of discussion would be the share which should be allowed to the monarch in the legislative authority. It was therefore determined previously to investigate this single point, whether a law could be enacted by the mere authority of the legislative body, without the sanction of the king, or what we term in England the *royal assent*? The Latin word *veto*, which had been in use in Poland on similar occasions, was adopted in the debates to express the negative of the king; and on the subject of this negative three opinions were prevalent in the national assembly.

Messrs. Mounier, Lally Tolendal, Treillard, d'Antraigues, de Mirabeau, and de Liancourt, supported the absolute veto of the king. "Two powers," they observed, "existed in the body politic; the power of willing or decreeing, and that of acting. By the first a society established the rules of its own conduct; and by the second these rules were carried into execution and effect. Both of these powers are equally necessary; and if on the one part it is essential to liberty that the legislative should be secured from the executive power, so it is no less necessary to support this last against the usurpations of the other: this could only be effected by investing the chief magistrate with an autho-

\* See the State Papers, vol. x. p. 125.

ity to examine the acts of the legislative body, and to refuse to endow them with the sacred character of laws.

"If the whole collective body of the people were capable of expressing their will in direct terms, it would be absurd to subject laws so enacted to a royal sanction; but in a representative government, where the deputies might be chosen more from circumstances of fortune and situation than from personal virtue and merit, and where it is possible that the majority of them might unite in opposition to the general good, it is necessary to counteract such an aristocracy by the prerogative of a monarch. Hence an alliance between the crown and the people, against every species of aristocracy, is created by their respective interests and their fears. If, for instance, the prince is possessed of no negative, what shall hinder the representatives from passing an act for perpetuating their own authority, like the famous long parliament of England? What shall prevent them from invading all the functions of the executive power, as well as the rights of the people? There are only two cases in which a monarch can be supposed to refuse his assent: 1st, where he conceives the law in question to be opposite to the real interests of the people; or 2dly, where, deceived by his ministers, he is induced to resist a law which is injurious to their personal interests. In the first case the prerogative will be beneficially exercised; in the second, the law will be only suspended: for it is impossible that a limited monarch should long resist the wishes of the whole nation. In fact, his veto, however absolute, can be no more at any time than an appeal from the legislature to the people at large."

Such were the arguments with which the almost irresistible eloquence of Mirabeau, in particular, defended the absolute veto: they were however combated with not less force and energy by the opposite party. "It is essentially necessary," said they, "to preserve distinct the two departments of government, the legislative and the executive powers; nor is there any thing in the proper and natural functions of a king, which makes it necessary to constitute him as an essential integrant branch of the legislature. It is difficult to draw the line between the right of stopping proceedings, and the right of action. The right of stopping proceedings in the hands of the executive power, would be to make it superior to the majority of the legislature; it would be a *lettre de cachet* against the supreme will of the nation.

"A suspensive veto, or an appeal to the will of the nation, would be attended with worse consequences than even the absolute negative: it would change the very nature of the government, and convert it into a pure democracy, instead of a representative government. What an appeal would it be to 26 millions of people, of whom nine-tenths are destitute of instruction, and incapable of understanding the complex nature of political questions? But it is pretended that the legislative power may one day encroach upon the executive; as if a power destitute of arms, could contend with a power which has continually arms in its hands; as if an assembly of 1200 men, necessarily divided by their private interests, and invested with a transient authority, were likely to invade successfully the perpetual and hereditary depository of the whole public force. Consult history,

history, and you will find throughout every page the legislature of free nations employed, not in usurping the executive power, but in restraining it. Doubtless a good king will consult the general wish of the nation; but a violent and obstinate king will expose, in defending his prerogative, both his crown and his life."

It was in these terms that Mess. Garat junior, de Landine, Sales, Beaumetz, and others, attacked the royal negative. A very small party pleaded for a suspensive veto; but as both the great parties agreed in rejecting it, every plan of mediation appeared at first improbable. In the course, however, of the discussion, new lights were reflected upon the subject, and inclined both parties at length to this safe and middle path: "It was acknowledged that the great fountain of the executive power could not, without some danger, be deprived of this prerogative; nor could it be unlimitedly assigned to the monarch, without the apprehension of a danger still superior. The decisions of a legislative body are certainly not infallible, and in some instances may be opposite even to the will of the nation in general: in that case, therefore, there should exist some counterpoise to their action; and though it might be dangerous and impolitic to make the king a constituent part of the legislature, yet the power of suspending a law is not an act of legislation. An actual appeal to the people at large would be impracticable, if not unconstitutional. When France adopted the representative form of government, it virtually abolished mandatory instructions from the constituents; supposing then the national assembly to be changed at certain periods by new elections, no great inconvenience can arise from

investing the monarch with a power of suspending, for a certain number of successive legislatures, any law that may appear to him contrary to the welfare of the state. Will not this suspensive veto, on the other hand, place the representatives and the king in a state of emulation extremely conducive to the general good? Will not the deputies of the nation become more circumspect in presenting for the royal sanction, laws which the king may reject with applause? And will not the monarch be cautious of suspending laws, which are in themselves so good as to secure their enactment in successive legislatures?"

The discussion of this important question was not confined to the assembly. The city of Paris in particular was considerably agitated on this occasion: the populace threatened again to relapse into all their former violence; and even a list was shewn, in which a number of members belonging to the assembly itself were marked for destruction. Rennes and Dinan also formally protested against the veto in the most violent terms. In the mean time a memoir was sent from M. Neckar to the assembly on this subject, in which, by a number of very sensible arguments, he enforced the adoption of the suspensive veto, limiting its effects to two legislatures: but the majority, consisting of the most violent of both parties, on the plea of prohibiting all ministerial influence, would not permit the memoir to be read. It was, however, made public in a few days, and is supposed to have had considerable weight with the people at least, if not with the assembly. It was therefore at length determined, "that the king should have the power of suspending any decree for two successive legislatures; but that if a third should

persist



perish in enacting it, in that case it should have the force of a law without the royal sanction."

While the assembly remained undetermined on the important question of the royal *veto* (for it was in agitation from the latter end of August to the 14th of September), other subjects of government not less interesting presented themselves for discussion. The first of these regarded the permanence of a national assembly; in plain terms, whether there should always exist an assembly ready to be convoked upon any occasion, like the parliament of England; or whether it should only meet periodically, and be virtually dissolved on the close of the session. On this topic there was little room for dissent, and it was carried in favour of a permanent assembly with only three dissenting voices. On the next topic of discussion there was less unanimity. M. Lally Tolendal, in the name of the committee of constitution, proposed that the legislature should consist of two chambers, a lower and an upper house. In the original draft which the reporter exhibited as an improvement on the English constitution, the senate or upper house was to be composed of members chosen for life; but M. Mounier thought that this high dignity ought to be conferred only for seven years.

This proposed organization was universally disapproved by the people. It was evidently founded on the imaginary balance of powers in the English constitution. But the popular party considered it as the asylum of the old aristocracy, and (to use the phraseology of a writer of this party) as the cradle of a new one: nay, even the partisans of the feudal system opposed the creation of a new dignity, which was to be

raised in function and authority above the ancient nobility of the realm.

On the discussion of the subject in the assembly, the English government was treated with all due respect; but M. Rabaud de St. Etienne observed, "that the establishment of an upper house there, was not originally with any view of restraining the excesses of popular counsels, but was simply a treaty of accommodation; a capitulation between the arrogance of the great and the spirit of liberty in the people. It is," said he, "one of the feudal relics, and we have agreed to destroy that pernicious system."

"The very nature of things," it was urged, "is adverse to every division of the legislative authority. The nation which is represented is *one*, the representative body ought to be *one* also. The *will* of the nation, of which the assembly is the organ, is indivisible, and so ought to be the *voice* which pronounces it.—Again, if the two chambers have not respectively a *veto* upon the acts of each other, there is no object in dividing them: if each of them possesses this *veto*, in some cases they will be reduced to perfect inaction. If the senators are appointed for life, they will naturally be on the side of the monarch, who may gratify their avarice by places and pensions, and amuse their ambition by splendid expectations and promises: a senate for life then would be no more than an additional force added to the executive power."

The remainder of the debate was interrupted and tumultuous. The bishop of Langres, who was president, and a decided friend to the measure of two chambers, quitted the chair, which was taken by the count de Clermont Tonnerre; and when the suffrages were taken, though more than one thousand

voted, only eighty-nine were in favour of an upper house.

In the discussion of the *veto* two other subjects also had been involved; namely, the *duration of the legislative body*, and the mode to be pursued in *re-electing the deputies*. On the first of these topics two evils were to be avoided—an existence too short, which afforded no scope for experience, nor for the display of talents, and which would necessarily render the operations of the legislature versatile and inconstant; and a protracted duration, which might open the door to corruption, and generate the *esprit de corps*. The term of *two years* was adopted, as the medium between the extreme points of an annual assembly and the dangerous possession of authority for a more extended period. The same reasons induced the assembly to prefer the *election of new members entirely to each legislature*, rather than a partial re-election; since it was evident, that whatever the new members might want in experience they would compensate in diligence and zeal; since it was a means of extending the political knowledge and ability of the superior classes; and since, in fine, it appeared the only effectual mode of utterly excluding the evils of faction and venality.

The assembly decreed with an unanimous voice of acclamation—That the *person of the king is inviolable*; that the *throne is indivisible*; that the *crown is hereditary* in the males of the reigning family according to the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females.

The unanimity on these questions was nearly destroyed, and the proceedings of the assembly interrupted, by the artful introduction of a most imprudent topic. The only hope

of the disaffected party now rested on the probability of involving the nation in a dispute or contest with some foreign power; and a fair opportunity was offered when the motion for regulating the succession came under consideration. It was then proposed, that the assembly should decide whether the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family were legally excluded by the renunciation which Philip V. had agreed to by the treaty of Utrecht. No question could be more impertinent or irrelevant in its object than this; and the necessary consequence of a decision must have been, on the one hand to disgust the court of Spain, or on the other to give occasion to the calumniators of the new legislature to assert that they paid no regard to the sacredness of treaties. From this dilemma they were happily relieved, after three days debate, by an amendment proposed by M. Target, which disavowed the intention of extending the spirit of the last of the above articles to the prejudging of the effect of renunciations by treaty.

The decrees of the 4th of August had, as we have already stated, been sent to the king; and on the 12th of September a decree was passed, pressing the necessity of their promulgation. On the 18th a letter was received from his majesty, approving in general terms of the spirit of the decrees, but stating some objections against particular articles, especially the abolition of those rents which had been originally founded in personal service, but which were to the present proprietors a species of actual property; and also remarking, that some difficulty would attend the abolition of tithes; and that there appeared some danger of offending the German princes who had possessions in Alsace,

Alsace, which were secured to them by treaty. To these articles therefore he proposed to give only a conditional assent, with a promise of modifying or even renouncing his opinions, if convinced by the observations of the national assembly.

Neither the people nor the assembly were satisfied with this letter of the king. It was said that these decrees were sent to the executive power, not for his assent, but for the purpose of promulgation merely; that they were principles rather than laws, and that the sanction of the executive power was not necessary to the consecration of principles; but that the observations of his majesty would come properly under consideration when these articles were to be reduced into the form of laws. On the motion of M. Chappelier, therefore, it was resolved, "That the president should wait on the king to entreat him, that he would immediately order the promulgation of the decrees of the 4th of August and the following days; assuring his majesty that the national assembly would pay the most respectful attention to the observations which he had been pleased to communicate." The king immediately acceded to the wishes of the legislature, and on the 20th of September sanctioned the decrees.

Amidst this general prospect of a happy establishment of rational liberty, the derangement of the finances seemed to oppose an invincible obstacle to the patriotic labours of the friends of the people. The proposed loan of eighty millions had failed; loans in general were decried; and the current specie of the kingdom was transferred to distant countries. Nothing, however, could discourage the confidence which the citizens reposed in their representa-

tives: the pecuniary difficulties which embarrassed the government were no sooner known, than a number of disinterested expedients were projected for relieving them. The wives and daughters of the opulent inhabitants of Paris appeared at the bar of the assembly, and, after the example of the Roman ladies, offered their jewels and their ornaments of value on the altar of the public. The whole kingdom was at once actuated by a general enthusiasm; infancy sacrificed its toys; old age its comforts; opulence presented the tribute of its wealth; and poverty itself consecrated to its country a part of its subsistence. The king, whose benevolence has never been questioned, however imprudently he may have acted in some difficult circumstances, and under improper influence, voluntarily sent his rich services of plate to the mint, though the assembly entreated him in the strongest terms to revoke the resolution.

The necessities of the state, however, were too considerable to be materially relieved by these patriotic donations; and they were found scarcely sufficient to answer the current expences. M. Neckar was the only person who did not despair. He had the courage to represent to the assembly the calamitous situation of the republic, and the means of alleviating it. He shewed that by certain reductions in the public expence, by different projects of economy, by an equalization of the taxes, the most reasonable hopes might be entertained respecting the future restoration of credit, and re-establishment of the finances; and, in order to obviate the present embarrassments, proposed that a *contribution should be demanded from every citizen equivalent to a quarter of his nett income*, to be collected in the space of fifteen months, agreeably

to the solemn declaration of the respective contributors. The assembly were terrified at the boldness of the project; but the count de Mirabeau, who possibly repented the share he had taken in defeating the former project of the minister, now exerted the full force of his irresistible talents in his favour. "He proved that the exigencies of the state required an immediate supply; and that it was impossible to substitute a new scheme of finance in the place of that proposed by M. Neckar, or even to examine that which he had submitted to them; since to go through the very figures which the statement contained would require a period of not less than three entire months. He urged the necessity of confidence in such a conjuncture; a confidence which he observed the former conduct of the minister entirely warranted; and which ought now to be accorded to him, even though his plan might not be the best that human ingenuity could devise, because there was no other before them which they could adopt." The assembly upon these reasons accepted the plan of M. Neckar; and on the 1st of October he presented it in its perfect form, and with it his own contribution, which amounted to 100,000 livres.

Though the scheme however was accepted in the general, the execution of it in detail appeared to be attended with some difficulties; the principal of which was, that all the *cabiers* or instructions had prohibited the imposing of any taxes till the constitution should be established. In this case, however, the necessities of the state rendered a strict compliance with the instructions impossible; but as a pledge to the public that the assembly were not inattentive to the will of their consti-

tuents, several of the patriotic members proposed, that the king should be requested to accept that part of the constitution which was already determined, previous to presenting him with the decree concerning this extraordinary impost. M. Mirabeau, happily combining the different views upon this subject, proposed to make the first part of M. Neckar's plan the preamble to the decree, in order that the prospect of relief might be as conspicuous as the demand. His plan was therefore adopted, notwithstanding the clamours of opposition; and the decree, along with the declaration of rights, was in this state presented to the king.

The events which follow, are by the candid of all parties allowed to be enveloped in an almost impenetrable cloud of mystery. The democratic writers assert, that a plot was concerted of immense extent for the total ruin of the liberties of France; the principal articles of which were—That the king was to be transported voluntarily, or involuntarily, to Metz; where the royal standard was to be erected; where all the ancient instruments of despotism, the ministers, generals, and parliaments, were to be assembled; and to issue manifestoes against the representatives of the nation—That a subscription was actually opened, by those who termed themselves the king's party, for the express purpose of carrying on a civil war—That both the capital and Versailles were once more to be invested with a powerful army—and that the national assembly was to be forcibly dissolved. These assertions undoubtedly receive some countenance from the fragment of a letter from the count d'Estaing to the queen, "in which he mentions such rumours having reached his

his ears, and in which he earnestly dissuades her from becoming a party in so rash a measure." The court party, on the other hand, throw the blame upon their adversaries, and affirm that the whole was a preconcerted plan of the popular leaders to force the king and the assembly to reside within the walls of Paris.

All however that is known with certainty respecting the circumstances which conduced to the commotion at Versailles is, that the minds of the two great parties which had already begun to assume the factious epithets of *democratic* and *aristocratic*, were at this period inflamed to a most extravagant pitch of resentment, and disposed to suspect each other of the most atrocious designs; that the declaration of rights and the first articles of the constitution had remained for some days in the hand of the king, who had delayed to give them the expected sanction; that the clamours of the aristocratic party were louder than ever; that every mode was essayed to work upon the compassion and the loyalty of the nation; that the king was represented as dethroned, and reduced to the most abject state of slavery; and that some of the dependants of the court, in the plenitude of their zeal, were heard to boast "that a few days would restore affairs to their ancient footing, and that the king and his ministers would resume their power." It is well known on the other hand, that the old French guards, who composed, as we have already seen, the centre company in each battalion of the city militia, and who had been accustomed to the honour of guarding the king's person, saw with a most jealous eye that important trust committed to the body guard and the militia of Versailles. It is not improbable

too, that the more ardent of the patriotic party might entertain suspicions, that the sovereign might one day effect an escape from the unguarded palace of Versailles to put himself into the hands of their enemies, and might secretly wish to see him lodged in the centre of a city devoted to their interests, and from which there was but little probability of retreat.

An incident which occurred at Versailles (which stamps the conduct of the court with at least the stigma of imprudence, and which evinced that they were not without hopes that, as the revolution was chiefly effected by the change which was produced in the minds of the soldiery, a similar change might operate in their favour) contributed to blow the glowing embers into an open flame. The count d'Estaing, who commanded the national guard of Versailles, either influenced by the court, or jealous of the inclination which the French guards had manifested to partake in the honour of guarding their monarch, requested an additional regiment to assist him in preserving tranquillity and order at the palace; and the regiment of Flanders dragoons was accordingly ordered for this service. On the 1st of October an entertainment (the first that was ever given in public at Versailles by that body) was given by the *gardes-du-corps*, or king's body guard, to the officers of the regiment of Flanders; and to augment the unpopularity of the circumstance, it was given in the royal saloon. Several of the officers of the national guard, with others of the military, were invited. At the second course, four toasts were given: "The king, the queen, the dauphin, and the royal family." "The nation" was proposed, but,

according to a number of witnesses, expressly rejected by the *gardes-du-corps*.

The king was just returned from hunting; and the queen, having been informed of the gaiety of the scene, persuaded his majesty to accompany her with the heir apparent to the saloon, which was now filled with soldiers—the *grénadiers* of Flanders and the Swiss *chasseurs* having been admitted to the dessert. The queen appeared with the dauphin in her arms, affectionate as she was lovely, and carried the royal infant through the saloon, amidst the acclamations and murmurs of the spectators. Fired with enthusiasm the soldiers drank the health of the king, the queen, and the dauphin, with their swords drawn; and the royal guests bowed respectfully and retired.

The entertainment, which had hitherto been conducted with some degree of order, now became a scene of entire confusion. Nothing was omitted to inflame the passions of the military. The music played the favourite air—"O Richard, O my king, the world abandons thee;" the ladies of the court distributed *white cockades*, the anti-patriot ensign; and even some of the national guard, it is said, had the weakness to accept them. In the height of this political banquet, it is affirmed, and there is indeed little cause to doubt it, that many expressions of marked disrespect towards the assembly and the nation escaped from the officers of the *gardes-du-corps*, and others of the military; this however might easily have happened in such circumstances, without the least of premeditation or evil design.

During these transactions the city of Paris was afflicted with all the evils of famine. Either no bread was to be obtained, or bread of so

bad a quality, that the populace, always mistrustful and suspicious, were not without their alarms of a criminal design upon the lives, or at least the health, of the inhabitants. Such was the state of things when the news arrived of the fatal banquet at Versailles. The circumstances which we have related were strangely magnified; and all the suspicions which were entertained respecting the design of dissolving the assembly, and carrying off the sovereign, were added in exaggeration. At the same time the mutual resentment of the contending parties hourly augmented; and the imprudent conduct of the minority exposed them to every insult. White and black cockades were worn as signals of defiance. They were torn out of the hats of the wearers by the mob; but such was the enthusiasm of one of these votaries of party, that he is said to have picked up from the ground this relic of loyalty, to have kissed it respectfully, and attempted to replace it in his hat. Every measure that could be taken by the three hundred directors of the municipality to prevent the spreading of the insurrection was taken—in vain! Early on the morning of the memorable 5th of October, a woman sallied out from the quarter of St. Eustacia; and entering the *corps-de-garde*, and seizing a drum, paraded the adjacent streets beating an alarm, and exciting the people by clamours respecting the scarcity of bread. She was soon joined by a very numerous mob, chiefly of women, and repaired immediately to the Hôtel de Ville. A few of the committee of the commune were assembled; and M. Gouvion, at the head of the national guard, endeavoured to prevent their entrance; but the soldiers, swayed either by gallantry

gallantry or humanity, gave way, and permitted them to pass. Some, who by their air and manner appeared of a superior class, entered with good humour into conversation with the committee, and pleaded eloquently the cause of their companions, who under various circumstances of misery came to ask for relief. But the greater number, both by their appearance and their conduct, shewed that they were collected from the lowest rank of indigence and depravity. With horrid imprecations they demanded bread and arms; they exclaimed with violence against the pusillanimity of the men, and threatened the lives of the whole committee, and particularly of M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette. Others penetrated the magazine of arms; and a third troop ascended the belfry, where they attempted to strangle the abbé Leferre. In one of the halls two furies endeavoured to set fire to the public papers, but were happily prevented by Stanislaus Maillard, who had rendered himself so famous at the taking of the Bastille.

This young patriot, finding all endeavours to resist the fury of the mob in vain, employed a new stratagem to preserve his country. He applied to the commanding officer for his authority; and having obtained it, he proceeded down the stairs of the Hôtel de Ville, which were filled with women, and seizing a drum, which lay at the door, he offered to put himself at the head of the insurgents, the universal clamour of whom was to proceed to Versailles. By a unanimous shout of applause Maillard was chosen captain of this turbulent troop; and by his authority the assembly was adjourned to the Champs Elisées. When arrived at this general ren-

dezvous their numbers amounted to upwards of eight thousand; and their first measure was to surround their chief, and to insist upon his leading them to the arsenal to equip themselves completely with arms. Fortunately he had authority enough to make himself heard, and to convince them that the arms had been removed from the arsenal; and he had even sufficient address to engage them to lay aside the weapons with which they had provided themselves, by representing to them, that since their object was to supplicate the assembly for justice and for bread, they would operate more forcibly on the compassion of that body, by appearing as distressed petitioners, than with arms in their hands. They departed for Versailles about noon, preceded by a company of armed men, and guarded in the rear by the volunteers of the Bastille, whom Maillard had prepared for that purpose.

Unfortunately the fanaticism of the moment was communicated to the grenadiers. They not only declared, "that they could not turn their bayonets against the poor women who came to ask for bread, but intimated an inclination themselves to proceed to Versailles." Their spokesman declaimed loudly against the committee of subsistence, against the gardes-du-corps—and concluded, "that the people were miserable, and the source of the evil was at Versailles; that they must go and find out the king, and bring him to Paris." While the marquis de la Fayette reasoned, insisted, threatened, the tumult increased from all quarters; an immense crowd armed with sticks, pikes, guns, &c. rushed from the suburbs; and though the national guard appeared not in the most tractable disposition, the mayor

and municipality probably conceived it the only means of preventing mischief at Versailles, to permit their departure with their commander at their head. The marquis therefore received an order to depart for Versailles, and it was most cheerfully obeyed by the national guard.

The representatives of the nation, totally unconscious of what was passing in Paris, were assembled on the 5th, in expectation of receiving back the constitutional articles sanctioned by the king. M. Mounier was then president. The sitting opened with reading a letter from the king, in which he pleaded "the difficulty of judging partially of the constitution; adding, however, that in the confidence that the new articles were calculated to establish the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom, he accepted them; but with one positive condition, that from the spirit of the whole system the executive power should have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch. He concluded with observing, that though these constitutional articles did not all indiscriminately present him with the idea of perfection, yet he thought it proper to pay this respect to the wish of the assembly, and to the *alarming circumstances* which so strongly pressed him to desire the re-establishment of peace, order, and confidence."

This letter by no means proved acceptable to the assembly; the patriotic members marked in strong terms their disapprobation of this provisional assent, which only seemed to be given in consequence of the alarming circumstances of the nation. In the course of the debate many allusions were made to the indecent festival of the military which disgraced Versailles on the preceding week. The insults offered

to the nation and the national cockade were pointedly mentioned, as well as the menaces of the soldiery. A motion was at length made, that the guilty persons on that occasion should be delivered up to the rigour of the law, and that the accusations which had been now insinuated should be formed into a criminal process. At these words the count de Mirabeau rose. "I begin," said he, "by declaring that I consider the motion as supremely impolitic; nevertheless, if it is persisted in, I am ready to produce the details, and to sign them with my own hand. But this assembly must first declare that the person of the king *alone* is sacred, and that all other individuals, whatever their station, are equally subjects, and responsible to the laws." The prudence of the president and the assembly prevailed over the rashness of both parties. The motion was withdrawn; and it was decreed, that the president should wait on the king to request a simple acceptance of the constitutional articles.

The assembly was frequently alarmed, during the course of this discussion, by repeated intelligence that all Paris was advancing to Versailles. Maillard conducted his tumultuous troop with uncommon address. When he came within sight of Versailles he arranged them in three ranks; and advertised them, that as they were entering a place where they were not expected, they must be careful, by the cheerfulness of their appearance and the regularity of their conduct, to excite no alarms in the inhabitants. When arrived at the gate of the national assembly, Maillard undertook to speak for them, that he might prevent their speaking for themselves. He entered attended by fifteen of the women, and persuaded the rest to wait for



for his return at the gate. His address had two objects: "to entreat that the assembly would devise some method of relieving the dreadful scarcity of bread which prevailed at Paris, and which he said had been occasioned by the interception of convoys, and by the monopolists; and to solicit that the gardes-du-corps might be ordered to assume the national cockade." He had scarcely finished, when a national cockade was presented to him on the part of the gardes-du-corps, as a proof that they had already adopted it. Maillard shewed it to the women, who immediately answered by loud acclamations of *Vive le roi, & M. M. les gardes-du-corps!* A deputation was immediately appointed to wait on the king with this intelligence.

The king had gone that morning to take the diversion of shooting in the woods of Meudon; and in the midst of his sport intelligence was brought, "that a most formidable band of women were on the way from Paris, exclaiming for bread." "Alas!" answered the king, "if I had it, I should not wait to be asked." On his return, as soon as he mounted his horse, a chevalier of St. Louis fell upon his knees and beseeched his majesty not to be afraid.—"I never was afraid in my life," returned the king.

On his arrival at Versailles he found the gardes-du-corps and the national guard under arms, and the palace surrounded with a mob. With the deputation from the assembly five of the women were introduced to his majesty, who on hearing of the distresses of the metropolis was extremely moved, and the women sympathized in the feelings of the monarch. Louisa Char-  
bry, a young woman who was em-

ployed in some of the branches of sculpture, and was only seventeen years of age, fainted. When she recovered the desired leave to kiss the king's hand, who embraced her, and dismissed her with an elegant compliment. The women without doors could scarcely believe the report of those who had been admitted. In the mean time the king signed an order for bringing corn from Senlis and de Lagni, and for removing every obstacle which impeded the supply of Paris. This order was reported to the women, and they retired with acclamations of gratitude and joy.

This band of Amazons was no sooner dispersed than it was succeeded by another, headed by M. Brunout, a soldier of the Parisian guard, whom they had compelled to assume the unpleasant office of their leader. It is uncertain upon what provocation M. Savonieres, a lieutenant in the gardes-du-corps, and two other officers, imprudently singled out Brunout from his company, and chased him along the ranks with their drawn sabres. The unhappy man was upon the point of being cut to pieces with their sabres, when one of the national guard of Versailles fired upon M. Savonieres, and broke his arm, and by that means saved the life of Brunout: and this incident is said to have greatly increased that unfortunate hatred which the people afterwards manifested by atrocious acts of cruelty to the gardes-du-corps.

Whether there was indeed a concerted plan to carry off the king to Metz, or whether the court was really terrified by the accident which we have just recounted, it is impossible to determine; but the king's carriages were ordered to the gate of the castle which communicates with

with the orangery. The national guard of Versailles, however, who occupied the post, refused to permit them to pass; and the king himself was resolute in his determination to stay—declaring, “that he would rather perish, than that the blood of the people should be spilled in his quarrel.”

The assembly continued sitting; but the session was tumultuous, and interrupted by the shouts and harangues of the Parisian fish-women, who filled the galleries. A letter however from the king was read, deploring the scarcity of provisions, and recommending that effectual means might be taken to remedy that calamity; and in a little time after M. Mounier entered with the pure and simple assent of the king to the constitutional articles. The assembly was then adjourned; but the applause which was bestowed on its proceedings was mingled with affecting murmurs and complaints, the multitude crying out that they were actually starving, and that the majority of them had eaten nothing for upwards of twenty-four hours. The president therefore humanely ordered that provisions should be sought for in every part of the town, and the hall of the assembly was the scene of a miserable, scanty, and tumultuous banquet. Indeed, such was the dreadful famine, that the horse of one of the gardes-du-corps being killed in a tumult, he was immediately roasted, and greedily devoured, by the mob. Previous to the adjournment of the assembly, Maillard and a number of the women set off in carriages, provided by the king, for Paris, carrying with them the king's letter, and the resolves of the national assembly, in the hope of restoring peace to the metropolis.

Darkness and a deluge of rain added to the horrors of the night. The wretched multitudes who had travelled from Paris were exposed, almost famished, to the inclemencies of the weather in the open streets: within the castle all was trepidation; nothing was to be heard from without but imprecations, and the voice of enraged multitudes demanding the life of the queen and the gardes-du-corps. Towards midnight, however, all appeared tolerably still and peaceable, when the beating of the drums, and the light of innumerable torches, announced the approach of the Parisian army. The marquis de la Fayette on his arrival repaired to the closet, and informed the king of the whole proceedings of the day; a part of the national guards were distributed in posts agreeably to the orders of his majesty; the rest were entertained by the inhabitants of Versailles, or retired to lodge in the churches and public edifices, for the remainder of the night; and tranquillity appeared once more perfectly restored.

The troops of vagabonds who had accompanied Maillard, or who had followed the Parisian militia, were chiefly disposed of in the hall of the assembly, and in the great corps-de-garde; and at about five in the morning the marquis de la Fayette, after having visited all the posts, and found every thing perfectly quiet, retired to his chamber to write to the municipality of Paris, and perhaps in the hope of snatching a few hours repose.

The day began to break at about half past five; and at this period crowds of women and other desperate persons, breathing vengeance and thirsting for blood, advanced to the castle, which, in the fatal security which the arrival of the Parisian

fran militia inspired, was left unguarded in several places. Some of the iron gates were shut, and some left open. An immense crowd found its way into the *cour des ministres*, and immediately proceeded to the royal gate, which was shut, and a number of the invaders attempted to scale it. Another troop of ruffians proceeded to the chapel court, and another to that of the princes, and by both these avenues penetrated into the royal court. Some hasty dispositions of defence were made by a M. Agueffeau; the gardes-du-corps were soon under arms, and one man was wounded by them in the arm, and another shot dead. The crowd immediately mounted the grand stair-case, where one of the gardes-du-corps, M. Miomandre, endeavoured to dissuade them from their attempt; but he narrowly escaped with his life. M. Tardivet du Repaire hastened to the queen's apartment, in order to prevent the entrance of the banditti; but he was assailed by thousands, and stretched upon the ground. A villain with a pike attempted to pierce him to the heart; but he had the good fortune to wrest the weapon from his hand, with which he parried the attacks of his enemies, and at length effected his escape. M. Miomandre in the mean time made his way to the queen's apartment. He opened the door, and cried out to a lady whom he saw in the inner chamber—"Save the queen, madam, her life is in danger—I am here alone against two thousand tigers." He shut the door; and after a few minutes resistance was desperately wounded with a pike, and left for dead—though he has since recovered.

The queen had been awaked a quarter of an hour before by the clamours of the women who assem-

bled upon the terrace; but her waiting-woman had satisfied her by saying, "that they were only the women of Paris, who she supposed, not being able to find a lodging, were walking about." But the tumult approaching, and becoming apparently more serious, she rose, dressed herself in haste, and ran to the king's apartment by a private passage. In her way she heard the noise of a pistol and a musket, which redoubled her terror. "My friends," said she to every person she met, "save me and my children." In the king's chamber she found the dauphin, who had been brought there by one of her women; but the king was gone. Awaked by the tumult, he had seen from a window the multitude pressing towards the great stair-case; and alarmed for the queen, he hastened to her apartment, and entered at one door in the moment she had quitted it by the other. He returned without loss of time; and having with the queen brought the princess royal into the chamber, they prepared to face the multitude.

In the mean time the noise and tumult increased, and appeared at the very door of the chamber. Nothing was to be heard but the most dreadful exclamations, with violent and repeated blows against the outer door, a pannel of which was broken. Nothing but instant death was expected by the royal company. Suddenly, however, the tumult seemed to cease—every thing was quiet; and a moment after a gentle rap was heard at the door. The door was opened, and in an instant the apartments were filled with the Parisian guard. The officer who conducted them, ordered them to ground their arms. "We come," said he, "to save the king;" and turning to such of

of the gardes-du-corps as were in the apartments, "We will save you also, gentlemen; let us from this moment be united."

Unfortunately the national guard arrived too late to prevent all the mischief. Two of the gardes-du-corps were murdered by the mob before the troops could be rallied, and their heads fixed on spikes served as the standards of this detestable banditti. From the first moment of the alarm the marquis de la Fayette had even exceeded his usual activity. He appeared in every quarter:—"Gentlemen," said he to the Parisian soldiers, "I have pledged my word and honour to the king that nothing belonging to him shall receive injury. If I break my word, I shall be no longer worthy to be your commander." Captain Gondran, the officer who had driven the ruffians from the king's apartment, was not less conspicuous for his activity. The Parisians forced their way in every part through the almost impenetrable mass—surrounded the gardes-du-corps, and placed them in safety under their own colours.

Plunder is however commonly one great object of a mob. The banditti had already begun to strip the palace, and to throw the furniture to each other out of the windows. M. Gondran pursued them from place to place, till the castle was at length completely cleared. Expelled from the palace, they repaired to the stables; but here a sudden stop was put to their depredations by M. Doazon, a farmer-general, and captain of the Paris militia. The horses were all recovered, and brought back in safety to their stalls. Disappointed at length in every view, they departed in a body to Paris; and left Versailles

entirely free, and under the protection of the national guard. The most generous expressions of kindness and gratitude took place between the gardes-du-corps and the national guard. The former considered the others as their deliverers; while the latter evinced every inclination that they should in future form one united corps.

The royal family now ventured to shew themselves at a balcony, and received the most lively acclamations of respect from the soldiers and the people. But whether it had been planned by the popular party, or whether it was the immediate impulse of the multitude—but the former is most probable—at the first a single voice, or a few voices, exclaimed—"The king to Paris;" and this was instantly followed by an universal acclamation enforcing the same demand. After some consultation with the marquis de la Fayette, [the king addressed them: "You wish me to go to Paris—I will go, on the condition that I am to be accompanied by my wife and children." He was answered by reiterated acclamations of *Vive le roi!*

Before the departure of the king, the national assembly was convened; and, on the motion of M. Mirabeau, passed a solemn decree, "that the assembly was inseparable from the person of the king." A deputation of one hundred members was also appointed to accompany the king to Paris. During the preparations for the journey, the gardes-du-corps changed hats and swords with the grenadiers and national guards, and both they and the regiment of Flanders desired leave to mix indiscriminately in the ranks. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before the procession set out. During the progress all was

quiet

gaiety and joy among the soldiers and the spectators; and such was the respect in which the French nation still held the name and person of their king, that the multitude were superstitiously persuaded that the royal presence would actually put an end to the famine \*. On his arrival, the king was congratulated by the municipality, and declared his approbation of the loyalty which the city of Paris manifested. He however gave one proof, among several others which he had before given, that however he may be wrought upon by misrepresenta-

tion and evil counsels, his character is in the general neither deficient in good sense nor firmness. As they ascended the stairs of the Hôtel de Ville, the marquis de la Fayette requested the king that he would either assure the people himself, or permit some other person to assure them in his name, that he would fix his abode in Paris.—“I feel no objection,” replied the monarch, “to fix my abode in my good city of Paris: but I have not yet formed any determination on the subject; and I will make no promise which I do not positively mean to fulfil.”

## C H A P. III.

*Emigration of the Aristocratic Members of the Assembly. Title of King of the French. Duke of Orleans retires to England. A Baker hanged by the Mob at Paris. Riot AB. New Division of the Empire. Church Lands applied to the Enigencies of the State. Lettres de Cachet abolished. Committee appointed to inspect the Pension List. Distinction of Orders abolished. Opposition of the Provincial States and Parliaments. Riots at Marseilles and Toulon. Melancholy Event at Sens. Debate on the Eligibility of Ministers to the National Assembly. Corsica declared a constituent Part of the French Empire. Plan of the Caisse de l'Extraordinaire. Refusal of a Donation from Geneva. Of an Alliance with Brabant. Resistance of the Parliament of Brittany. Affair of the Marquis de Favras. Municipalities made responsible for Damages sustained by Riots. Suppression of Monasteries. Emission of Assignats. Gabelle, &c. abolished. Reform of the Jurisprudence. Troubles in St. Domingo, &c. Publication of the Red Book. Religious Insurrections at Toulon, Montabon, and Nismes. Right of making War and Peace. Organization of the Clergy. Abolition of Tithes, &c. Grand Confederation. Return of M. d'Orleans.*

**W**HATEVER might have been the intentions of either party in producing the riots of the 5th and 6th of October, the removal of the king to the metropolis was certainly productive of the happiest consequences. It satisfied completely the suspicious and un-

quiet minds of the Parisians; it brought their sovereign more immediately in connexion with them, and strengthened in some degree the bands of union: nay, chimerical as it may appear, the superstitious fancy of the populace, that the presence of the king would terminate

\* The popular exclamation was, as they proceeded along—“We are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the little journeyman.”

the famine, was in some degree realised. The abundance and profusion which always accompany a court, procured some relief to the indigent; and the consciousness of the supply that would be necessary, served to replenish the impoverished markets.

The aristocratic party, connected with the court, were the only persons who manifested any degree of regret. The presence of the king in Paris gave a fatal blow to their hopes and designs; and they had in reality some cause to be apprehensive of the fury of the populace, should any incident happen to excite their ardent and sanguinary resentment.

In the assembly itself, notwithstanding the vote which declared the national assembly to be inseparable from the person of the monarch, some objections were strongly insisted on against the projected removal. It was said, that the deputies would no longer be the legislators of the nation; they must obey the arbitrary mandates of the populace, and even the freedom of debate would be annihilated. To remove their scruples, a letter was directed to them by the king, inviting them to resume their session in the metropolis; and this was powerfully seconded by a deputation from the citizens of Paris.—By the mouth of their speaker, M. Brissot, the citizens “professed their joy at the expected removal of the representative body; they pledged themselves by a solemn oath to protect the persons of the deputies, and the freedom of debate; they intimated that they had forwarded an address to all the provinces and communities of France to satisfy them relative to the late proceedings, to assure them that the commune of Paris was actuated by the most perfect loyalty

to the king, the most inviolable obedience to the national assembly, and a sincere paternal regard to all the municipalities of the kingdom.”

Though this address might probably diminish the fears of a part of the assembly, and certainly hastened their removal; yet the apprehensions of the aristocratic part of that body, on the eve of their departure, are scarcely to be imagined. Numberless passports were solicited on various excuses; and among these some deserters from the popular cause were observed with regret. M. Mounier, despairing of meeting in Paris a full toleration of his political opinions, retired into Dauphiné to search for auxiliaries to support the absolute veto of his projected senate and of the king. Count Lally Tolendal, equally bigoted to the visionary balance of powers in the constitution, retired also in disgust. Many of the high aristocratic members took refuge in foreign countries, where they applied themselves indefatigably to the laudable purpose of exciting war against their country. To prevent however as much as possible similar emigrations, the national assembly decreed, “that passports to the members should be only granted for a short and limited period; and that as to unlimited passports on account of ill health, they should not be granted till substitutes were elected; that in future all substitutes should be elected by the citizens at large, or by their representatives, without any regard to orders; and that eight days after the first session at Paris, a call of the house should be instituted.”

A proclamation ascertaining the rights of citizens was next decreed; the power of originating laws was exclusively confined to the assembly; and the executive power was prohibited

prohibited the liberty of creating or suppressing posts or offices without an act of the legislature. The power of laying taxes was also vested exclusively in the representatives of the people; the responsibility of ministers was established; and the pernicious phraseology in the proclamations and other acts of the king, "such is *our* pleasure," &c. was abolished. The title of the king was changed from "the king of France" to that of "king of the French," as more expressive of the office, which is a king or ruler of men, and not of the soil or territory. Some difficulty arose respecting the title of king of Navarre; for that petty state, considering itself rather as the ally than as a part of the empire, had not sent representatives to the national assembly. The deputies of the great provinces, however, strenuously opposed this title, and asserted that the king might as well be styled count of Provence, duke of Brittany, king of Corsica, as king of Navarre: it was therefore agreed to expunge the title.

Tranquillity however was by no means perfectly restored, and to repeat the vague and idle reports that every day were spread, to the alarm of the citizens, would require volumes: for several nights the houses of individuals were marked with chalk, and the colours, it was said, denoted whether they were to be plundered, burnt, or the inhabitants murdered. In this state of suspicion and ferment, the most injurious reports were spread to the disadvantage even of the most distinguished friends of liberty: among others, the duke d'Orleans was calumniated as harbouring criminal designs upon the crown, or the regency at least. The marquis de la Fayette, who was always forward in every thing that might contribute

to the union of order and good government with the blessings of liberty, undertook to persuade the duke to withdraw himself from the public for a short time at least. He was invested with some public commission, rather nominal than real, and solicited from the assembly a passport for England. The count de Mirabeau, and some other of the more intimate friends of the duke, opposed strenuously his retiring, as more likely to give credit to the calumnies which were fabricated against him than to disprove them; but he chose to sacrifice his private interest to what the known friends of the people considered as the public good. At Boulogne his highness was stopped by the municipality, notwithstanding his passport, and detained till set free by a subsequent order of the assembly.

On the 19th of October the representatives of the French nation held their first session at Paris. A deputation from the commune waited on them immediately with the congratulations of the city, at the head of which were M. Bailly the mayor, and the marquis de la Fayette. After the answer of the president, which was interrupted by peals of applause, the count de Mirabeau embraced the opportunity to press a vote of thanks for their essential services to the nation, and "thus (he said) to signalize their first session in the metropolis, by a public act of justice, which was calculated to confirm the authority of the civil powers, and to repress the false zeal of imprudent friends, as well as the malignant designs of the enemies of freedom." The vote of thanks was decreed amidst the loudest acclamations, and the session of that day concluded, contrary to general expectation, without the smallest disturbance.

Neither

Neither this act of respect towards the magistracy of the city, however, nor the departure of the duke d'Orleans, could entirely prevent the horrors of massacre and insurrection; and the assembly had scarcely been established two days at Paris, before a most atrocious murder, committed almost in its very presence, obliged them to adopt a stronger measure to prevent civil outrage and bloodshed. On the 21st of October an unfortunate baker, of the name of François, who resided in the street *Marché Palu*, close to the *Archeveché*, where the assembly at that period was convened, was singled out as the victim of popular phrensy. After having served out his usual quantity of bread in the morning, he found his door still besieged by several persons who had not yet been able to obtain a supply. Among these was a woman, who is said to have borne a particular enmity against the unfortunate baker, and who insisted on searching the house for bread. On entering, she found three loaves which the journeymen had reserved for their own use; and snatching up one of them in her hand, she raised the injurious outcry, that François had reserved a part of the provision which ought to have been distributed for the use of the poor, and that he was a monopolist and a monster. The complaint was no sooner made public than an immense mob was collected; the baker was dragged forcibly to the Grève; and there, notwithstanding all the efforts of the municipality in his favour, he was hanged.

So outrageous a defiance of authority, so complete a subversion of law and justice, could not escape the pointed notice of the legislature.—The first movements of popular

fury, on their deliverance from despotism, might seem excusable; but the populace of Paris had now reached the summit of licentiousness and injustice. They had erected themselves into a power superior to the magistrates; and unless some decisive measure was taken, there was danger that the representative body itself would no longer be able to maintain its authority. An act was immediately passed for the prevention and the dispersion of riots, which authorised the magistrates, on any number of persons assembling, to call in the aid of the military, and to proclaim martial law. A red flag was to be displayed from the principal window of the town-house; and from that moment all assemblies of the populace, with or without arms, were to be considered as criminal. Should the mob refuse to disperse on being required by the magistrates, the military were then to act on the offensive; those who escaped might be arrested; and if unarmed, and they had been guilty of no act of violence, they were to be imprisoned for one year: if found in arms, they were declared liable to three years imprisonment; and if they had committed any violence, were judged guilty of a capital offence. To give effect and vigour to this law, the committee of research was ordered to make all necessary enquiries into treasonable offences; and the constitutional committee to form a plan as soon as possible of a tribunal for the trial of all crimes of *lese-nation*; and in the mean time this power was for the present vested in the court of the Chatelet.

These efforts of the assembly were vigorously seconded by the municipality. The murderer of François was arrested on the very day on which he committed the crime;



crime; and on the following day was executed, with another unfortunate person who was also convicted of exciting sedition. The king and queen sympathised in the distress of the unfortunate widow of François: by the hands of the duke de Liancourt they sent her 2000 crowns; the commune also sent a deputation with a present to her; his remains were decently interred at the public expence; and the king and queen undertook to become the sponsors at the baptism of the child with which his widow was pregnant at the time of his death.

The same disposition to violence, the same proneness to suspicion, that appeared in the capital, was no less active in the provinces. At Alençon, the viscount Caraman, who had been sent thither by marshal Contades with a detachment of horse, was on the point of being destroyed by the populace, on a most improbable rumour that he was inimical to the revolution. And at Vernon, a M. Planter, deputy of the commune at Paris, who had been sent by the magistrates to purchase corn, was seized by the mob, and, after a mock trial, the fatal cord was twice fixed round his neck; when Mr. Nesham, a young Englishman who happened to be in the town, opposed himself singly to the violence of the populace, and rescued from instant death a respectable member of society. For this noble act of courage and humanity, Mr. Nesham was honoured with the first civic crown which was ever decreed in France; and was presented by the magistrates of Paris with a sword, on which was engraven the honourable testimony of having saved the life of a French citizen. At Lanion, a town in Brittany, also, some gentlemen who had been sent from Brest for the purchase of

provisions incurred a similar danger with M. Planter. A detachment, however, of the national guard from Brest soon restored order and tranquillity, and obliged the inhabitants of Lanion to make satisfaction for the outrages they had committed.

The next important object which occupied the attention of the legislative body, was to reform and organize the representation of the kingdom. A plan was proposed by the abbé Sieyès, in which the profoundest policy was united with the fairest and most equitable principles. The ancient division of the kingdom into provinces, each possessing what it termed its peculiar rights, each governed by peculiar laws, and each forming in itself a little kingdom, with its own parliament, its own metropolis, its own jurisdiction, was found to be productive of a rivalry and jealousy, which nothing but the strong arm of despotism could coerce. In the present glow of patriotism, the present transport of liberty, the minds of men were disposed to sacrifices and renunciations; but there was the utmost reason to apprehend, that should this auspicious crisis not be improved, should the generous feelings of the moment be suffered to subside, those petty local prejudices which weaken and disjoint a state would again revive; and as every government which approaches the republican form is naturally weaker than that which partakes of absolute monarchy, they could only revive to distract, and perhaps dismember, the empire. Besides the radical division into provinces, the kingdom was also divided fantastically and irregularly upon other principles. It was divided into governments, agreeably to the military order; into generalities, according to the order of administration; into

dioceses, according to the ecclesiastical order; and also subdivided in the judicial order into bailiwicks, seneschals, &c. The divisions and subdivisions were all without regularity, conformity, or proportion; neither adapted to population nor territory. A new arrangement was therefore not only essential to an equal representation of the people, but to the uniformity of government, and the security and permanence of the constitution.

Three principles were attended to in forming the new representative system: territory, population, and taxation; and it was supposed that, by the combination of these three elementary principles, they would serve mutually to correct each other.

According to the new scheme of the representation, therefore, "the whole kingdom was divided into 83 larger sections, which are called departments, and each of which comprehends a space of about 324 square leagues; each department was divided into districts, the number of which were not to be less than 3, nor more than 9; each district was again subdivided into cantons of 4 square leagues in extent. Three degrees were preserved in the administrative assemblies; but only two in the elective. The first were the assemblies of the canton, which were called primary, and which choose the electors for the department; the second were the electoral assemblies, which return the representatives to the national assembly. The whole number of representatives was to be 745; of which 247 are attached to the territory, and of which each department nominates 3, except that of Paris, which nominates only one.—249 are attributed to population, each department nominating in proportion to its population; and 249 are at-

tributed to direct contribution; and each department is to nominate representatives in proportion to the contribution which it pays to the state. The functions of the elective assemblies were limited entirely to the right of election. The administrative body was to be elected by the electoral assemblies; and in each department was constituted a superior board of administration; in each district, an inferior or subordinate administration; and to these were committed the superintendence of the collection of the revenue, and all the details of interior administration."

On this great and able system of interior policy we have only to remark, that the division of the kingdom into parts too small to act offensively in a separate state, was, for the reasons which we have already assigned, a measure fraught with wisdom, and favourable to liberty. The preserving distinct the electoral and administrative powers was equally judicious. The mode of electing by primary and secondary assemblies, was assuredly the only adequate means of obviating the fatal effects of faction and venality. As to the basis on which the representation is formed, many doubts will be entertained by politicians concerning its expediency: the adjusting of it to three principles is certainly a complex mode of proceeding; nor will it be easy to assign a reason why it should not have been instituted on the simple and obvious principle of population alone.

After all that had been performed by the assembly, the utter derangement of the finances, and actual deficiency of means to supply the exigencies of the nation, threatened loudly the destruction of the state. In this difficult and hazardous predicament, the popular party resolved upon

upon a bold and dangerous measure, which no apology can justify, and which it is difficult even to excuse; and this was, to sacrifice the possessions of the church to the exigencies of the state.

The most singular circumstance attending this unprecedented alienation is, that it was first proposed by an ecclesiastic. The young and patriotic bishop of Autun, M. Talleyrand Perigord, whose appointment was already considerable, and whose rank and abilities afforded him the most brilliant prospects in the ecclesiastical career, ascended the tribune on the 10th of October; and "after stating the necessities of the nation, the exhausted state of the finances, and utter impossibility of remedying them by any thing but a strong measure; with a disinterestedness which astonished the assembly, and with a boldness which for the moment silenced opposition, he observed that the state had yet an immense resource in the possessions of the clergy. He asserted, that the revenues of the clergy are at the disposition of the nation; that all sinecures might and ought to be suppressed; and that the right which every ecclesiastic possessed in the revenues of his church, was limited to that of a decent subsistence. The annual revenue of the church he estimated at 150 millions; 100 millions of which he proposed to appropriate still to the purposes of public worship, and 50 to the public service. This, with a vigorous exertion of public economy, he asserted, would supply the annual deficit, would redeem the heavy and oppressive salt tax, and the sale of offices." His speech contained many other matters in detail, and appeared of such importance that it was ordered to be printed.

The discussion was continued at

intervals to the 2d of November: the principal speakers for the affirmative were Messrs. Thouret, Garat, Mirabeau, Barnave, Gouttes, and Dillon; and it was opposed by M. Montlausier, the viscount de Mirabeau, the abbés Maury, Montesquiou, d'Aymar, and the archbishop of Aix. On the one side it was urged, "that it was evident the clergy had not a full title as proprietors in the church lands, because no ecclesiastic could sell or dispose of them—that public utility is the supreme law, and ought not to be weighed in a balance against a superstitious regard to what was called the will of the founders; as if a few weak and injudicious individuals ought to bind the nation and posterity—that foundations multiplied by vanity, if suffered to be of eternal duration, would in time absorb the whole property of a nation; as, if every person that ever lived had a sepulchre, there would have been a necessity for overthrowing these barren monuments, in order to find lands for cultivation. They distinguished the estates of the clergy into three kinds: those which were bestowed by the kings, by aggregate corporations, and by individuals.—The foundations made by the kings could be only made in the name of the nation, by dismembering the public estate. Those which were made by aggregate bodies fall under the same predicament; every such gift was the undoubted deed, that is, the undoubted property, of the nation.

"With respect to the donations of individuals, it was asked, what is property in general? It is a right given by the laws and convention of a state to an individual, to possess exclusively what in a state of nature would have been the property of all, or of any other person: it is an

state acquired in virtue of the laws. No law of the nation, it was urged, had constituted the clergy a permanent body—they were created by the nation, they might be destroyed by the nation. This every founder must have seen; and must have seen that it was not in his power to trespass on the rights of the nation. The clergy, it was asserted, were the servants of the state, were authorized to demand a subsistence from the state; and consequently, if they possessed property, it could be for no other purpose than to relieve the public from the charge. The same observations were applied to whatever estates might have been acquired by the economy or diligence of the ecclesiastics themselves; and it was asked, whether it was not of importance to religion and morals, that a more equal distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues should henceforward reward the industrious, and restrain the luxury of those who were a disgrace to the sacred order?"

The advocates of the clergy, on the other hand, maintained, "that their opponents had grounded their arguments on a principle which was drawn from the dark and abstract subtleties of metaphysics, in opposition to the dictates of common sense, the evidence of history, and the universal practice of mankind—that unless the rights of property were held sacred, civil society was dissolved, the confidence that ought to be its support was for ever removed, and men sunk again into a state of nature, that is, of barbarism and rapine—that the estates of the clergy were never actually possessed by the nation; and were sanctioned by the same titles, the same authorities, as the estates of private citizens: a part was obtained by bequest or assignment; and a part was the effect of economy and industry in the cler-

gy themselves—that to deprive the church of its property, was to annihilate it—that infinite scandal would accrue to the nation from such a measure; and that religion itself would receive a fatal wound." The clergy concluded by offering a quarter of their revenues to supply the deficiency of the finances, and, if that should not be sufficient, a half: but the offer was rejected, and it was decreed, "that the estates of the church were at the disposal of the nation, which undertakes to provide for the decent support of the clergy; and that in consequence no clergyman ought to possess less in any parish than 1200 livres, or about 60*l.* per annum, independent of the parsonage-house, garden, glebe, &c."

While the discussion concerning the estates of the clergy was in agitation, the assembly abolished formally *lettres de cachet* and all arbitrary imprisonment; decreed, that henceforth no man could be imprisoned but for offences against the laws; and appointed a committee for inquiring into the offences of persons detained in the state prisons. They also abolished the difference of habit which marked the different orders in the national assembly. They refused to invest their own members with any peculiar immunities; and in particular disclaimed the privilege of franking letters. An inquiry into the nature and amount of the pensions paid out of the public funds was also instituted, and a committee appointed for the purpose.

The decree concerning the clergy was followed on the 3d by another, which suspended the parliaments from the exercise of their functions; and on the 5th the final blow was given to the feudal system, and all its consequences, by the famous decree which utterly abolished all distinction of orders.

It is evident that measures so hostile to the interests of so many individuals, possessed both of consequence and power, could not be suffered without opposition. The bishop of Treguier was one of the first to draw the sword of hostility against the assembly: he publicly declaimed against all the measures of the new legislature, represented them as fatal to religion, and as reversing the whole system of government. About the same period, a considerable number of the members of the parliament of Toulouse, who styled themselves of the order of nobility, though the distinction of orders was abolished, published an invitation to the clergy and the *tiers état*, to unite with them in an effort "to restore to religion its beneficial influence; to the laws, their force and action; to the monarch, his liberty and lost authority."

But what might appear more formidable still, was the convoking of the ancient provincial states. Those of Bearn were actually assembled. Those of Dauphiné convoked themselves also without the king's authority; and, contrary to their own positive resolution, they restored the distinction of orders in their form of assembling. The states of Cambray protested against the decree concerning the church lands. In Brittany also some strong efforts of faction were made, which could scarcely fail to intimidate a body less resolute than the national assembly.

The parliaments were not backward in joining this league against the interests of the people. The chamber of vacations at Rouen registered indeed the law which suspended their powers, but transmitted a secret protest to the king, who, justly irritated at such a proceeding, immediately laid it before the assembly.

So decisive a defiance of the legislative authority demanded exemplary punishment; and the assembly resolved, "that this protest should be forthwith submitted to the tribunal, which for the time had cognizance of the crimes of leze-majesty; and that the king should be entreated to name another chamber of vacations, which might register without any comment the decree of the 3d of November." So decided a step had its due effect upon the refractory parliament. Instead of persisting in its opposition, its first step was to endeavour to explain away the malignant spirit of the protest; to represent, that the decree was registered in the fairest and most simple manner; and that the paper in question was meant merely as a testimony of respect to his majesty. Satisfied with this submission, the king wrote to the president with his own hand, soliciting the pardon of the offending chamber of vacations, which, after some debate, was at length accorded. The parliament of Metz, in the same spirit but with less violence, protested against the decree which suspended its functions: the assembly ordered the offending members to their bars; but the parliament finding little support from the people, and terrified for the consequences, applied to the municipality to intercede with the legislative body in their favour. A decree of amnesty was therefore passed, and the pardon of the magistrates granted to the entreaty of the citizens.

In Provence, and particularly at Marseilles, commotions were excited by a fatal jealousy between the members of the parliament and the municipality. A cat was hanged by the populace at Marseilles, and the aristocratic party insisted upon it that the execution was emblematical.

The intendant of that city was particularly odious to the people, and he requested a military force to assist him in preserving order. The military were received with infinite courtesy by the inhabitants: but the harmony was not of long continuance; for the disturbances broke out afresh, on an attempt being made by M. Caraman, the commander of the troops, to reform the constitution of the national guard. An invitation was put up in different parts of the city, requiring the citizens to repair to the turret to oppose this reform. Thither immediately the military was ordered, and one of the citizens was killed. The people immediately carried his body through the streets; entered the house of an obnoxious person, M. la Fleche; the military were again called out, and twenty-three persons were arrested. The severity of the prévôt-general, M. Bournisac, in prosecuting on account of these commotions, and his injustice in directing accusations against innoxious citizens who were guiltless of every public offence, continued to promote, instead of appeasing the troubles. The indignation of the national assembly was at length roused by these proceedings. The prosecution of the offenders was taken out of the hands of M. Bournisac, and referred to the senechal court of Marseilles, and peace was once more established.

It was natural, in such a state of things, that jealousies should arise between the people and the soldiery; and these jealousies were certainly fomented with industry by the enemies of the new constitution. At Toulon, M. Albert de Rioms, commandant of the marine, a man of high military reputation, but deeply infected with aristocratical prejudices, offended the populace by expressing himself in a contemptuous

manner of the national guard, and prohibiting the workmen in the arsenal from wearing the national cockade. His rashness, however, had nearly cost him his life; a mob assembled, and, but for the prudence of the national guard, would have sacrificed him to their resentment. He and four of his principal officers, who were accused of having given orders to fire on the people, were committed to prison to wait the decision of the assembly; and the legislative body judging favourably of the motives of M. Albert, and probably wishing to provoke as little as possible the resentment of any party, passed a decree favourable to the restoration of tranquillity, and liberated the officers.

About the same period a melancholy event, the effect of private revenge, took place at Senlis, which, from the vicinity of that place to Paris, made the greater impression. A soldier, who had been discharged from the national troops, fired on a procession of the citizens as they passed by the house in which he was. An immense multitude rushed impetuously in to seize the culprit; when the house, by design, as was generally believed, blew up, and no less than sixty persons lost their lives, and an immense number were wounded by the explosion.

While the provinces were agitated by these and similar events, the national assembly was divided by contending parties, and not less by the interested contests of private ambition. Among the most important discussions at this period, was that which regarded the eligibility of the executive ministers to seats in the legislative assembly. It was about the beginning of November that the count de Mirabeau, after a long discourse upon the state of the nation and the finances, proposed three motions

tions for the consideration of the assembly: the first regarded the supply of corn and bread; the second contained a proposal for establishing a national bank; and the third imported, "that his Majesty's ministers should be invited to a consultative voice in the assembly, till the constitution should have determined the rules by which they were to be governed." So strange a combination as that of the last article with two motions which simply regarded the finance, could not fail to alarm the popular party; and as the count de Mirabeau was not suspected of the purest motives, the discussion of the two first propositions was soon abandoned to make room for the third, which appeared of the greatest magnitude and importance to the nation. It was spiritedly attacked by Messrs. Bliu, Custine, de Richier, d'Ekourmel, and the viscount de Noailles; and it was supported by M. M. de Montmorenci, Garat, jun. by the duke de la Rochefoucault, count Clermont Tonnerre, and others. An adjournment was proposed; and the debate was renewed with considerable spirit the following day, on an amendment proposed by M. Lanjuinais, which excluded completely the members of the national assembly, and for three years after they ceased to be members, from any share in the executive government. By the party which supported the admissibility of ministers to the legislature, it was pleaded, "that the presence of ministers was frequently required for the purpose of information; that it would give a dignity and splendour to the officers of the crown; that the public service ought not to deprive any citizen of his rights, and there were none better qualified to legislate than those who were generally appointed to the high offices of the state." In defence of the

motion of M. de Mirabeau in particular it was contended, "that at all events it was only a mere temporary measure, and that to this moment no person had doubted of the propriety of the members of the states-general acting in a public capacity. On the other hand it was urged, with no less force and energy, "that the admission of ministers to a seat and a voice among the representatives of the people, effectually confounded what ought to be preserved essentially distinct, the legislative and executive powers—that the servants of the crown could not without manifest injury be admitted to participate in the highest prerogative, that of legislation. The example of England was adduced as an instance of the ill effects of this system, where two factions are continually kept up in the legislative body; that of the ministers, who are endeavouring to keep their places, and that of the opposition, or those whose endeavour it is to perplex and embarrass the agents of the executive power, in order that they may seize the vacant offices." The count de Mirabeau, highly exasperated, at length moved, "that the motion should only extend to the exclusion of M. Lanjuinais and himself from the ministry." It was, however, finally determined in favour of the motion of M. Lanjuinais; and with this addition, with respect to the present constituting assembly, "that no member could accept of any place in the ministry."

Another determination, which was effected with more complete unanimity, evinced equally the broad basis on which the assembly desired to proceed. The island of Corsica, from the period in which it was conquered, had never been firmly attached to the old government of France, and had been retained in

subjection only by the strong fetters of military despotism. They had never ratified the infamous contract by which a nation was transferred, like a flock of sheep, from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The meeting of the states-general had revived within the bosoms of these brave men the untamed spirit of liberty, and the hope of being once more reinstated in their rights. These hopes were succeeded by a sinister rumour, that they were once more to be ceded to the detested domination of Genoa; or, that at least they were to be still retained as a servile appendage to a land of freedom. In such a state of doubt and perplexity, the passions of the multitude are easily excited. They proposed immediately to form a national guard. The citizens of Bastia assembled for that purpose in the parish church of St. John. The army marched to disperse them, and in the contest some lives were lost. In this state of ferment the island remained, when a deputation appeared at the bar of the assembly, entreating, in the name of the people of Corsica, that they might be irrevocably united by a decree of the legislature to the French nation, as a constituent part of the empire. Such a request was too reasonable and too flattering to the assembly not to be instantly complied with; and this was followed by a motion of the count de Mirabeau (who lamented that his youth had been disgraced by participating in the conquest of this island), to restore all who had emigrated, except on account of civil crimes, to their rank, their rights, and their property.

Notwithstanding all that had been effected in favour of the people, the state still continued to be oppressed under an intolerable weight of distress, occasioned by the total disor-

der of the finances. The public deficiency was an immense gulf, which no patriotic sacrifice was powerful enough to close, and the pecuniary embarrassments of the nation seemed rather to increase. The current specie of the country was swept away by emigration; and the royal treasury was exhausted by the purchase of corn and provisions. A miracle was necessary to reinstate the public affairs, and this miracle was expected from the minister of finance. But, in such a state of things, what could human wisdom or human foresight effect? In the midst of alarms, of suspicions, of discredit, it was impossible to enter upon any new or extraordinary measure for reinstating the wealth and resources of the nation: the minister, therefore, instead of producing a new and complete system of national finance, embraced that remedy which appeared most adapted to the circumstances; and, amidst a number of difficulties, made choice of that which appeared to be fraught with least danger and inconvenience. The *caisse d'escompte* had been created by M. Turgot in 1776, and, though not strictly a national institution, had been a favourite with most of the ministers from that period; it had occasionally rendered service to the state; and, at the period of which we are now treating, the nation was indebted to it in no less a sum than 70 millions. The idea of a national bank had for some years been extremely popular in France. In compliance, therefore, with the popular voice, and as the only means of furnishing the nation with resources, M. Neckar proposed the establishment of one; and for the basis of this establishment he was desirous of taking an institution to which the public had so many obligations, and wished, in a word, to convert the



the *caisse d'escompte* into a national bank. In opposition to this plan two obstacles presented themselves: the credit of the *caisse d'escompte* was extremely low; and therefore it was neither easy to force its notes into circulation, nor to protract the period when it should be called upon to convert them into specie. After much discussion in the assembly, it was determined in part to adopt the plan of the minister—to act with justice towards the *caisse d'escompte*, to provide the nation with a temporary supply, and to derive as speedy advantages as might be from the immense landed property of the king and of the clergy. Two decrees to this effect were passed on the 19th of December, the particulars of which it would be tedious to detail: the first gave currency to the notes of the *caisse d'escompte*, stipulating at the same time, that it should furnish the national treasury with 80 millions for the current year, which were to be reimbursed, together with the old debt, by assignats on the *caisse de l'extraordinaire*: and the second created a *caisse de l'extraordinaire*, in which all patriotic donations were to be funded, and which was to take charge of the sale of the national domains, and from these resources to answer ultimately the exigencies of the public.

This plan was no sooner carried into execution, than a profusion of patriotic donations flowed into the assembly. Even foreigners, affected with the same generous enthusiasm, were desirous of participating in the glory of giving liberty to France, and extricating those noble assertors of freedom from the difficulties that beset them. The city of Neuchâtel, among others, presented the nation with a quarter of its revenue, which was accepted with gratitude: but a donation of 900,000 livres of-

fered by the republic of Geneva met with a very different reception. The ruling party of that city were considered as usurpers, who by the force of arms had seized the government in 1782, and had retained it in opposition to the rights of the citizens. With a unanimity which did honour to their feelings, the assembly refused the donation, declaring, that the representatives of the French nation could not accept of a present from the oppressors of Geneva.

The patriotism and virtue of the assembly were put to a severer trial on the 10th of December. The revolted states of Brabant and Flanders were naturally led to look up to the assertors of Gallic liberty, as protectors and allies. M. Vandernoot, therefore, who assumed the title and character of agent plenipotentiary of Brabant, transmitted to the king and the legislative body the manifesto of those newly created states. The first impulse of the people demanded the immediate recognition of the liberty and independence of the Austrian Netherlands; but the assembly had the courage and the prudence to resist this impulse; and conscious that the state was unprepared for a general continental war, in which such a step must infallibly involve them, and yet unwilling to declare themselves the immediate partisans of despotism, deferred opening the dispatch till a remote period.

The examples of the rebellious parliaments of Metz and Rouen did not deter that of Brittany from following their example; with this additional mark of contumacy, that the chamber of vacations there did not satisfy itself with a protest against the authority of the legislature, but positively refused to register the edict which suspended them from the exercise

ercise of their functions. On being ordered to the bar of the assembly, they pleaded that the term for the exercise of their power was expired, and therefore they could not perform any legal act; but justified the measure still farther by a reference to the old charters and statutes of Brittany. The consequence was, that, being a second time ordered to the bar, they were deprived formally of the rights of active citizens, till by a solemn act they should declare their submission; and a temporary chamber was established for the administration of justice in Brittany.

The corruption which had pervaded all the old tribunals of justice, indeed, appeared scarcely less to attach to that of the Chatelet than to the provincial administrations. In acquitting the baron Bezenval, marshal Broglio, and the prince de Lambesq, they at once asserted the sacred independance of the laws, and demonstrated their own regard to justice. To condemn the servants of an existing government for obedience to the commands of their superiors, is to punish the guiltless, while the really criminal escape; and to try men for offences against the rights of the people, while the actual constitution of the country has denied them any, is to try them by an *ex post facto* law. But, in the sacrifice of the marquis de Favras, this tribunal forfeited the honour it would otherwise have acquired in the eyes of good men, and enveloped their own proceedings in a veil of mystery unbecoming a free government, and which fixes an indelible stain upon their own characters.

This unfortunate gentleman inherited from nature an enterprising genius, and an exalted ambition. He had been successively a captain of dragoons, and first lieutenant of the Swiss guards in the service of

Monsieur. He had married a princess of Anhalt Schaamburgh, who had been persecuted by her family on account of her attachment to the Roman catholic religion; and, by his spirit and address, had obtained an imperial rescript to oblige the prince her father to allow his daughter a pension of 1000 florins. The marquis de Favras engaged deeply in the troubles of Holland in 1785; and having undertaken to raise a regiment for the service of the patriotic party, he formed a connection with a M. Tourcaty, who engaged to furnish him with troops. The peace, however, which was forced upon the Dutch by the military mediation of the king of Prussia, disconcerted his projects, and induced him to turn his attention to the insurrection in Brabant, as a proper field for the display of his talents. His patriotic connections in these countries, however, had not converted him to the democratic side of the question in his own. Connected by birth with the aristocracy, and in habits of intimacy with the great men of the court, he was supposed to have been privy to the plan of carrying off the king to Metz. He was one of the first to wear the white cockade on the 2d of October; and on the 5th he had requested M. de St. Priest to furnish him and a number of volunteers with horses from the royal stables, in order to disperse the rabble, and deprive them of their artillery.

After the establishment of the king and the assembly at Paris, the marquis de Favras was accused of entering into a further conspiracy, the object of which was to engage a number of men, under the pretence of raising a regiment for the service of Brabant, who were to enter Paris by different ways, to massacre  
M. de

M. de la Fayette, M. Bailly, and M. Neckar, and with or without his consent convey the king to Peronne. Monsieur, the king's brother, was also suspected of being at the head of this conspiracy. In the course of his proceedings, he renewed his connection with Tourcaty, in order to engage his services in raising men: this person had introduced him to another of the name of Morel. These were his principal agents; and in concert with these men he actually applied to M. Chomel, a moneyed man in Paris, to negotiate a loan in the name of Monsieur.

The news of this supposed conspiracy was no sooner abroad, than the whole city was in a state of confusion. Monsieur flew to the Hôtel de Ville, to explain to the magistrates the nature of his connection with M. de Favras. He stated, that in 1772 that gentleman entered into his Swiss guards, and declined the service in 1775, from which time he had never spoken with him. That finding himself disappointed from the troubles of the nation in the collection of his revenues, and not wishing to apply to the public treasury, he determined to solicit a private loan; that M. de Favras had been recommended as a proper person to negotiate this business, and had actually effected it with Messieurs Chomel and Sertorius, bankers—but that he had never had any personal communication with the marquis de Favras on this affair, or on any other. He appealed, in his justification, to his conduct in the assembly of the notables; and assured the magistrates, that he had ever been a most firm friend to the revolution. The discourse of Monsieur appeared to satisfy both the magistrates and the national assembly, though some of the patriotic

party still are disposed to doubt of his innocence.

M. de Favras was arrested on the 26th of December, but was not brought to trial before the 9th of February following. The principal evidences against him were Tourcaty and Morel, who stated the facts which have been already related in accusation: and these were corroborated by the testimony of a M. Marquié, who had been a serjeant in the French guards, had distinguished himself in the taking of the Bastille, and was now sub-lieutenant of one of the centre companies. On the 6th of October this person had been extremely active in saving the lives of the gardes-du-corps; and, in conducting the king to Paris, was observed to shed tears. It appeared that the marquis de Favras had had some interviews in private with M. Marquié, in which he attempted to infuse into his mind suspicions that the French guards were no longer to be entrusted with the honour of guarding their monarch, which was to be committed entirely to the citizens: he insinuated, that they ought to resume their former appellation; and presented him with a pamphlet, the title of which was, "Open your eyes." To all this the marquis replied, in his defence, that considering himself, as he was, without money, without men; with no confidants but two such persons as Tourcaty and Morel, the gross absurdity of projecting such a plot as he was accused of was a sufficient answer to the calumny; and he observed, that the evidence of the two first witnesses was so contradictory and inconsistent with each other, that their testimony ought to be considered as of no weight.

A third witness, more formidable than

than any of the others, was however produced, and this was M. Chomel. He did not pretend that M. Favras had communicated to him any particulars similar to those which were stated by the other witnesses; but asserted, that he had talked with him of a much more feasible project; which was, to assemble all the discontented party on the frontiers of the Netherlands, under a pretence of taking part in that dispute, until they should form an army strong enough to invade France from different quarters; which was to be followed by a re-instatement of the parliaments, and all the different branches of the old government which had been destroyed.

On the first day of the trial of M. de Favras, the mob had endeavoured riotously to assemble; but they were dispersed by the masterly conduct of M. de la Fayette, and the fidelity of the French guards, and long before his condemnation the city was restored to perfect tranquillity.

It is plain that the evidence against this unhappy gentleman was by no means sufficiently decisive to justify a verdict against him. At the most, his crime was little more than conversation, the expression of a wish to overturn the government, without the least probability of success in the execution of it: even this, however, he most strenuously denied.—He asserted, that he was not disaffected to the new order of things, and only wished to see his sovereign enjoy in safety and tranquillity that share of authority which was consistent with a free government; and that, in all the projects he had ever entertained concerning the levying of troops, he had nothing farther in view than to push his fortune in the service of

Brabant. He pleaded his cause with all the energy and confidence of conscious innocence, with all the eloquence and argument of a most accomplished mind—in vain. The temper of the people, it was supposed, required a victim, and this corrupt tribunal was determined it should not want one. He was found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 19th of the same month. If we may credit the report of ocular witnesses, there never was displayed greater vigour of mind, greater force of character, or more exalted courage, than was manifest in the conduct of the unfortunate criminal, at a moment the most trying for human nature. From that period till his execution his fortitude never forsook him. On the fatal day he was dressed at an early hour, and with peculiar decency and care. He requested that he might be attended in his last moments by the curate of St. Paul's church, and professed, with a sober but fervent piety, his firm belief in the great truths of the gospel, and his hope of a joyful resurrection. He was drawn in a cart to the place of execution, his head and feet naked, his hair loose and flowing, and dressed, agreeably to the sentence, in a white robe over his own clothes. When arrived before the principal gate of Notre Dame, he desired to be conducted to the Hôtel de Ville, where he would reveal, he said, important secrets. He there dictated, with his usual calmness, a long protestation of his innocence. "He declared that neither in July, September, nor October, he had been privy to any conspiracy to carry off the king.—His earnestness in the king's service on the 5th of October had pointed him out, he said, to a great lord

lord who was engaged about the king's person, as a proper man to observe the motions of the populace. This great person (probably the prince de Luxembourg) was, at that time, apprehensive of an insurrection in the suburb of St. Antoine; he therefore employed M. de Favras to procure intelligence, in order that, in such a case, measures might be taken for the king's safety, and presented him with 100 louis to discharge his expences in this inquiry. On this account, and on this only, he declared, he had applied to Tourcaty and Morel, and had founded M. Marquié with respect to the sentiments of the French guards." It is said, moreover, but on what authority we cannot say, that he asked the judge who attended him on the occasion, "whether, if he were to explain himself more openly, it would make any alteration in his favour?" and that, upon the judge assuring him that it was impossible to defer the execution of the sentence, he replied—"In that case, my secret shall die with me."

At eight o'clock in the evening M. de Favras descended from the Hôtel de Ville, and proceeded to the place of execution (surrounded with lamps and torches) with a firm step, and with the utmost composure exhorted his friends not to lament him.—The whole of the ferocious multitude, who waited for and rejoiced in his death, was moved.—The curate of St. Paul fainted, When at the foot of the scaffold, he exclaimed—"Citizens, I die an innocent man. Pray for me." The whole assembly trembled; the executioner himself was overwhelmed with emotions of grief; the most awful silence ensued for some minutes, and was only broken by the intrepid sufferer himself calling out

to the executioner to do his duty.—After hanging the usual time, his body was delivered to his friends.

Such was the fate of this unfortunate nobleman;—unmerited, certainly, if we are to judge only from the evidence which is before the public; and if among his papers, which were seized, any more convincing testimonies were found, they ought to have been fairly exhibited to the world, whatever the rank of the persons whom they might involve. Either the public ought to have been satisfied of the guilt of M. de Favras, or he ought to have been acquitted. What is most extraordinary is, that about the same period a M. Augéard was accused before the same tribunal of a similar crime; and a project in his own hand writing for carrying off the king to Metz was produced, which project he had himself communicated to M. de Clermont Tonnerre; and yet, difficult as it may be to reconcile such contradictions, this man was solemnly acquitted, while the elegant and accomplished Favras was condemned and executed.

While the Chatelet was thus ignominiously employed, the national assembly was proceeding in its patriotic labours. Several decrees which reflect honour on their liberality of sentiment were passed. Among these we shall only mention the decree which declares all persons, whether professing the catholic religion or not, eligible to all offices and employments of the state; and that which abolished the barbarous feudal principle, which attached infamy to the descendants of persons executed for crimes, and which, with us, is still retained under the unphilosophical term, *corruption of blood*. On the 4th of February the king voluntarily repaired

paired to the national assembly; and "lamenting, in a long discourse, the malignant efforts of the enemies of the new constitution, he declared solemnly, that he would defend it to the last moment of his existence; and that, in concert with the queen, it should be his constant endeavour to educate his children in the sacred love of liberty." The applause which was bestowed on this discourse was mingled with tears of joy and gratitude. As soon as the king was retired, the assembly decreed a most loyal address; and profiting by the occasion, it was also determined to administer immediately to all the members present the civic oath, and that those who were absent should not be permitted to take any part in the deliberations till they had submitted to a similar ceremony. The example was followed by the whole city of Paris; and at the same time an address to the provinces was decreed by the assembly, to announce what they had already effected, and what they still proposed to do for the entire regeneration of the empire.

The disorders of the kingdom had not yet entirely subsided.—At Beziers a riot was occasioned by the seizure of some contraband salt; and five persons were hanged by the mob. The castles of the nobility in many parts of the kingdom were pillaged; nor did those of the most decided patriots escape. That of M. Charles Lameth was plundered; and that of the duke d'Aiguillon was threatened, but was saved by the activity of the national guard. As the only remedy, therefore, to these disgraceful proceedings, the assembly was obliged, in addition to the riot act formerly mentioned, to pass a decree, which made the municipality responsible for whatever damages might ensue from

riotous assemblies of the people in any part of the kingdom.

The continuance of these acts of violence furnished the parliament of Bourdeaux with a pretext for exciting the country against the new constitution: and a kind of report was drawn up by the chamber of vacations there, of the grievances which the new arrangement had brought upon the country. As soon as this matter was known to the national assembly, it was agitated with much violence for some days; but they at length dismissed the magistrates of the parliament with a gentle reproof.

If the gentlemen of the robe contented with their usual chicanery and address, the opposition of the clergy was not less violent. It must indeed be confessed, that the property which the latter had at stake was much more considerable than that of the former; and their claim to that property was much stronger than that which the legal profession advanced in favour of their monopoly of justice. These clamours were increased by the apprehension that the church lands were speedily to be put to sale; and as a preparatory step, the abolition of monastic vows and orders was agitated in the assembly. After a clamorous debate upon this subject, which in its own nature scarcely admitted of any, it was decreed, "that in future the assembly would sanction no monastic vows in persons of either sex: that the monastic orders were from that moment suppressed in France: that every individual confined in monasteries, of either sex, might be immediately released from their monastic obligations, by giving in their declaration to the municipality, and that such should be entitled to a certain pension; but that houses should be provided for the reception and support of

of such as should not be disposed to take advantage of this decree."

During the discussion of this topic in the assembly a voice was heard, requiring that a decree should be passed, solemnly declaring that the Roman catholic religion was the established religion of the state; and this was followed by a violent clamour, that the church was in danger. M. Dupont replied, that there could not be a doubt that the Roman catholic religion was the religion of the state, since they had appropriated more than 80,000,000 (or four millions sterling) annually to its support. To put an entire termination, however, to all similar debates, the assembly decreed, "that the attachment of the nation to the Roman catholic religion ought not to be doubted, since the support of that form of worship held the first rank in the public-expenditures."

These proceedings were speedily followed by a decree, authorizing the sale of the church lands to the amount of 80 millions of livres; to be disposed of from time to time, as the legislature should direct. In the mean time it was determined, that a number of assignats, or notes of credit upon these lands, to be accepted in payment on their sale, should be issued into circulation.—Some regulations were also made respecting the ransom of the feudal rights, and the temporary administration of the tithes.

Several other financial arrangements were adopted for the ease and convenience of the people, and for the encouragement of commerce. The taxes upon leather, oil, soap, starch, and iron, were all abolished. But the most popular step of the legislature was to annihilate for ever the odious and oppressive *droit de gabelle*, or salt tax, which had for ages been the cause of continual seditions

among the people. These were replaced by a small addition to the territorial taxes. The tax on tobacco has since been abolished; and from that period tobacco and salt are become, what they were not before, considerable articles of commerce in France. In fine, that no unlawful restriction should remain upon commerce, the trade to the East Indies was declared free and open to the whole nation.

In the mean time the assembly was not inattentive to that great and necessary task, the reform of the jurisprudence. In almost every nation of Europe the laws are founded upon an equivocal basis; the structure is heterogeneous and inconsistent, and the practice consequently difficult, expensive, and uncertain. They are either founded upon the voluminous code of the Roman law, or they are derived from feudal principles, which are now obsolete and barbarous. Thus the sources of European jurisprudence have no connection or analogy with the manners or the spirit of the times; and the practice of the courts is necessarily sometimes in contradiction to the principles of the feudal laws, and at others absurdly directed by them. The precedents which are founded upon these uncertain and obsolete principles are too voluminous to be useful, too contradictory to be just. The laws themselves, instead of being simple, and obvious to the capacities of the people, are more deeply involved in mystery than the most abstruse speculations of school divinity: they are studied, not to be understood, but to be disputed; and the people are governed by a collection of maxims of which they know as little as of the code of China or Indostan. In no country was this the case more than in France,

France, and in scarcely any were the expences of lawsuits more grievously oppressive. The assembly at once simplified the laws, and placed justice within the reach of the poor; by ordering that it should be *gratuitously administered*. It restored the excellent institution of juries in criminal cases, though it is to be regretted that they have not yet extended that institution to civil causes, where it is still more essential to an uncorrupt administration of justice.

The abolition of the feudal tenures affected materially the revenues of some of the princes of Germany who had possessions in France: to these the French legislature decreed a compensation; but the prejudices or the policy of those noblemen have not yet permitted them to accept of any.

In the regulation of their own West India colonies a still more difficult task was imposed upon the national assembly; and as these affairs have been much spoken of, but not generally understood, we shall endeavour to state them as authentically as we can, and as copiously as our limits will admit. When the national assembly first proclaimed the rights of men and citizens, the sugar islands trembled, in the apprehension that the two most cruel outrages against humanity, slavery and the slave trade, were about to be abolished. The enlightened policy of the united states of America had set the example; and a considerable majority of the people of Great Britain demanded the abolition of the slave trade with a peremptory voice. The most unjust suspicions had pervaded the islands of the intentions of the negroes; which united to the distrust in which the planters held the views of the assembly, contributed to pro-

duce a general ferment in the minds of the white inhabitants.

St. Domingo above all was destined to be the fatal theatre of commotion and of bloodshed. This island is divided into three provinces, the north, the south, and the west; but these are united under one governor general, and one intendant. It appears that so early as the month of June 1789, the deputies from this island negotiated with the minister of marine concerning the new form of government which was intended for the colony. It was however the 27th of September before any thing decisive was determined; and then the minister of marine addressed to the governor and intendant an order to convoke the inhabitants for the purpose of forming a legislative assembly for interior regulation, &c.

The minister's letter arrived too late in the island; three committees were already formed for the three provinces: those of the south and west still preserved a communication with the administration, and with the metropolis; but that of the north, which was assembled at the Cape, manifested very different principles. It declared that the full power of the northern province was legally vested in itself, and that any other assembly would be seditious, and would rather obstruct than promote the re-establishment of order. It presumed to control the executive government; it continued in their functions for a time the public officers; but it nevertheless intercepted the ministerial dispatches, made some alteration in the taxes, and in the administration of justice; it even imprisoned M. Dubois, deputy procureur general, for having said that the slavery of the negroes was an infraction of general liberty. The necessary consequence was a contest between



between the committee and the executive power.—M. Peynier, the governor, annulled by a decree of the supreme council all the resolutions of the committee; forbade the imprisonment of M. Dubois, and ordered an account of all these facts to be transmitted to the national assembly.—On the other hand the decree of the governor and council was declared invalid by the rebellious assembly, who chose a commander in chief of their militia, and were proceeding to hostile measures; but the prudence and moderation of M. de Peynier for a while at least repressed their violence.

The free people of colour (so all the shades between black and white are termed), who formed a considerable part of the population, and possessed a great part of the property of the island, conducted themselves in a very different manner. The unjust arrogance of the whites had placed them in a state of degradation, and insulted with opprobrium every person who bore the smallest relation to the despised African race. As the abolition of all absurd and oppressive prejudices was one of the first principles sanctioned by the French revolution, these depreciated persons were induced to hope that the day was at hand, when a barbarous prejudice, which branded them with the seal of infamy, should no longer exist. In the course of November 1789, the people of colour were assembled in the different parishes for the purpose of advancing a modest claim to the common rights of citizens, and on the 19th they presented an humble memorial to the assembly adapted to that purpose. Such an act of insolence, as it was termed, irritated at once the offended pride of the whites; they caused the deputies to be arrested, and threatened to hang them on the

spot, if they refused to disclose the name of the person who drew up their address. It proved to be a M. Ferrand, a procureur of the king.—He was therefore immediately sent for and interrogated. He declared himself with a becoming firmness the author of the paper which they termed seditious, and proclaimed himself the defender of the cause. Without further ceremony or process, they ordered his head to be struck off by the common executioner, and the sentence was instantly performed.

The outrages and persecution which were commenced upon the people of colour immediately after this transaction knew no bounds. On the nights of the 26th and 27th of November the whites of the committee of Aquin, in three bands, fell upon their habitations, under the pretence of searching for treasonable correspondence. Among others, these ruffians repaired to the house of a M. Labadie. This respectable old gentleman was at that moment reposing quietly in his bed. They burst open his door, and informed him, without further preface, that they were come for his head. Five-and-twenty muskets were instantly fired at him, and his young child was murdered at his side. Though desperately wounded, he had still strength enough left to defend himself; and as they knew he had 150 negroes by whom he was adored, and whom a single call would have brought upon them, they consented to a kind of compromise, that they would spare his life for the present, if he would make no resistance, but go along with them and submit to a trial. He was immediately, without dressing his wounds, put to the bar; and after a mock examination his head was going to be taken off, had he not been rescued from the execu-

tioner by the intrepidity of a person of the name of Maigret, who came to his assistance at the head of a small party.

With a patience and magnanimity highly honourable to the people of colour, they transmitted an account of these proceedings to the national assembly, and declared that, whatever might be the result of their petition, they would submit to its decision. Such was not the language of the white colonists, of their deputies, and of the merchants who traded with them. They represented all the proceedings of the other party as insolent and treasonable, and denounced no less than destruction on the colony, should any resolution in favour of the black inhabitants be passed by the legislature.

In this dilemma, the committee appointed by the national assembly for regulating the affairs of the colonies took the unfortunate determination to temporize, and not to effect any thing of a definitive nature. By their recommendation a decree was passed, which "authorized the inhabitants of every colony to make known their sentiments to the assembly, concerning that plan of interior legislation which would be most conducive to their prosperity; which sanctioned the illegal assemblies already elected, and recommended in places where there were none the speedy election of similar bodies. To the decree was tacked a declaration, that the assembly would not innovate directly or indirectly any system of commerce, with which the welfare of the colonies was connected:" which declaration was generally understood as a sanction of the African slave trade.

This decree, which was passed on the 8th of March 1790, was certainly well intended, but it was as

certainly a most injudicious measure. The assembly had not the daring inhumanity to decree decisively the subjugation of the free people of colour; but it had not the courage to do them justice, to restore them to the common rights of citizens, and annihilate a senseless prejudice founded solely on a difference of complexion. By leaving the adjustment of the government to the colonists themselves, they might be said to have passed an act subversive at once of all order, and declaratory of civil war; and unfortunately the preliminary article to this adjustment was undefined, for they had left undetermined the description or class of men who were to accomplish the very object of the decree. Hence, and hence only, have originated those dreadful contests and insurrections which have desolated the island of St. Domingo; consequences which the sagacity and penetration of Mirabeau anticipated, and would have averted. He and M. Cazalés both ascended the tribune to deprecate the passing of the decree; but such was the influence of the colonists in the assembly, that they were not heard.

We have already intimated, that a committee was appointed for the purpose of enquiring into the expenditure of the public money in pensions and donations; and it was found that a register was kept by the ministers, under the name of the *Red Book*, in which every pension or gift was entered in the hand-writing of the comptroller-general of the finances, and checked by the king himself. At the pressing instance of the committee, this book was communicated to them on the 15th of March. The communication was made under strong circumstances of reserve and delicacy. The king entertained that the profuse expences of his

his grandfather might be kept from the public eye; and the committee promised M. Neckar, it is said, that no part of it should be divulged which might in any respect hurt the feelings of his majesty. The possession of such a depository was however too important an advantage in the hands of the popular party not to be employed; it was, therefore, not without surprise and indignation that M. Neckar saw this register in a few days committed to the press; and when he demanded why they had presumed to publish it without the permission of the assembly and the king, he received for answer—"That as to the assembly, they were certain of its approbation; and as to the king, they were not his representatives." Of this proceeding we can only observe, that it would not have been easy for the committee to reconcile the suppression of this catalogue of public depredations with their duty to their constituents; but certainly the publication ought to have been conducted in a manner more honourable to the representatives of a great nation.

The publication of the Red Book disclosed a series of extravagance and iniquity perhaps unparalleled. Such was the profusion of one minister alone, M. Calonne, that under his short administration it appeared that, independent of their immense revenues, the two brothers of the king had committed depredations on the public treasury to the amount of nearly *two millions* sterling; that upwards of 1,100,000*l.* of this had fallen to the share of the count d'Artois; and that the same minister had undertaken moreover to discharge the debts of this prince, amounting to nearly one million sterling besides. Among the donations and benefactions also, some appeared of the most singular descrip-

tion: among others was recorded a present of 600,000*l.* to an individual for his *important services*—and these services so important to the state were, that he was *maître d'hôtel* to his own wife, madame de Polignac!

The disagreement which took place, upon the publication of the Red Book, between the minister of finance and M. Camus and the other members of the committee of pensions, contributed greatly to the destruction of M. Neckar's popularity, which was already on the decline. Another objection which was raised against him by his enemies related to his plan of creating a board of treasury, which should have a constant control, and which should be continually occupied in apportioning the expences of the state; but the only circumstance which it appears they were able to insist upon in opposition to this plan of the minister was, that his board was chiefly selected from the members of the national assembly, and they had already decreed that none of their members could accept of appointments under the executive government. Another more reasonable cause, which accelerated the unpopularity of this great and upright minister, was, that he had not been forward to promote the creation and circulation of assignats, though it certainly appeared the only measure which was likely to restore the finances, and retrieve the credit of the nation.

M. Neckar was not the only one of the king's ministers who fell under the displeasure of the people. The count de St. Priest was suspected, and apparently not quite without cause, of treasonable designs. A M. Bonne Savardin, who was connected with M. Maillebois, had engaged in carrying on a negotiation between that general and the ex-

princes, to effect a counter-revolution. Upon an information, however, given to the committee of research by M. Massot de Grand-maison, secretary to M. Maillebois, the whole scheme was detected. The general himself fled; but M. Bonne Savardin was seized, and among his papers were found minutes of a conversation between him and M. St. Priest, which indicated no inconsiderable portion of disaffection in that minister. The other members of administration were scarcely more popular; and but little confidence was reposed in the patriotism of either M. de la Tour du Pin or the archbishop of Bourdeaux.

Suspicion and discontent were not indeed confined to the metropolis, but seemed at this unhappy period to pervade the whole kingdom. At Lyons a corps of volunteers was instituted, who refused to mix with the city militia; and but for the judicious conduct of the Swiss regiment d'Ambert, which was quartered there, the whole city might have become the theatre of the most shocking barbarity. At Toulon, a formidable insurrection took place among the workmen in the arsenal, under the pretence of demanding the liberty of three sailors who were confined for some offence, and was with difficulty quelled by the national guard. At Marseilles two regiments of infantry and two hundred dragoons were stationed under the command of M. d'Ambers, colonel of one of the regiments. This officer is accused of having grossly insulted the national guard. Be this as it may, his conduct proved in some way offensive to the patriotism or the prejudices of the municipality and the citizens. An order was obtained from the king for the removal of the regiments; but as the commanders ap-

peared rather tardy in the execution of this order, a troop of young men, to the number of thirty, concerted a stratagem for the purpose of seizing forcibly the fortrefs, and expelling the garrison, which they successfully effected on the night of the 19th of April. The fortrefs, with those of St. Nicholas and St. John, were demolished: on the latter of these forts human nature had been for almost a century insulted by a Latin inscription: "This tower was erected by Louis XIV. lest his faithful people of Marseilles should become infatuated with the love of liberty."

In a similar insurrection at Valence, the viscount de Voisin was torn by the populace from the hands of the national guard, and murdered. In his pocket the traces of a treasonable correspondence were said to be found; though such evidence, we must confess, ought always to be regarded with suspicion, since, if there is a design to take away the life or character of any man, nothing is more easy than to forge a letter.

On the other hand, the enemies of the revolution were not less forward than their adversaries in exciting disturbances and insurrections. Religion was a pretext which was eagerly seized by the disaffected, and the fanaticism of the multitude was but too successfully wrought on.— In the metropolis, the populace took but little interest in the fate of the church; and though the clergy had assembled in the church of the Capuchins St. Honoré, to protest against the sale of the lands, and the proceedings of the national assembly, their declaration, like all impotent menaces, produced only a smile of contempt. In the course of this proceeding, they reproached the assembly for not having formally declared a national religion: "Why," said Mirabeau, "have they not re-

proached

promoted us for neglecting to declare that the sun is the star of the nation, and that no other shall be acknowledged or permitted to regulate the succession of day and night?"

In the provinces, the efforts of the refractory clergy were more successful. In the south particularly, which had been the theatre of religious war, and where the two parties of catholic and protestant still regarded each other with a due degree of theological animosity, the consequences were truly serious. At Toulouse the pious season, when they celebrated the massacre of the Albigenes, was chosen for the circulation of an inflammatory address. On the 18th of April a large assembly of fanatics was collected in the hall of the Great Augustins: hence they adjourned under the command of a M. du Barry to the Seneschallée, where the apostle of this crusade, as a master-piece of policy, contrived somewhere to hide the bust of the king. Some young men of the national guard, however, happening to discover it, fortunately contrived to turn the plot against its author: for, immediately on discovering the bust, they drew their sabres; and shouting *Vive le roi*, they forced their officers, and many others who were suspected of ill designs, to take the civic oath. The municipality soon after appeared; and having quelled the tumult, they strictly forbade the renewal of these treasonable assemblies.

What was only a feeble and abortive attempt at Toulouse was at Montaubon a most alarming commotion. The protestants of that place amounted to about one-sixth of the population. They lived in perfect harmony with the catholics, and composed in conjunction with them the national guard, a body of men devoted to the new constitution

and to the service of their country. As it was found impracticable to disseminate the principles of distrust or disunion through this body, a plan was concerted by the aristocratic party to raise up another military force in opposition to it, and a corps of volunteers was instituted. In establishing the municipality also, the same party had taken care to fill the vacant offices with their creatures; and one of the first acts of these magistrates was to demand from the commander of the national guard the keys of the arsenal where the arms were deposited. The requisition was peaceably complied with, and it proved the first effect of a fatal conspiracy. After some other proceedings which indicated a settled system of hostility, about the beginning of April meetings were held in the churches, for the avowed purpose of petitioning the assembly to preserve the episcopal chair of Montaubon, and the religious houses; while no means were omitted in these meetings at the same time to inflame the populace against the national guard, as a body chiefly composed of infidels and heretics. In opposition to these hostile steps, the patriotic soldiers adopted in their own defence only the peaceable measure of transmitting to the national assembly an account of these proceedings, and at the same time of endeavouring to prevent the creation of new companies of volunteers, by a declaration that they were ready to enrol in the old companies every citizen who manifested a disposition to serve his country. While affairs remained in this state, the municipality appointed the 10th of May for visiting the five religious communities; and making the inventory of their effects, agreeably to the decree of the 26th of March. The commissioners

were no sooner named to proceed upon this duty, than they found themselves interrupted by a riotous mob composed chiefly of women: soon after a similar assemblage was collected opposite the house of the commandant general, and another at the Cordeliers, breathing indignation and destruction against the heretics. The municipality was then sitting, and the patriots earnestly besought them to permit the national guard to arm for the relief of the city. The company of dragoons, which was chiefly composed of protestants, were particularly obnoxious to the mob, who exclaimed that it was now time to sacrifice these heretics. Instead of permitting them to arm in their own defence, the perfidious magistrates ordered the dragoons to retire.—To retire was now become impossible without the loss of their lives. In this desperate extremity they took the resolution of throwing themselves into the corps-du-garde, where with a few bad arms they hoped to make some stand against the fury of the populace. Unfortunately they were without ammunition, and the mob directed a desperate and continued fire against the windows of the corps-du-garde. It was in vain that the besieged hung out a white handkerchief as entreating clemency. In the very act of submission five of the dragoons were killed, and the mob immediately began to pull down the walls. Happily the regiment of Languedoc was stationed not far distant, and in this dangerous crisis arrived time enough to save the lives of the remaining dragoons. The regiment was just strong enough to protect them, as they were conducted, covered over with blood and wounds, from the scene of their sufferings to the common prison, where the enraged mul-

titude still continued assembled, most brutally asking for their heads, and exclaiming, "Down with the nation!"

The news of those intolerant proceedings no sooner reached Bourdeaux, than a patriotic army was detached for the purpose of avenging the cruel outrages committed on their fellow-soldiers, and restoring the tranquillity of Montaubon. From Toulouse a similar expedition proceeded. The regiment of Languedoc refused to act against these patriotic armies, though urged by its commanding officer, who was in the aristocratic interest. Fortunately M. Dumas, the commissary of the king, arrived in time to prevent a contest which would probably have terminated in a dreadful carnage. At his instance the detachment of Bourdeaux retired without entering the city, and the prisoners were honourably released, and carried in triumph to Bourdeaux, as the confessors of liberty.

The same indecent scenes which had been rehearsed at Toulouse and performed at Montaubon, were repeated at Nîmes. The population of that city amounted to about fifty thousand souls, the quarter part of whom were protestants. No religious distinction was observed in forming the national guard, nor was it till after many efforts that the spirit of fanaticism could be excited in the inhabitants. When the municipality, however, came to be elected, the priests and monks were assiduous in engaging the citizens by oath not to give their vote to any protestant. By a similar course of intrigue and faction, M. Marguerites, one of the noble and protesting members of the assembly, was elected mayor; and his installation was marked by a proceeding which was a proper omen of what

was to follow. At Nîmes a number of forks or halberds had been manufactured for the purpose of arming the catholic party; and at the ceremony of his installation, several persons of the militia appeared armed with these weapons, contrary to the express order of the commandant of the national guard.

The following day, one of the serjeants who had in this manner transgressed the orders of his commanding officer, was reproached with his disobedience. He replied, that he was authorized by the mayor. A protestant serjeant who happened to be present obliged the other to follow him to that magistrate, who denied the fact, and ordered the catholic serjeant to be imprisoned for *half an hour*. Such a sentence was considered rather as a triumph than as a punishment; and he was no sooner released, than with an immense troop of desperadoes he repaired to the house of the protestant serjeant, who was fortunate enough to escape by a back way. The alarm soon spread in almost every quarter; the protestants were every where attacked, and several of them grievously wounded.

The city continued in a state of ferment, owing to the desire of the magistrates to disarm gradually the national guard, and insisting on their taking, besides the usual civic oath, a particular oath of obedience and submission to themselves. On the 21st of April twenty companies were assembled for this purpose, when the general cry was, "Long live the king, down with the nation, cut the throats of the blacks!" so they termed the protestants. In a few days after an incendiary libel was distributed among the regiment of Guyenne, entitled, "Important advice to the French army;" the anti-patriots in general, and even some

companies of the military, put on the white cockade, the signal of rebellion; several tumults were excited by contests between the different parties; and on the 4th of May the devastation and carnage would have been universal, had not the regiment of Guyenne insisted on the mayor proclaiming the martial law, which once more restored tranquillity and order.

M. Marguerites was cited before the national assembly to answer for these disorders; but his defence was ingenious, and the tenderness of his colleagues for a member of their own body prevented the infliction of punishment. On the 4th of June the discontents and disorders were renewed before the gate of the palace, where the electoral body were assembled. The rebellious companies who had worn the white cockade would forcibly prevent the dragoons and the regiment of Guyenne from forming the patrols, and doing the regular duty of the city. They openly attacked the unarmed dragoons, fired on the citizens from the windows, and intrenched themselves in a tower adjacent to the house of M. Froment. After some attempts at a parley, which it is said were broken by the firing of the aristocrats, the regiment of Guyenne forced the tower; and on both sides about twenty-four persons were killed.

Innumerable jealousies took place between the officers and soldiers of the different regiments; and in one of these contests the viscount de Mirabeau ran off with the colours of his regiment, but was pursued, and obliged to surrender them. In the capital the same causes operated to promote disunion and distrust; and this, united to the hasty and impetuous spirit of the French nation, was frequently on the point of betraying

traying them into the most desperate excesses. An instance of this kind occurred on the 19th of May, which is worthy of being recorded. On that day an unfortunate man was detected in the act of stealing a sack of oats. Some soldiers of the national guard took him immediately under their protection, and were conveying him as a prisoner to the Chatelet; but the populace, who were in the habit of inflicting summary justice, tore him from the soldiers, and were in the act of beating him to death with their clubs, when the marquis de la Fayette happened to pass by the horrible scene. He plunged instantly into the thickest of the mob, and in despite of their outcries and menaces seized the person who had begun the tumult, and conducted him with his own hands to the Chatelet. He next delivered the unfortunate criminal from the fury of the mob; and, exhorting them to disperse and conduct themselves like orderly citizens, had the happiness to see the tumult entirely suppressed, and the people return to their houses, full of the praises of the man who had so intrepidly rescued them from their own phrensy, and prevented them from contaminating themselves with human blood.

An unexpected event, which occurred about the middle of May, excited the attention of the national assembly to one of the most important questions that can agitate a political society. The dispute which took place between Great Britain and Spain, the particulars of which we stated in our former volume, became extremely embarrassing to the politics of France. The strict alliance which for almost a century had subsisted between the nations of France and Spain, strengthened by the once inviolable bond of family

connexion between the respective courts, rendered it probable that a demand would be made by the latter for the stipulated assistance: on the other hand, a war might be fatal to the nascent liberties of France; and the love of freedom which dignifies the British nation rendered her an object of veneration with the French patriots, and her increasing power made her no less an object of apprehension. On the 14th of May, M. de Montmorin communicated to the national assembly the preparations for war in which the neighbouring nations were engaged, and the precautions which the king had thought necessary to adopt for the preservation of his dominions. The discussions into which this communication led, were as various as the alarms which it excited: the lesser objects were, however, all at length absorbed by one important question—"To whose hands ought the nation to delegate the right of making war and peace?"

Two opposite opinions for a considerable period divided the assembly.—The count Clermont Tonnerre, Messrs. de Serent, Virieu; Dupont and others, defended warmly the concession of this prerogative to the king.—They stated, "that the constitution originally established two distinct powers, the legislative and the executive. The one was intended solely to express the public will; the other to execute it.—That under the latter of these predicaments fell the right of directing the public force, for the defence or for the advantage of the nation.—That general principles and general laws are the objects of legislation; but that the detail of political action fell entirely within the limits of executive government.—The proceedings of popular assemblies, they added, are necessarily too slow and



and too public in a business where secrecy and dispatch are commonly required. Ministers too are responsible to the nation for their conduct; but to the members of the national assembly no responsibility whatever is attached: and if ministers are found to be not free from corruption, experience equally evinces that the members of legislative bodies are not less exposed to temptation. England, so remarkable for its jealousy with respect to its liberties, has delegated to its monarchs this formidable prerogative, and has only thought it necessary to guard against abuses by the authority which the legislature retains over the treasures of the nation. If, in fine, said these advocates of regal power, we have reason to dread the folly or the depravity of a monarch, is there no reason to apprehend those rapid movements of popular enthusiasm, that false and national pride, that unfounded and hasty resentment, which so frequently agitate mixed and numerous assemblies?"

Among the orators who appeared on the contrary side of the question, were Messrs. d'Aiguillon, Garat, jun. Fréteau, Jellet, Charles Lameth, Silvery, Pethion, Robertspierre, &c.—In wishing to confine to the legislative body the right of making peace or war, they urged, "that the only proper judges of the expediency of war were those who were to feel its inconveniences; and not those who were far removed from all experience of its evils—That the entering into a war could not be considered as a mere function of executive government, which consists only in putting the existing laws in execution—and that the secrecy and dispatch, for which the partisans of the royal prerogative so strongly pleaded, were indeed essential to the conduct of military operations, but could

scarcely be necessary to the act of declaring war. They proved from history, that the ruin of most nations had been effected by the false glory of their rulers. They ridiculed the imaginary control that a legislature might be thought to possess, after the commencement of hostilities, by withholding supplies; since the safety, the existence of a state was committed by the declaration of war—and to say we will withhold supplies, is to say *we will not defend ourselves*.—They doubted the efficiency of that responsibility which was attributed to ministers; and demonstrated that there was no responsibility for incapacity, for mistaken opinions, for erroneous speculations; and that even corruption and intrigue might not unfrequently shelter themselves under some of these pretences."—These arguments were enforced by a resolution, proposed by M. Pethion—"that the French nation renounced for ever all idea of conquest, and confined itself entirely to defensive war;"—which was passed with universal acclamations.

From this collision of sentiment a third opinion arose, which, while it contradicted in some measure, served at the same time to conciliate the others; and this was, that to the king should be confided the prerogative of announcing to the assembly the necessity of war or peace, and, after a solemn deliberation, it should be declared "on the part of the king of the French in the name of the nation." This was nearly the opinion which was supported by the count de Mirabeau; and though much obloquy was thrown upon him while the affair continued under deliberation, which was to the 22d of May, it was at length victorious.

On the 11th of June the assembly went into mourning for three days

on account of the death of Dr. Franklin; and nearly about the same period the expences of the civil list were settled at twenty-five millions per annum, or about 1,250,000 l. sterling; and the dowry of the queen at four millions, or 200,000 l. per annum sterling. The civil list of France includes—1st, the king's personal expences, and those of the queen; the education of the royal children, and a provision for the other branches of the royal family: 2d, the buildings; the *garde meuble*, &c. of the crown: 3d, the royal military establishment, viz. the body-guards, &c. However liberal this allowance may at first sight appear, if we recollect the immense domains which the reigning family brought to the nation, it will perhaps not appear enormous: beside that, whatever the parsimonious spirit of republicanism may allege, it is always sound policy to attach by the strongest interests the head of the state to the support of the constitution. A million a year is too little to bribe so numerous a representation, biennially elected, as that of France; and yet it is such as will enable the monarch to live in a state becoming the chief magistrate of a great nation.

These measures were followed on the 14th and the succeeding days by a series of decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy. In these, the injustice which we must confess had been done to that body of men was in some degree compensated, by the wise regulations which prevented the extreme poverty of the inferior orders, and which restrained within moderate bounds the income of the higher clergy. But whether they have acted wisely in establishing an elective priesthood, or whether the improved mode of election which is adopted in France

will be preventive of those evils to which such an institution would be liable, where the old forms of election are preserved, are experiments which are yet to be tried, and which will require the sanction of time to warrant and confirm.

The assembly had scarcely completed this arduous task, before it ventured upon a measure which has drawn upon them the censure and indignation of all Europe—a measure, which was the first to awake that malignant jealousy with which the privileged orders and their dependants in every civilized country have since continued to view the French revolution; and which is the principal theme of those who censure the conduct and reprobate the principles of the patriots. Early in the month of June, the mayor of Paris had communicated to the assembly a plan for the celebration of a grand confederation, in which the representatives of the nation, the king, the soldiery, and all who were in ostensible situations, should solemnly and in the face of the whole nation renew their oaths of fidelity to the new constitution; and this confederation was decreed to take place on the 14th of July, in honour of the taking of the Bastille, and of the first establishment of Gallic liberty. On the 19th of June, therefore, after decreeing civic honours to the conquerors of the Bastille, the patriotic feelings of the assembly were raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm, by a deputation of foreigners from every nation, who came to testify their respect for the new constitution in a warm panegyric, and to request a seat at the ensuing solemnity. They were answered by the president with dignity, and dismissed with respect; and they had no sooner retired, than M. Alexandre Lameth moved that the spe-

reigns, and particularly the Germans, who might resort to Paris to be spectators of the approaching ceremony, might not be insulted by the representation of their ancestors, whom the vanity of Louis XIV. had caused to be exhibited in chains at the feet of his statue. The deputies of some of the provinces, which were represented in this ignominious situation, rose with indignation to demand that these monuments of regal insolence should be effaced; and another member proposed, that all the false and panegyric emblems which decorated the statues of the kings should be removed, and replaced by a representation of the *best* action of each of the monarchs.

At this moment M. Lambel, a distinguished advocate and deputy for Villefranche, taking advantage of the general enthusiasm, exclaimed, that "he trusted he now saw the last moment of expiring vanity, and proposed the abolition of titles." Messrs. Presbtre and la Fayette mounted the tribune at the same instant; and the former read the outlines of a decree to that effect, which he said he had prepared two months before. M. Foucault opposed the motion—"What," said he, "would you deprive man of the most powerful and the most noble motive of emulation?—What would you do, for instance, with the man whom Henry II. honoured with a brevet, which recited 'that he was created a count for having saved the state?'"—"I would omit," said M. la Fayette, "the words *created a count*, and insert only 'that he had saved the state.'" M. de St. Fargeau observed, that the decree in question would not impose any hardship upon him, since he was possessed of several *counties* and *marquises*, the titles of which he had never employed. Many other members dis-

tinguished themselves in this debate, but none more than the viscount de Noailles. "Titles," said this nobleman, "in this enlightened age can only confer honour where there is nothing internally to respect. We do not speak of duke Fox, count Washington, the marquis Franklin, but of Charles Fox, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin. Permit me to add," said he, "to so many excellent motions, one, the object of which is to rescue from disgrace a part of our fellow-citizens. Liveries, as a portion of the feudal system, ought to be abolished." To these motions was added another from M. de Montmorency, for the suppression of armorial bearings; and the whole of them was moulded into a decree by M. Chapelier, and passed.

These decrees, which have been so much extolled by one party, and so much decried by the other, were in themselves really deserving neither of much censure nor of much praise; they were neither a subject of exultation for France, nor of imitation for other countries differently situated. The inconsistency of mankind is never so decisively evinced as when vanity is the ruling passion. The princes and the nobility of Europe had beheld with indifference the plunder of the Gallican church; they had seen without alarm the virtual annihilation of nobility by the union of the three estates in one house, and by the suppression of the feudal privileges:—but when the unmeaning titles, titles without function, titles without privilege, titles often without property, mostly without legal claim, and frequently debased and degraded, came to be suppressed, then, and not till then, the storm of noble and of regal indignation was at once excited, and the alarm-bell was sounded against the evils

evils of French innovation. In this country in particular, no comparison can be instituted but with an invidious design between the British house of peers and the noblesse of France. No resemblance exists between them, nor is there either any thing to be feared or to be desired from the example. In France the noblesse amounted to upwards of 200,000 persons; in England to not more than 300. In France the whole race was ennobled; in England only the eldest son, and the rest of the family is returned to the mass of private citizens. In England nobility is rather title attached to a certain function; in France it was privilege attached to a title. The house of peers of Great Britain is a member of the state, a legislature and a supreme court of justice; in France nobility was something without designation, without function, without respectability. There the nobility formed a peculiar cast or tribe which disdained to mix with the rest of the nation; in England there is scarcely a family which is not, or has not been, in some manner allied to the nobility, and all are equal except the actual representatives of noble families. In France the offices and emoluments of the state were monopolized by the noblesse; in England they are equally open to every commoner. In reality no titles were legal in France, but those of the few who were termed peers of France: the rest were assumed at the pleasure of the person; and it was only necessary to be of a noble family, in order to decorate themselves with whatever title sounded most agreeably to the ear of the individual. When the noblesse were disrobed of their feudal privileges, then in truth and reality they were abolished. When they ceased to represent their own body, when the

power of the nation was vested in an assembly chosen by the people, then ranks were in reality levelled; for rank without power will soon cease to be such, and no longer deserves the name. As to liveries and armorial bearings, they are trifles, which were, on the one hand, beneath the notice of the national assembly, and on the other, their abolition can never be a matter of serious disapprobation with men of sense. The principal motive for passing these decrees was, doubtless, that no badge of separation might remain to distinguish the privileged cast from the rest of the nation, and that no regular order might subsist, thus distinguished, inimical to the new constitution. But could the assembly have foreseen what a degree of odium this transaction was to bring upon their proceedings, they would have been greatly wanting in prudence not to have declined the measure; but the more reasonable conjecture is, that they did not foresee it. They considered it as an act much more indifferent and less invidious than many which they had passed; and conceived that, where no person was deprived of any thing substantial, no person would conceive himself substantially injured.

In the mean time the preparations for the general confederation proceeded with considerable rapidity. The *Champ de Mars*, so famous for having been the rendezvous of the troops which in the preceding year were intended to overawe the capital, was chosen for this solemnity. This piece of ground, which is about 400 toises, or 800 yards in diameter, is bounded on the right and left by lofty trees, and commands at the further extremity a view of the military academy. In the middle of this vast plain an altar was erected for the purpose of administering

ministering the civic oath; and round it an immense amphitheatre was thrown up, of a league in circumference, and capable of containing four hundred thousand spectators. The entrance into the Champ de Confédération (as it was now called) was through triumphal arches. The king's throne was placed under an elegant pavilion in the middle, and on each side of it were seats for the members of the national assembly.

Two thousand workmen were employed upon this immense labour; but the citizens of Paris, fearing lest the preparations should not be completed at the appointed period, stocked from every quarter to assist in the patriotic undertaking. Not only the military, but the clergy and even the ladies lent their cheerful assistance. With astonishment strangers beheld the most delicate and elegant of the female sex dragging the wheel-barrow, or handling with willing but sometimes ineffective endeavours the weighty mallet or the spade. The provincials, who came from the remotest parts of the kingdom to join in the confederation, emulated the citizens in their ardour and enthusiasm; and the work was completed, so as both with respect to time and manner to surprise every spectator.

The important 14th of July at length arrived. The national guards

of the departments, distinguished by their respective standards, the battalions of infantry, and the different troops of cavalry, the marine of France, and the foreigners who served under its banners, being all arranged in military order, the king and the national assembly took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution; the armed citizens repeated it amongst the applauses of innumerable spectators. They swore to live free, or die; and this oath was taken on the same day through the whole extent of the kingdom.

Previous to the confederation, the duke d'Orleans, having completed the object of his mission, desired leave to return and assist at this august ceremony. On the receipt of his letter, M. de la Fayette ascended the tribune, and explained his motives for having advised the departure of the duke; which were in brief, "that he apprehended an ill use might be made of his name, while present, in order to disturb the public tranquillity. These reasons, M. de la Fayette added, did he believe still subsist, though he saw nothing to make him apprehensive at present for the public safety." The duke arrived on the 11th of July, and, after first renewing his civic oath in the national assembly, assisted personally at the confederation.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Courts of Justice. New Taxes. Droit d'Aubaine, &c. abolished. Accusation of the Chatelet against M. M. d'Orleans and Mirabeau. Provincial Disturbances. Affair of Nancy. Resignation of M. Neckar. Mutiny at Brest. Riot at Paris. Affairs of Avignon. Ejection of the non-juring Clergy from their Benefices. League formed by Foreign Powers against France. Troubles at Aix, Lyons, and Brittany. Emigration of the King's Aunts. Armed Men found in the Palace. Decrees relative to the Army, the Regency, &c. Diffusion of the Law of Inheritance. Death and Character of M. de Mirabeau. Organization of the Ministry. The King stopped as he was going to St. Cloud. Insurrections in the French Colonies. Flight of the King. His Return. Hostile Preparations on the Frontiers. Martial Law proclaimed at Paris. The new Constitution presented, and accepted by the King.*

**C**ONTRARY to general expectation, the grand confederation was performed without tumult or confusion, and nothing but the weather, which was damp and unfavourable, occurred to cloud or to disturb the magnificent scene. Though to the eye of a philosopher these ceremonies convey little more than the idea of a great national pantomime, yet in the minds of the populace this solemnity stamped an additional legality on the proceedings of the national assembly, and strengthened their hands.

The legislature made an advantageous use of the calm which succeeded the confederation, in completing the organization of the judicial department. Judges or justices of the peace were to be elected in each canton, for the determination of petty differences; tribunals for the adjudication of more important causes were established in districts; and a tribunal of *cassation*, or court of appeal, was appointed for the whole kingdom, where, under certain restrictions, the proceedings of the inferior courts might be revised. Courts of criminal justice were established in each of the de-

partments; and a high national court for the trial of crimes against the state completed the edifice. One institution, however, demands our attention, and we believe it is peculiar to the new jurisprudence of France.—Boards of conciliation were appointed in every district, where the parties in a suit were to be cited personally, and where every means were to be employed to effect an amicable termination, before the cause could be brought to a hearing before the ordinary courts of justice. Family arbitrators were also authorized to terminate petty disputes between near relations, and the forms prescribed in all these cases were the simplest that could be invented. We have already remarked that the trial by jury was only adopted in criminal cases: an aristocratic writer observes on this subject, with some archness, that “the trial by jury would also have been established in civil causes, if there had not been too many lawyers in the constituting assembly.” This is indeed not the only objection to the new jurisprudence of France, since there is much room to doubt whether temporary and elective judges will

will be found effectual to the purposes of substantial justice. Notwithstanding these defects, however, the French code is deserving of admiration for its simplicity, its consistency; for the gratuitous administration of justice; for the easy access which the poorest subject, when injured, finds to the means of redress; for the discouragement which it holds forth to litigious and vexatious contests; and however the French revolution may terminate, in this part of the constitution other nations may find much worthy of imitation, and many institutions for the obvious ease and advantage of the people.

With respect to the pecuniary interests of the republic, it was also decreed that the legislative body should annually determine the sum total of the public expences and contributions; and that, under the direction of the king, an administration should be established in each department, with an inferior or subordinate one in each district, for the regulation and collection of the revenue. The police of each city or community was committed to magistrates chosen by the citizens.

To replace the salt tax, and the other odious and oppressive imposts, which had been abolished, the assembly imposed an easy land-tax upon immoveable property, and a poundage upon personal property and annuities; a tax upon patents, and a stamp tax upon contracts and other writings. These taxes were however but ill paid; and to remedy the deficiencies of the revenue, continual emissions of assignats became necessary; and even to supply the want of current coin, which had been greatly lessened by the continual emigrations, it was thought proper to issue assignats for the smallest sums. But paper credit, however

responsible the bank on which it is dependent, is always attended with a temporary inconvenience. It circulates with less facility than specie, and commonly increases the balance of exchange in favour of foreign nations.

Several decrees of lesser moment, but which reflect no less credit on the liberality and wisdom of the assembly, were passed about this period. That in particular which restored to the protestants those possessions of which their ancestors had been deprived by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is deserving of the highest encomiums; and that which abolished for ever all extraordinary taxes levied upon the Jews was at once politic and just. These were followed by the abolition of the execrable droit d'aubaine, which assigned to the king the property of all aliens not naturalized who died in France.

In the fate of the unfortunate Favras the tribunal of the Chatelet had evinced themselves not the most unexceptionable judges of the competency of evidence. A more flagrant instance, if possible, of their credulity or their corruption occurred soon after the confederation. That tribunal was charged by the assembly to take cognizance of the affair of the 5th and 6th of October. On the 7th of August they brought their report sealed to the bar of the assembly, and in a pompous address "lamented the severe task which their duty to their country had imposed upon them; and concluded with informing the assembly that two of their own body were among the principal criminals." The assembly heard this denunciation with horror and consternation; the report of the Chatelet was referred to a committee; and the members against whom it was pointed appeared to be

M. d'Or-

M. d'Orleans and M. Mirabeau the elder, whom they accused of a conspiracy to murder the queen, and to place M. d'Orleans upon the throne.

The procedure of the Chatelet was printed; and before the committee had time to make their report, so weak and disreputable was the evidence, so inconclusive the reasoning, and so groundless the proceedings, that though neither M. d'Orleans nor M. Mirabeau were at that time great favourites with the populace, the public voice had already acquitted them of every suspicion: on the 2d of October therefore the assembly decreed, that on a full examination there was no cause of accusation against them. Others were also involved in the process, probably with more justice: but this unpropitious commencement so totally annihilated all confidence in the tribunal to which the prosecution was referred, that the affair was dropped, and even the guilty were permitted to escape.

Whatever might have been the motives of the Chatelet on this occasion, it is certain that party never was more violent in France than about the period of which we are now treating. The aristocratic body, who had previously acted chiefly on the defensive, were now become the assailants, and no means were left untried to plunge the nation into a state of confusion. It must be allowed too, that the impatient and irritable temper of the French populace was an excellent engine to work with; and the jealousy which existed between the ancient soldiery and the new militia afforded frequent opportunities but too favourable to the wishes of the malcontents. Petty tumults and continual distrust were excited in the frontier provinces, in different parts of Flanders, Alsace, and Lorrain, and a defection of

some magnitude took place among the soldiery at Toulouse: but what happened at Nancy was of a still more serious nature, and deserves a particular detail.

As far as we have been able to collect from the journals of the national assembly, and other authentic information, the following appears a just statement of this dark and mysterious transaction. From the first establishment of the revolution, the French army had been in a state little favourable either to patriotism or subordination. The majority of their officers were of the ancient noblesse, and a mutual jealousy existed between them and the private soldiers. Every inducement had been employed to seduce the soldiers from their duty; and when promises and blandishments did not prevail, the most severe measures were put in execution. The soldiers were frequently ill paid, and yet the most culpable profusion had been made of the money voted for the support of the army. Such, by the evidence of a party of the national guard of Nancy at the bar of the assembly, was the state of the garrison in that city. The officers in general were inimical to the new constitution, and had made use of every temptation to destroy the attachment of the soldiers to the new arrangement. These means proving unsuccessful, they had adopted the most rigorous discipline; they had withheld the pay of the soldiers, and even condemned them to run the gauntlet for demanding necessities. They had endeavoured to persuade the men, that all these acts were in conformity with the orders of the national assembly, which refused any longer to furnish them with the usual allowance of bread, and which was upon the point even of depriving them of the augmentation of pay which had



had been established at the revolution.

In the same spirit the utmost pains were employed to produce distrust and mutual abhorrence between the citizens and the soldiers. Men were dressed in the uniform of the king's regiment (one of the regiments in garrison there), and employed to wound and insult the citizens. One of these persons was taken, and banished from the city at the request of the regiment; at the same time, some young officers were encouraged by their superiors to behave in the most indecent manner to several of the peaceable inhabitants; and even hired ruffians were engaged for the same purpose. Several of these were arrested, and a court-martial appointed, at the request of the regiment, for their trial: but M. Bouillé, who commanded in the province, had set himself in opposition to this measure. One of the grenadiers who had been active in these prosecutions, was menaced in the most insulting manner by an officer, who soon after deserted to the king of Hungary.

Wearied with these repeated indignities and acts of oppression, the regiment at length threw off its allegiance, asserted loudly that they were wronged of their pay and their allowance, and demanded the regimental accounts. M. Denou threatened with the gauntlet all who presumed to call for the accounts. The regiment therefore immediately seized the military chest, and dispatched a deputation to Paris, to represent these facts to the national assembly.

The officers, however, took care to anticipate the representation of the soldiers, and were too intimately connected with the ministers, and some members of the assembly, to permit the complaints of the privates to be heard. The deputation

from the regiment was arrested at Paris. M. de la Tour du Pin, the minister of war, made a formidable representation of the rebellious conduct of the regiment. The miseries resulting from a want of subordination, and the necessity of an example, were echoed through the assembly. On the 16th of August, a severe decree was passed, which authorized the commander in chief of the province to reduce the insurgents by force.

In the mean time, the other regiments in garrison, the Swiss regiment of Chateau-veux, and the regiment of cavalry called *Mestre de Camp*, irritated by similar oppressions, had concurred in the rebellion, had seized some of their officers, and were joined by great numbers of the populace.

The decree of the 16th was no sooner made public than, from knowing the character of the commander in chief, the most serious consequences were apprehended by all good citizens. The national guard of Nancy assembled, and offered to the regiments to undertake the part of mediators, and to send the terms of their submission by a deputation from their own body to the national assembly. The deputation proceeded immediately to Paris, and on the 31st of August appeared before the assembly.—On their representation, the decree of the 16th was repealed, and commissioners were appointed for the purpose of inquiring minutely into the circumstances of the case, and to punish the guilty, and reward the deserving.

Such an arrangement however did not suit the views of the perfidious and sanguinary Bouillé. Without waiting the result of the deputation from Nancy, he hastened with a fatal rashness (as was confessed even by his advocates) to enforce the de-

eree of the 16th.—He collected all the troops that he could assemble from every part, and such of the national guard as preferred a patriotic subordination to the immediate dictates of their feelings and their consciences. In spite of their offers of submission, he fell upon the regiments of Chateau-vieux and Mestre de Camp; and, after putting an immense number to the sword, he completely routed them, and took 400 prisoners.

The king's regiment had been retained in their barracks by the exertions of some patriotic persons who urged them to submission. Even when M. Bouillé arrived, they were prevented from acting by the intrepidity and virtue of a young officer of the name of Desfilles. This intrepid young man, after urging his fellow-soldiers by every motive to submit, assuring them that sooner or later they would experience the justice of the legislature, placed himself before the mouth of a cannon, which they were going to fire. He was forcibly dragged from this dangerous situation, but in the struggle received three or four wounds, of which he afterwards died.

The news of this event was received at Paris with horror. As M. Bouillé had not exceeded the authority which the national assembly had unfortunately conceded to him by the rash decree of the 16th, they could not legally inflict either punishment or censure upon him. The populace, however, who were not reduced to any such dilemma, gave a full vent to their feelings; they openly accused M. Bouillé of treachery, and a desire to effect a counter-revolution, and even threatened the lives of the ministers. In a word, the resentment of the people seemed to menace the most dangerous excesses, which were only pre-

vented by unusual circumspection and care. It is only necessary to add with respect to this business, that in the month of December following, the assembly reversed all its own decrees against the insurgents at Nancy, liberated all the prisoners, and recompensed them as men who had unjustly suffered: at the same time they decreed public honours to the memory of the brave Desfilles, and placed his family under the protection of the state.

The decline of M. Neckar's popularity has been already noticed. He had not lessened it by a pamphlet which he published on the abolition of nobility, or at least of titles, which supported with some ingenuity the aristocratical order. Both previous to this step, and after it, he must have felt the gradual loss of the public esteem, and possibly had for some time meditated a retreat from office. The measure was however probably accelerated by the popular clamours on the affair of Nancy, which involved him (certainly unfairly) with the rest of the ministers in the guilt of that transaction. On the 4th of September he sent a letter of resignation to the assembly, and pleaded his ill state of health, which required his retiring to the baths in Switzerland; though he dropped some distant intimation of the uneasiness he had experienced in his situation. It is not to the credit of the national assembly that no public notice was taken of this letter. The inflexible integrity of M. Neckar certainly demanded the highest veneration; his abilities entitled him to respect, and his services to gratitude.—But, what is the gratitude of public bodies! If, like one of his predecessors in office, he had retired, a public defaulter, infamously loaded with the spoils of his country, only to be employed in exciting

exciting enemies; and provoking the most profligate combinations against her, could he have been treated with more marked contempt?

The same parties, and the same factious spirit which prevailed in the army, pervaded also the navy of France. The national assembly had decreed the adherence of the nation to all existing treaties, in which the family compact was necessarily included; and as England continued arming on the Spanish dispute, a fleet of 30 sail was ordered to be equipped at Brest, as it was uncertain how far France might be involved in the expected hostilities. The disorders which took place among the seamen at Brest have been attributed to different causes. On the 13th of September, while the squadron was sitting out with all possible expedition, the *Leopard* arrived from St. Domingo, having on board a part of the refractory assembly, who were ordered over to answer for their conduct; and as the dissatisfaction commenced on board this vessel, on account of the admiral commanding a sailor to be imprisoned for intoxication, it was supposed by some that the crew had been depraved by their communication with the rebellious members of the St. Domingo assembly; while others have attributed it, perhaps with more probability, to the general suspicion which the seamen entertained of their officers, the majority of whom were of the nobility, and possibly not well affected to the new constitution. M. Menou, in a report from the military and marine committees on the 21st of October, attempted to fix the blame on the inactivity and inertness of the ministers. This charge however did not appear well founded, though it was followed on the 27th by the resignation of the naval minister, M.

de la Luzerne, who was succeeded by M. Fleurieu; and on the 16th of November, by that of M. Tour du Pin, who was replaced by M. du Portail. The admiral, M. Albert de Rioms, also resigned, with many of the officers; and M. Bougainville was appointed to the command of the fleet. The malecontents were with some difficulty reduced to subordination; but happily for France, she was delivered from the necessity of engaging in a war by the convention which was soon after signed between Spain and England.

It was fortunate for France and for the assembly, that, amidst all these disturbances in the exterior parts of the kingdom, the new police of Paris had preserved the metropolis tolerably quiet. The discontent excited by the affair of Nancy ended without violence. On the 13th of November, however, the tranquillity of the capital was once more disturbed, in consequence of a private dispute, which ended in a duel between M. Castries and M. Charles Lameth, in which the latter was dangerously wounded. As every report is at first exaggerated, the news was very generally spread that M. Lameth was killed; and the people, ever prone to suspicion, immediately conceived the formidable idea of a general conspiracy successively to assassinate all the patriotic members. An immense mob was presently assembled at the hôtel de Castries, which they proceeded to spoil and destroy. M. de la Fayette, whose vigilance was ever awake, no sooner heard of the commotion, than with a party of the national guard he repaired to the spot, and with a fortitude which never forsook him forcibly represented to the populace the rashness of their conduct. It is equally to the credit of each party, that the mob immediately desisted,

and even, on coming out of the house, insisted that every man should be searched, to evince that plunder was not in the least their object.

On the 16th and 20th of November, a business came before the assembly, which was pregnant with difficulty, and which suspended the public opinion for some succeeding months. It is well known, that the country of Avignon is inclosed on every side by the dominions of France; that it formed anciently a part of Provence; that it was alienated by a queen who was at that period both under circumstances of compulsion and a minor; that, as soon as she came of age, she reclaimed it; that the cession had not been formally acknowledged by the parliaments, and that several successive monarchs had renewed their claim to the city as a part of their hereditary dominions. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged, that long possession had given to the popes that title by which most sovereignties are held; that the cession of Jane, queen of Naples, had been ratified by the states of Provence; and that if some of the kings had denied the right of the pope, it had been acknowledged by others. A stronger reason solicited the assembly to incorporate this city with the kingdom of France, and that was the voice of the inhabitants of Avignon themselves. The papal government is notoriously the worst in the world; it is even said, that justice was publicly bought and sold at Avignon; nor could any remonstrances to the pope obtain redress for the people. In this state of oppression, a large party in the city saw with a spirit of emulation the new government of France; they desired to make it their model, but still professed obedience to the pope. They elected a municipality,

and formed the active citizens into a national guard. Such a state of things was scarcely consistent with a foreign dominion.—A contest between the vice-legat and the people immediately succeeded: on the 10th of June a violent insurrection took place in the city; the people seized the palace; the papal arms were taken down, and those of France put up in their place; and a petition was dispatched to the national assembly, entreating, that the territory of Avignon might be incorporated into the dominions of France. To this first application the assembly only answered, by sending a body of troops to restore tranquillity, and to preserve order in the city; at the same time adjourning the question concerning the object of the petition. In May 1791, the discussion was again resumed, and it was again deferred. In the meantime, as the papal party was strong, and the clergy apprehensive of being deprived of their influence and their wealth, a most dreadful civil war desolated this beautiful country. It would be disgusting, as well as tedious, to enter into a detail of the bloody scenes and the horrid outrages which succeeded. Let it suffice to say, that all these circumstances being made known to the assembly, after repeated deliberations, it was at length resolved, on the 14th of September 1791, that the territory of Avignon, with the adjacent county of Venaissin, should be considered as a part of the French empire, and that a compensation in lieu of these countries should be offered to the pope. We have anticipated a little the order of these transactions, for the sake of perspicuity, and now return to the chain of our narrative.

We have already seen but too much occasion for censure in the severe

severe treatment which the national clergy experienced from the constituent assembly. Their situation was not improved by a series of decrees which were passed in the latter end of the year 1790. In the month of July, among other ecclesiastical regulations, it had been enacted, that every beneficed clergyman should solemnly take an oath, "to watch carefully over the faithful in the parish or diocese which was entrusted to his care; to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to maintain, to the utmost of his power, the new constitution of France, and particularly the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy." Many of the clergy, on the first publishing of this decree, spontaneously offered to take the oath; but in many places the resolution continued a mere dead letter, till the 27th of November, when a most severe decree was enacted, declaring that all such clergy as should neglect to take the oath, should be considered as virtually ejected from their benefices; and condemning to severe pains and penalties all such as should prove refractory. The policy of this measure was certainly to place the government of the church in the hands of men who were well affected to the new constitution, and to disengage the nation from a number of disaffected persons, who might be dangerous if possessed of power. In this view, the measure was probably politic; but it is much to be doubted whether or not it was just. It might be a means of giving permanency to the new order of things, but it certainly was a violent infringement on toleration; and may we never see civil liberty preserved by a tyranny exerted over the consciences of men! The consequence was, that many conscientious persons, who had been well affected

to the constitution, resigned their benefices; and indeed the situation of honest men with strict notions of church authority, was rendered extremely perplexing by the public declaration of the pope, who testified in marked terms his disapprobation of the oath. It is but justice to add, that the severity of this decree was in some degree mitigated by a subsequent law, which assigned to the non-juring clergy a pension of 500 livres per annum.

The year 1790 closed with some accession of popularity to the national assembly. A statue was decreed to be erected to the memory of Rousseau, and his widow was allowed a pension. Some other popular acts were passed; but what conferred upon them the most solid applause, was the report of the committee of finances, from which it appeared, that the national receipt exceeded the expenditure by three millions, and that there was upwards of 500,000*l.* sterling in specie in the public treasury. To the immortal honour of the assembly, the pernicious and disgraceful tax of **LOTTERIES** was totally abolished and prohibited. About the close of the year M. de St. Priest, minister of the interior department, resigned.

The first act of the new year was not less honourable to the constituent legislature. Instead of indicating (as its enemies insinuated) an inclination to prolong its session, like the long parliament of England, a list of articles was introduced, which were necessary to be discussed previous to the final establishment of the constitution; after the determination of which the assembly declared its intention of dissolving itself, and resigning its authority.

The jealousy of the neighbouring potentates

potentates now began to be alarmed, and there was much reason to apprehend that a league was formed against the rising liberties of France, among the most powerful nations of the continent. Cordons of troops were advanced from Germany on the north, from Spain on the south, and from Italy and Savoy on the west; and France might be said literally to be besieged with hostile armies. The events which took place in France, retarded for a while the execution of this plan: but the dispositions of despotic courts never alter; their action is occasionally interrupted by circumstances; but their tenour is direct, and their conduct commonly consistent: what Leopold left unperformed, Francis will probably endeavour to accomplish.

The only plea which the conduct of France afforded these powers for interfering in her domestic concerns, was the claims of the German princes who had estates in Alsace and Lorraine. On the subversion of the feudal institutions, the claims of vassalage, mortmain, &c. &c. which these princes considered as their right, were necessarily abolished. It was in vain that the national assembly repeatedly decreed them the amplest compensation. The views of the German courts were different. Alsace and Lorraine afforded the excuse, but the object of the projected war was certainly not the seigniorial rights of a few petty princes, who would think themselves amply recompensed by the receipt of a few louis in their empty treasuries. The cautious politics of Leopold, however, led him to pursue the most courtly measures in treating with France. On the 22d of January, the king communicated to the assembly a letter from the emperor of Germany, in which that monarch makes the most unqualified

protestations of his amicable intentions towards France; but intimates at the same time, that "it is necessary that all the innovations that have taken place in consequence of the decrees of the 4th of August be done away, and matters put upon the ancient footing."—The king, when he communicated the letter, treated it merely as an official measure of the emperor, as head of the German empire; and observed, that he received at the same time the most pacific assurances from the court of Vienna. The assembly, however, were not to be imposed upon by the finesse of Leopold; they immediately decreed a considerable augmentation of the national force, and that every defensive measure should be expeditiously adopted.

Several causes conspired to prevent the re-establishment of order in the provinces. The people in many places were too little instructed to enjoy legal and temperate liberty. The hopes of those who were adverse to the new constitution were elevated by the prospect of a counter-revolution, and the movements of the hostile powers; and the resentment of the refractory and ejected priests operated every where upon the fanaticism of the populace. At Aix, a club or society, calling itself "Friends of the king and the clergy," was instituted; the members of which, on the 12th of December, indulged themselves in the imprudent measure of wearing the white cockade. In the evening of that day, some of the party met with a number of persons who belonged to a club of opposite principles; some pistols were discharged, and a riot immediately ensued. The mob hastened immediately to the prison, where a M. Pachaia, an advocate, had for some time been confined

confined for seditious writings and practices; and, in defiance of the municipality and the national guard, tore him from his place of confinement, and hanged him, with two others of the aristocratic party, Messrs. Roquette and Dorimont, on the neighbouring trees.

At Lyons, on the other hand, a desperate, but ill-concerted conspiracy was discovered, which had for its object, to corrupt the populace of that city, by distributing money among them; to bring back thither the ex-princes; to make that city the retreat of the king, if he could be detached from the national assembly; and if not, the assembly was forcibly to be conveyed thither along with him.

In the neighbourhood of Vannes in Brittany the fanatic clergy openly preached against the constitution: and in one country parish, the priest, after having celebrated mass, desired his congregation to kiss the crucifix, and gave them absolution.—“Go now,” said he, “and plunge your daggers into the hearts of those impious persons who have degraded your holy religion: you are saved!” The infatuated multitude, instigated by this incendiary exhortation, marched in a body to Vannes. At this place, however, they found the Irish regiment of Walsh and the national guard of l’Orient prepared for their reception, and they were easily repulsed and dispersed.

The public attention was now occupied with a transaction which would have been of little consequence in any other circumstances of the state. On the 20th of February, the president of the national assembly received a letter from the king, stating that his aunts, the daughters of Louis XV. had left Paris that morning at six o’clock,

and that, as he was persuaded that they could not legally be deprived of the liberty which the constitution gave to every citizen to travel wherever he would, he had not attempted to prevent their departure. This report was no sooner made than M. Camus proposed that the civil list should be diminished in proportion to the provision which the nation allotted them: this was again opposed by M. Martineau; but the assembly considering the subject unworthy of their notice, passed to the order of the day. On the following day however the subject was renewed by M. Barnave, who, as the constitutional committee were at present occupied in providing a set of regulations for the government of the royal family, proposed that they should be instructed to present to the assembly the plan of a decree to ascertain the right which persons allied to the throne should have to travel out of the kingdom. This proposal produced another from Messrs. Martineau, Goupil, and others, that the law against emigrants should extend not only to the royal family, but to all other individuals; and that a reasonable absentee tax should be imposed, in order to discourage emigration in general.

In the mean time the ladies continued their journey, and with a train of carriages presented themselves before Moret, and produced to the magistrates a passport from the king, countersigned Montmérin, and a declaration from the municipality of Paris, stating that they arrogated to themselves no right to stop any persons travelling through the kingdom. As the municipality of Moret was informed that the matter was now under the consideration of the constitutional committee, they

determined to arrest them. They had however no sooner taken this determination, than a party of a hundred or more of the *chasseurs de Lorraine*, with a number of the domestics of M. Montmorin, mayor of Fontainebleau, appeared before the gates, forced them open, and made a clear passage for the travellers. At Arnay-le-Duc, the municipality was more successful: there they effectually stopped the progress of the royal emigrants, and dispatched an account of their proceedings to the national assembly. On mature consideration, however, the legislative body decreed, that "as there was no positive law existing which sanctioned the arrest of mesdames, aunts to the king, it should be referred to the executive power;" and in consequence of this decree, after some delays, they were left to pursue their journey to Rome.

Thus the country was entirely deserted by all the different branches of the royal family, except mon-sieur. The people, whose fears and suspicions foresaw a thousand evils in these emigrations, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the *Thuilleries*; and a report being spread, that the only remaining brother of the king was about to depart also, the mob immediately directed their course to his palace, and insisted on a promise not to leave the kingdom. The prince conceded to the wishes of the populace, and they dispersed with every appearance of satisfaction and joy.

On the 28th of February an event of a more extraordinary and suspicious nature occurred, and unfortunately contributed to increase the jealousy and dissatisfaction of the public. On the morning of that day, at the usual hour of divine service at the royal chapel, a

gentleman, after walking for some time in the gallery, requested of the attendants on the dauphin to be permitted to see the prince. As he passed into the apartment, a poniard of a peculiar construction was discovered under his coat: he was arrested, and examined before the mayor of Paris, and committed to custody.

While the mayor was occupied with this affair, he received intelligence of a riot in another quarter. The castle of Vincennes had been directed to undergo some repair; and, as that edifice had formerly been used as a state prison, the jealousy of the populace immediately took fire, and their imaginations represented to them the horrible spectre of a Bastille still more formidable than that which had been demolished. The suburb of St. Antoine was presently in motion, and the object of popular suspicion was powerfully assailed. M. Bailly was however no sooner informed of this commotion, than he proceeded thither, accompanied by M. de la Fayette and a strong party of the national guard. The populace were easily undeceived, and persuaded to disperse; but what was the surprise of the magistrate and the national guard, on their return to the *Thuilleries*, to find the gates barred against them; and as soon as they were forced open, the apartments were discovered to be filled with men who had assembled under the pretence of defending the king! As no criminal intention could be proved against them, after being searched, and deprived of their arms, they were ordered civilly to depart, and leave the protection of the royal family to the national guard. The general suspicion was, that a conspiracy had been concerted by the chiefs of the aristocratic party, to

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take advantage of the first commotion, which would necessarily draw off the national guard, to put in effect their long-projected plan of carrying off the king. Whatever might be the motive of the persons who assembled on this occasion, it is much to be regretted, as it gave too much countenance to the suspicions of the people, and cherished that spirit of party which it was so much the interest of the nation to counteract and subdue.

The beginning of March was dedicated by the assembly chiefly to the organization of the army. On the 4th it was decreed, that there should in future be only six marshals of France, whose functions should be entirely military, and whose pay was fixed at the rate of 30,000 livres per annum. With regard to the marshals of France then existing, it was determined, that such of them as should not be retained in the actual service of the state, should receive pensions adequate to their merits. On the succeeding day M. Victor Broglio addressed the assembly in favour of his father, marshal Broglio. "He observed, that the decree which had just been passed seemed to menace his respectable father, after a long and glorious career, with the deprivation of an honour which he had obtained, not from favour, but by merit. His father, he said, always a stranger to intrigue, and repulsed from court even for his virtues, had lived among the soldiers from the age of fourteen. He was their friend, their patron, their father. On the late unhappy occasion, he stated, that marshal Broglio had been drawn from his retreat in the country by the positive order of the king—That he was not privy to the assembling of the troops near the capital; and so little conscious of the design, that,

on his arrival at court, his first address to the king was—"Here are the troops! but where is the enemy?" That he was made acquainted with none of the measures of the court, and heard of the dismissal of M. Neckar only through the medium of public report—That when he arrived at Metz, so sensible had he been of the dishonourable cause in which he had been unconsciously engaged, that his spirits were sunk, and his health had been visibly on the decline—That he was now in so dangerous a state, that he was unable to return to his country, but had most obstinately resisted every attempt to seduce him from his allegiance to it."

In consequence of this representation, the assembly resolved—"That for the present nothing decisive should be decreed with respect to the rank of marshal of France, as held by M. Broglio; but that he should still be considered as preserving his rank and title, &c."

Towards the conclusion of the month, several decrees were passed relative to the case of a regency.—"Women were excluded from that trust, as well as from the succession to the crown. The regency was declared to belong of right to the next male heir to the crown, during the whole minority of the king. The person of the minor king, however, was not confided to the regent; and he was pronounced to be of age at eighteen."—Nearly about the same period it was decreed, "that all public functionaries ought to reside in whatever place was the proper scene of their employments—That the king, as the first public functionary, should be always resident, during the session, within twenty leagues of the legislative body; and that if he or the heir apparent went out of the kingdom without

without a decree of the legislature, they should be considered as having abdicated the crown."

This discussion was succeeded by one of still greater importance to the welfare of the community. This regarded the succession to property, and the right of disposing of possessions after death. In the outset of the debate, a very judicious distinction was established; and it was determined, 1st, to decide what was proper to be decreed with respect to the effects of persons dying intestate; and, 2dly, whether any restriction ought to be laid on the right of testamentary alienation. In the first part of this investigation, the evils of the existing law of inheritances were strongly depicted. The absurd feudal institution of primogeniture was successfully attacked. It was demonstrated, "that no such institution existed among the enlightened nations of antiquity; that it originated among the most barbarous tribes, and in the most uncivilized periods; that, in the present circumstances of society, it was warranted by no motive, no reason, no excuse; that its basis was injustice, its consequences profligacy and crimes; that the heir to a large fortune was generally corrupted by the possession of it, and the younger branches devoted to beggary and prostitution; that its effects in a public view were still more deplorable; and that it was the principal cause of that inequality among the citizens, which produced most of the vice and all the misery that exists in society." In fine, the opinion, that an equal division of property should take place among the children or relations of persons dying intestate, seemed to meet with unanimous approbation, and was some time after the discussion decreed. On the other topic, there was a

greater diversity of sentiment. "In defence of the unlimited power of testators, recourse was had to the sacred light in which property ought always to be regarded; to the discouragement which would be held forth to industry, if a man was not permitted to dispose of his property agreeably to his inclination. The power of parents over their children was another forcible argument which was resorted to on this topic. To make children independent of their parents, it was said, would be the annihilation of good morals. Youth, it was added, is the torrid zone of human life, and must fall the unresisting prey of temptation, of debauchery, of usury, of every existing corruption and depravity, if possessed of an independent patrimony. The character of a father was represented as the most sacred of titles; it was that which the Deity himself assumes. The equal partition of estates, which was the principal argument employed by the other side, was adduced as a proof in favour of that arrangement which left the disposal of his property to the will of the testator. In the increase of population, it was said, the landed property of individuals would be subdivided into atoms, and the portions would be so extremely small as even to baffle the diligence of the collectors of the land-tax."

The arguments on the other side were not less forcible and ingenious. It was said, "that the question in this case was simply, whether the will of the law, or the will of the individual, should be obeyed? The will or determination of the law ought to be preferred, because it was totally exempt from the influence of the passions; whereas the will of the individual was always under their direction. If the law had determined, therefore, that an equal divi-

sion of property was for the good of the state, the will of the individual ought not to interfere with the public welfare. The arbitrary disposition of parents not only obstructed the public prosperity, by contributing to the inequality of fortune among the citizens; but frequently produced the most cruel outrages, by disinheriting their children from passion or misrepresentation.—It was not however contended that the restriction should be so absolute that a parent should have nothing left to distribute as a recompense to a deserving child, nothing to withhold as a check upon one less worthy; the object was, to leave a part of the inheritance at the disposal of the testator, and to distribute a part in such proportions as should seem most likely to promote the prosperity of the commonwealth.

Of this latter opinion was Mirabeau; but he spoke no longer from the tribune, which had so often resounded with the thunders of his eloquence, but from the dark and silent regions of the dead. While the law of successions continued in agitation, he was seized with an inflammatory colic, and at the early age of forty-two was cut off in the meridian of earthly glory. During the most severe part of his illness, and even while struggling in the arms of death, he continued still the man of the public.—A few hours before his decease he sent for the bishop of Autun, and observed to him that the law of inheritances was the order of the day.—He requested him to take down his sentiments on the subject, and report them to the national assembly.—It is difficult to say whether the affliction with which they heard the news of his death, or the respect which they seemed to pay to his

last sentiments, was more honourable and conspicuous. Some suspicions were entertained that he died by poison; but, on opening his body, no proofs were found to justify such a conjecture.

The present age has not seen a more extraordinary character than M. de Mirabeau. His talents were brilliant, and the times and situation were favourable to the exercise of them. He was formed by nature and by habit to govern and direct a popular assembly.—His deep penetration, his promptitude, his fluent eloquence, his powerful voice, were all adapted to command attention, and to silence or confute. Born of a noble though not an opulent family, his early education had initiated him in all the engaging, all the social arts; his love of pleasure had led him into a variety of situations, and had made him perfectly acquainted with the human character; the persecution and distress which he had encountered in early life, had rendered him firm; a tedious confinement had made him studious. Few statesmen possessed more extensive views; few orators have been capable of bolder flights, of a more passionate address, or a more energetic expression.

Of his private life we profess to know but little: common report, however, has not spoken of him in this view in the most favourable terms. His private character clouded with suspicion his public conduct; though it must be confessed, that there is nothing upon record which justifies such conjectures. Though he defended royalty, it would be harsh to say that he did it only to promote his interest with the monarch: though he pleaded for the admission of ministers to the legislative body, we have no authority to assert, that he meant to solicit

an employment. He professes of himself, that his system of politics was that which is termed the moderate system.—Perhaps every man who sees deeply into human nature, and who knows the weakness of mankind, and the instability of popular counsels, will be moderate. He is even said in his last illness to have expressed his fears lest the democratic party of France should go too far in weakening the executive government.

As an orator, the fairest testimony is the amazing power which he possessed in a numerous and turbulent assembly, and his confessedly excellent all the efforts of his illustrious rivals and contemporaries. The faculty on which he appears most to have valued himself, was that of improving on the observations of others, and perpetually drawing even from his adversaries a copious fund of matter. His writings are unequal, and not unfrequently obscure. In delineating the characters of other men, he is severe, sarcastic, and uncandid; and in his gallery of portraits (if it be indisputably his) he appears to have made sacrifices to jealousy and envy unworthy of his own great talents, and unbecoming a liberal mind.

The honours which he received from his country are perhaps unparalleled in the present age. During his illness his door was besieged by inquiring citizens, whose countenances evinced that they considered him as the saviour of their country. The directory of Paris and the national assembly decreed a mourning of eight days. By a resolution of the legislature also, a public funeral was ordered, and which was attended by the national assembly, the ministers, the magistrates and judges in their robes, the national guard of

Paris, the society of Friends of the Constitution, or Jacobins, and an incredible number of spectators. The magnificent new church of St. Genevieve was consecrated for the reception of the remains of great men, and Mirabeau was the first who was publicly decreed that honour. As that church however was not complete, the body was for the present deposited in St. Etienne du Mont, which adjoins St. Genevieve, by the side of the coffin which contains the ashes of Descartes.

The next discussion which engaged the attention of the assembly, was the organization of the ministry. The ministers were declared responsible; and it was also decreed, that no member of the national assembly could take any part in administration till four years after the conclusion of that legislature of which he was a member.—The appointment of ministers was vested in the king; but their number was to be regulated by the legislature.—The ministers then appointed were, 1st, A minister of justice, who was to keep the great seal; to execute all laws relative to the sanctioning of decrees; to preserve a correspondence with all the inferior departments of justice; to submit to the legislature all questions of jurisprudence, &c. 2d, A minister of war, to superintend the regulation of all the troops of the line, &c.; to order the movements of the armies against the enemy, &c. 3d, A minister of foreign affairs, to superintend and conduct all correspondence with foreign courts; to enforce the execution of treaties; and to have a general care of the political and commercial interests of the kingdom. 4th, A minister of marine and for the colonies. The minister of foreign affairs to have a salary of 150,000 livres (about 7,400*l.*)

7,400*l.*) per annum, and the rest 100,000 *livres* (about 5,000*l.*) per annum. The king and the ministers to compose a great council of state, for the due exercise of the executive power.

The noblesse assembled on the borders of Alsace, for the purpose of reconquering their titles, began now to create some alarm in the people. The emigrant army had been reviewed by the prince de Condé: their uniform was black; faced with yellow, with a death's head surrounded with a laurel wreath on one cuff, and a sword on the other, with the motto, "Conquer or die." The emigrants also, it was added, were well received by most of the German princes, and every thing appeared hostile on the frontiers. As the cardinal de Rohan had taken an active part in seducing the people from their duties, an act of impeachment was decreed against him and some other of the principal emigrants.

With this circumstance several others concurred to keep awake the ever-watchful eye of popular suspicion. The king, whether he entertained them through prejudice and predilection, or through mere compassion, was surrounded with non-juring priests, and other persons of a dubious character; and the people had not forgotten the singular transaction of the Tuilleries on the 28th of February. However, therefore, we may condemn, we cannot be surprised at the tumult which took place on the 18th of April, while the royal family was preparing to set out for St. Cloud, where they intended to pass the Easter holidays. The populace, who considered this as only foreboding the flight of the king, and a counter-revolution, clamorously surrounded the carriage, and insisted on their majesties' re-

turn. It was in vain that M. Bailly and M. de la Fayette opposed this phrensy; in vain they exerted themselves to procure a free passage for the carriage. A set of orators better adapted to the ears of the common people, exclaimed, "If the king escapes, there will be a civil war, and the streets of Paris will be deluged with the blood of the citizens." The national guard refused to act—"We know," said the grenadiers, "that we are violating the law; but the safety of the country is the first of laws."

The royal family, in short, was obliged to return. The king immediately repaired to the assembly, where, with a becoming firmness and dignity, he complained of the insult, and declared his intention of persevering in his resolution. He was answered in a respectful speech by the president; and he proceeded on his journey. At the same time, his majesty embraced this opportunity of notifying to all the foreign courts his acceptance of the constitution; and, in compliance with a request from the municipality of Paris, dismissed from about his person those obnoxious persons who had been a principal cause of the suspicion.—New assurances of fidelity to the constitution, and of loyalty to the king, passed between the sovereign and the national assembly, and all was quiet.

The writers of all parties have done justice to the spirit and propriety which distinguished the conduct of M. de la Fayette on this occasion. On the 21st, he, with the other staff-officers, sent in their resignation, observing, that since the national guards would no longer obey, they must cease to retain a command which was merely nominal. This event was no sooner known than all Paris was seized with a general

neral terror; nor could all the machinations of La Fayette's enemies prevent their soliciting in a body, and under circumstances the most respectful to him, that he would re-assume the command. After some hesitation on his part, and the strongest assurances given on theirs of entire obedience, he agreed on the 24th to comply with their wishes.

During these transactions in the capital, the provinces could not even yet be pronounced in a perfect state of tranquillity. At Toulouse in particular, several patriot citizens were assassinated on the night of the 17th of March. The murder was attributed to the officers or soldiers of the regiment of St. Barthélemy. The people immediately took arms, but happily the tumult ended in burning the colours of the regiment. The real authors of the assassinations, however, escaped into Spain.

These commotions, which agitated the mother country, were however trifling when compared with the fatal animosities which prevailed in the colonies. The decree of March 1790 was so far from quieting the jealousies and disturbances which existed, that its immediate effect seemed to be to kindle the whole of the French West Indies into a flame. Before the arrival of the commissioners who were to enforce the decree, a mulatto of the name of Ogé attempted to excite a rebellion in St. Domingo: his party was, however, defeated: he took refuge among the Spaniards; they, however, surrendered him, and he expired upon the wheel. The very troops which had been sent from France to restore tranquillity, became infected with the spirit of insubordination. A regiment of native troops too, which was named the regiment of Port-au-Prince,

assassinated their colonel. The rebellious regiment was embarked, and sent to Europe; but the king's commissaries still exercised a feeble and dubious authority.

But the very decree of the assembly, the substance of which has been already intimated, proved the most deplorable source of discord. In that decree, parochial assemblies were directed to be held previous to the forming of a colonial constitution; but no definition was given of the persons who were to form these meetings. The people of colour, not being excepted, concluded naturally that they were virtually comprised in the law. The most violent contests ensued, and a députation was sent over to the national assembly, to demand an explication.

In May 1791, the matter was warmly agitated in the assembly.—The advocates in favour of the people of colour urged the declaration of rights, which the assembly itself had agreed on as the basis of their new constitution, and even appealed to a higher authority, the great fundamental principles of reason and justice. The colonial deputies, and their abettors, confessed that the prejudice against the people of colour was absurd and unjust; but they alleged that it was a prejudice which could not be annihilated by a single decree, or be obliterated in a short space of time.—That a law which should at once elevate these persons to the same rank with the white colonists, would expose the island to the severest calamities. The assembly found itself in a most difficult predicament. The free people of colour on the one hand, and their dependents, were numerous and wealthy; and, on the other, the whites in the French islands were masters of nearly 200,000 negroes, were possessed of

all the actual power, and had exhibited the most alarming symptoms of independence. They had already opened their ports to foreign nations, and had threatened to transfer their allegiance to the English government. The troops which had been sent had been debauched from their duty, and corrupted in their principles, and little reliance could be placed upon new debarkations. In this dilemma, the legislature proceeded gradually, and with extreme caution.

On the 13th of May, a decree was passed to quiet the apprehensions of the colonists with respect to the liberation of the negroes; and it was established as a constitutional article, "that the legislature of the mother country could decide nothing with respect to the liberation of the slaves, but upon the actual and formal demand of the colonial assemblies." This was followed, on the 15th, by another decree equally cautious, and in effect partial to the white colonists; which was, that people of colour born of free parents on both sides, should be admitted into all the colonial assemblies: and as to those whose parents on one side only were free, the legislature would not determine any thing till they heard the sentiments of the colonial assemblies.

Thus, by a repetition of the same timid policy which had produced the disturbances, the assembly still continued to widen the breach.—Neither party was satisfied with the decree. The majority of the people of colour were not born of parents who were both free, since it happened that a considerable number were the offspring of slaves who had been in a state of concubinage with their masters; and the white colonists, on the other hand, found their darling prejudice invaded even by this tri-

ling innovation. The most fatal discord manifested itself immediately. The assembly had sent over no troops to enforce its own decree. The colonists complained, that the decree in itself was impracticable. Such a scrutiny as it required into the pedigree and extraction of individuals, could not be conducted without offence, without difficulty and litigation. The white colonists represented in the strongest terms, that this last decree was a total violation of the preamble to the former: though the assembly had sanctioned the continuance of slavery, they still feared the abolition of the slave-trade, and determined to relax nothing in their severity and oppression of the people of colour.

In the mean time, the enemies of the revolution were not inactive in inflaming the minds of both parties. The slaves, whether instigated by incendiaries, or whether finding the civil authority which held them in obedience almost annihilated, soon began to take a part in the disputes; and discord, violence, and bloodshed pervaded every part of the colonies. In Martinico, and the smaller islands, after much contest, order has been partly restored; but, St. Domingo still remains a melancholy scene of desolation and civil war. The history of these transactions has not yet been sufficiently investigated: but, in our next volume, we purpose to collect the most authentic statements, and to furnish as complete a narrative as possible, both of the causes and consequences of this insurrection.

In the latter end of June, the city of Paris, and the whole kingdom of France, were thrown into the most violent consternation, by the desertion of the king. It was remarked, that for some weeks previous to this event, the emigrations had greatly increased;

increased; and the circulating specie of the kingdom disappeared, as it were by a miracle.—The non-juring priests were more active and audacious than ever, and emissaries were employed to corrupt the soldiery of almost every regiment, and especially on the frontiers.

The perfidious Bouillé, who had so wantonly imbrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-soldiers, in the affair of Nancy, was the principal agent on this occasion. By a variety of fictions and excuses, he evaded for a long time the civic oath; but at length he took it with such spontaneous tokens of zeal as left no room to doubt of his fidelity. He was entrusted with the protection of the frontiers; a trust which he exercised more consistently with his own character and views, than with the principles of duty and honour. He either permitted the fortifications of all the frontier towns to run to decay, or assisted in their dilapidation. The garrisons were left without provisions or ammunition. The national soldiery were replaced wherever it was possible with foreigners, and the utmost pains were taken to spread disunion and discontent among the national troops. The place nominally appointed for the retreat of the king, was Montmédy, a fortified town of Luxembourg; but it was generally supposed that his actual residence was to be within the emperor's dominions. Here the emigrants from all quarters were to be assembled, and were to act in concert with the powerful succours which were to be furnished by Prussia and Austria, while other diversions were to be made on the side of Spain and Savoy, by the respective monarchs of those countries.

Such is the account which is most generally believed of the motives

and plan of this ill-concerted and unfortunate journey; unfortunate for the country, because it destroyed that confidence which the people ought to have in the executive government; and doubly unfortunate for the monarch, because it lost him much of the love of an affectionate and loyal people, who, in the most distressful and tumultuous circumstances of the revolution, was never known to waver or abate in the respect and personal regard which they retained for their sovereign. The king's intention was not kept such a profound secret, but that it was known to M. Gouvion, one of the officers of the national guard, who communicated it to the mayor and M. la Fayette: the guard was in consequence doubled, and such precautions were taken as appeared likely to prevent every possibility of effecting the intention. On the night of the 20th of June, however, the king, queen, madame Elizabeth, sister to the king, and the whole of the royal family disappeared. Soon after their departure, it was discovered that a sewer which ran under the princess Elizabeth's apartment, from the castle of the Thuilleries, and communicated with the river, under the first arch of the Pont Royal, had been cleaned out, and covered with planks and sand.—Through this it was supposed the royal family escaped, and proceeded in a boat along the river to Seve, where a strong and convenient coach, made for the purpose, received the king, the queen, the dauphin, and madame Elizabeth. The others were conveyed in post-chaises. Monsieur and madame took the road to Mons; and the king's party that of Montmédy.

If a test had been wanting of the spirit and patriotism of the nation, none could have been devised so satisfactory.



atisfactory as this. The assembly received the news with a calmness and dignity, sufficient almost to discountenance opposition. Their first care was the public safety and tranquillity. They committed to the ministers the execution of the laws, and the other political functions of the king. A new oath of fidelity to the nation was prescribed to the military. Couriers were dispatched to all the different parts of the kingdom, with orders to stop the fugitives, if possible, and to recommend the preservation of peace and good order. After these precautions, the assembly, with unparalleled calmness, resumed their ordinary labours, and proceeded to the discussion of the penal code.

Among the people, the first impulse was a combined emotion of consternation, surprise, and indignation. The king's arms and effigies were taken down and broken by the populace of Paris. A proclamation from the assembly, however, soon restored order. The national guard assembled; deputations from different bodies appeared at the bar of the assembly, with the strongest and most firm professions of patriotism and obedience.

Though the majority of the nation, however, thus evinced its attachment to the revolution, the flight of the king was viewed in very different lights, according as the different parties felt their particular prejudices affected by the event. At the first of the revolution, two parties only divided the mass of the people; the friends of privileges and aristocracy, and the friends of liberty: but the latter had since divided, and a party more dangerous to the new constitution than even the aristocracy themselves had started up; a party, who, in quest of ideal perfection, are never satisfied with any established form

of government; but who are planning Utopian republics, instead of promoting the peace and industry of a people, and the stability of the government, which are the only circumstances that can give greatness or prosperity to a nation.

To the republican party the departure of the king was a matter of triumph: their love of change was now likely to meet at least a present gratification: they enlarged upon the absurdity of a government which enabled an individual to throw the whole state into confusion: they represented the king as a perjured monster, whose patriotism and love for his people would presently be evinced by his entering France at the head of hostile armies, to ravage the country, and to drench it in blood. The loss of authority, they stated, must be ever, to him who once possessed it, a subject of regret; and they exhorted the lovers of liberty, even if the king's flight should be prevented, to make use of the opportunity to get rid of a natural enemy.

The more temperate and sounder thinkers saw the matter in a very different point of view. The majority of them preferred a limited monarchy, as at least the most expedient form of government, and considered it as absurd in a nation enjoying perfect liberty, to dispute about the mode or form in which it should be administered. They considered, that even if the republican form were preferable, custom and habit had inured the French to monarchy, and their strongest prejudices inclined them to support it; that the nation was not in a state to endure the shock of a second revolution. They therefore contemplated it as the happiest event that could occur, should the king by any fortunate chance be restored;

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and forswaw a train of the most formidable evils threatening the kingdom and the people, should he fall into the hands of their enemies.

These disasters were happily prevented by the patriotism, vigilance, and good conduct of two obscure individuals. To favour their escape, the royal family had obtained a passport through the medium of the Russian ambassador, in the name of a baroness de Kortz, with her suite, as travelling to Frankfort. They travelled in the most private manner till they found themselves at a considerable distance from the capital, when they were furnished by Bouillé with detachments of dragoons, under the pretence of guarding some treasure for the pay of the soldiers. They proceeded without interruption for 156 miles, and were but a few leagues from the frontiers when they were arrested. At St. Menchoud, the post-master, a M. Drouet, had formerly been a dragoon in the regiment of Condé.—He immediately recognised the queen, and was forcibly attracted by the resemblance of the king to his portrait on the assignat of fifty livres. He was confirmed in his suspicions, on seeing the detachment of dragoons relieved by a detachment of hussars, and determined to stop them; but, being alone, was prudent enough not to expose himself to the opposition of the soldiers. He suffered the carriage to pass, but mounted a swift horse, and took a cross-road to Varennes, which was their next stage. He communicated his suspicions to the post-master there, who had also formerly been a dragoon; and they concluded that the only mode of effecting their purpose was to barricade the street and bridge over which the carriages must necessarily pass. Fortunately, on the bridge there stood at the moment a carriage

loaded with furniture; they overset it, and called together the mayor, the procureur de la commune, and the commandant of the national guard, and in a few minutes the number of the patriots was increased to eight men. The commandant and the procureur approached the principal carriage, and asked the names of the travellers. The queen petulantly answered, they were in haste, and produced the passport, which was thought a sufficient warrant by several persons; but the post-masters combated the opinion, on the ground of its not being countersigned by the president of the national assembly; and asked why a Russian baroness should be escorted by the military of France? It was determined therefore to stop the travellers; and, as they entered the house of the procureur, the king throwing off his disguise resumed his dignity.—“I am your king, it is true,” said he: “these are my wife and children. I charge you to treat us with that respect which the French nation have always manifested towards their sovereign.”

The national guard now arrived in considerable numbers, and at the same moment the hussars, who endeavoured sword in hand to force the house where the king was; but were answered by the national guard, that they should never carry him off alive. The commandant of the national guard had placed at each end of the street two field-pieces, which however were not charged; but they were sufficient to intimidate the hussars, who, upon the commandant ordering the artillery-men to their posts with their matches in their hands, relinquished their object, and quietly surrendered the king to the custody of the national guard.

The news of these transactions was received by the assembly with

inexpressible satisfaction. The perjured Bouillé was suspended from his functions; and orders were given for arresting him, and all who appeared to be concerned in the flight of the king: but Bouillé evaded for the present the axe of justice, by flying the kingdom. The assembly next appointed two commissioners to examine the inferior agents of the king's flight; and three commissioners, Messrs. Tronchet, d'André, and Dupont, were appointed to receive the declaration of the king and queen.

The royal family were escorted to Paris by a considerable body of the national guard, who increased in numbers as they approached the metropolis. Messrs. Barnave, Pethion, and Latour Maubourg had been dispatched to Varennes for the purpose of accompanying them back to Paris; and public tranquillity was so well preserved, that they entered the Thuilleries on the 25th without any disturbance, and with no apparent inconvenience but the fatigue of the journey. On the 27th the commissioners waited on the king and queen to receive their declarations. The king persisted in the assertion that he had made from the first, "that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom, and meant only to fix at Montmedi, which is a fortified town, till the vigour of government should in some degree be restored, and the constitution settled. A further reason for preferring this as the place of his residence, was, he added, that in case of any disturbance on the frontiers he might be ready to present himself in the post of danger, and to prevent insurrection. His reasons for quitting Paris, he declared to be, the insults to which he was liable there, and the inflammatory publications which were daily produced, particularly

against the queen, which rendered him apprehensive for her safety still more than for his own in the metropolis." The declaration of the queen rested entirely on the plea, "that as the king had determined to remove himself and family, it was impossible that she could admit the thought of voluntarily parting from him and her children."

Monsieur and Madame, who had taken a different road, were more successful in effecting their escape, and arrived safe at Brussels on the 23d.

The necessity of completing the fabric of the constitution became now more than ever apparent, and the assembly laboured incessantly on the municipal code and the organization of the army. In the mean time every precaution was taken to preserve the peace of the kingdom; and a decree was passed, the substance of which was, that such of the emigrants as did not return within two months should be subjected to triple taxes for the year 1791.

The flight of the king seemed indeed the signal for the emigrants to commence their hostile proceedings. M. Cazalés and some others of the violent aristocratic party sent in their resignations to the national assembly; troops were levied on the frontiers in the king's name, and many of the former officers of the royal regiments exerted themselves to seduce the soldiers from their allegiance by promises of advancement and high rewards: their attempts, however, were in general without success; a circumstance which has not been adverted to by those who suppose the attachment of the French soldiery to the revolution to have been entirely venal. As these levies were made in the name of the king, he thought it proper formally to disavow them,

which he did in a letter to the national assembly dated the 7th of July.

The return of the king appeared to make little alteration in the designs of the sovereigns who were confederated against France. Spain, indeed, whose political interests are diametrically opposite to a rupture with France, renewed on the occasion its professions of amity. The other courts kept still at a distance, and the German frontier was crowded with troops, and every where engaged in military preparations. He must know little indeed of public affairs, who can suppose that such a circumstance could make any alteration in the intentions of the combined courts. The politics of despots are always selfish; increase of territory is still their favourite pursuit. It would be weak to suppose that compassion for the emigrants, sympathy for the king, or even zeal for the maintenance of royal authority, would be motives strong enough to engage them in the expences and difficulties of war. A stronger incitement must be supposed; and that could be no other than the dismemberment of France, connected most probably with the destruction and annihilation of the petty states of Germany. Victorious, Austria and Prussia may be enriched with the spoils of France; and even disappointed in that object, as the smaller states of Germany will in that case be the chief theatre of war, excuses may be found for placing them under the protection of more powerful empires, and for aggrandizing these at the expence of their weak and indigent neighbours.

France however still continued in too united a state to warrant any immediate enterprise against her. Addresses breathing the strongest professions of loyalty and attachment to the constitution poured in from

every quarter. Foreigners resident in France seemed solicitous of the honour of being classed among her citizens. Among these it would be unpardonable not to mention particularly general Luckner. This celebrated veteran, who had renounced his German origin for the privileges of a Frenchman, embraced the opportunity of testifying his wish to conquer or die in the service of liberty and the constitution. The conduct of the assembly was not unworthy the confidence which the nation seemed to place in its virtue and patriotism. Calmness, dignity and moderation characterized its proceedings at this period.—In opposition to the violent republicans, the legislature tenaciously adhered to its constitutional decree concerning the inviolability of the king's person. Even the emigrants were treated with a degree of indulgence: the prince de Condé himself, though professedly in a state of war with his country, did not experience either haste or severity from the assembly. M. Duveyrier was sent as envoy to him and the other princes, to solicit their return to the enjoyment of happiness and security in the bosom of their country; but this ambassador of peace was imprisoned, and insulted in the most barbarous manner.

The unanimity which prevailed throughout France, from the time of the king's return till his acceptance of the constitution, was however interrupted by a short but disgraceful riot at Paris. Several efforts had been made by ill disposed persons, supposed to be in the pay of the emigrants, or of the hostile princes, to disturb the public tranquillity, by circulating lists of members of the assembly who were reported to be bribed to betray their trust, and other insidious manoeuvres. These efforts however all proved abortive  
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till the morning of the 17th of July, when the magistrates were alarmed by the report that a large body of seditious persons were about to assemble in the Champ de Mars. Two of the magistrates were sent to the suburb of St. Antoine, where they had the satisfaction to find that every thing was quiet. At eleven o'clock however intelligence was brought, that in the quarter of Gros-caillou two persons had been murdered: three municipal officers were therefore dispatched, at the head of a battalion of national guards, to seize the murderers and disperse the insurgents. At the same moment information was received of an alarming tumult in the Champ de Confédération. The mob attacked the national guard, and one man had the audacity to fire on M. la Fayette himself. The man was seized; but M. la Fayette, with a false generosity, permitted him to escape. The red flag was now displayed, and martial law proclaimed. The national guard was at length obliged to fire upon the people, who did not disperse till about twelve were killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. It was asserted, with what truth it is difficult to say, that foreign emissaries were discovered among the populace distributing money, and exciting them to rebellion.

The period now approached, when the constituent assembly were to terminate their labours. A committee had been for some time employed in compiling and digesting into a code the constitutional decrees, and on the 4th of August it was read to the assembly by M. Thouret, and debated article by article on the following days. On the 3d of September it was presented to the king. He signified his acceptance of it in writing on the 13th; and the

following day he appeared at the assembly, introduced by a deputation of sixty members, and solemnly consecrated the assent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath "to be faithful to the nation and to the law, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the constitution, and the due execution of the law."

While the constitutional act was in agitation an additional decree was passed, importing that no branch of the royal family could exercise any employment in the gift of the people; and on the 30th of September the constituent national assembly terminated an uninterrupted session of two years and four months, and spontaneously dissolved itself.

In treating of the different acts of the national assembly, we have freely criticised such parts of the new constitution as appeared liable to objection. One general error, and which may ultimately effect its destruction, must appear on the perusal of it to most readers; and that is, the extreme weakness of the executive power. Unless the agents of government be protected and supported in the execution of their several duties, their operations must necessarily be timid, feeble, and ineffective. Perhaps the impeachment of ministers, which is a most solemn, a most important, and also a most dangerous branch of legislative authority, unless exercised with great discretion, ought to be subjected to such formalities as might render it difficult upon frivolous pretences. Perhaps the concurrence of a certain portion of the legislative body ought to be required before an impeachment could be brought forward or moved for; since it appears that, if a popular harangue from a single demagogue is sufficient to displace

displace a minister, and even to subject him to a criminal prosecution, these offices will never be executed by men of spirit and character.

Another observation will perhaps not be considered as impertinent, as relative to the present state of France. When the constitution was settled, it should have been the great object of every friend to his country to labour for the restoration of tranquillity, order, and industry. Those political associations, under the denomination of *Amis de Constitution*, &c. &c. which might be useful at first in keeping up the spirit

of the people, are certainly no longer wanted. It is not a supply of politicians, but of mechanics, manufacturers, and husbandmen, that must now give vigour and prosperity to France; and it is better to rest satisfied with even an imperfect form of government, than by a continued pursuit of ideal perfection to retain the country and the government in an unsettled and a divided state. A free government may sometimes experience injury from too much confidence; but it is certain to be destroyed by a series of discord, disorder, and faction.

## CHAPTER V.

*State of Germany. Revolt of the Netherlands. Their Reduction. Turkish War. Conference of Reichenbach. Peace between Austria and Russia. Peace between Russia and Sweden. Taking of Ismail. Disgrace and Death of the Vizir. Taking of Mainz, &c. Mediation of Prussia and England. Peace between Russia and the Porte. Polish Revolution. Affairs of Liege.*

**W**HILE the empire of France was convulsed with the amazing change which had been effected in its government, the neighbouring countries of Europe were scarcely less agitated with foreign wars or with intestine commotion. No sovereign could succeed to a throne at a more difficult crisis than that in which Leopold II. was invested with the imperial purple. By the temerity of his predecessor, he found himself involved in a distant and unprofitable war; while the most flourishing part of his hereditary dominions appeared for ever alienated from the house of Austria.

Joseph II. was the mimic of Frederic, who has been misnamed the Great; but if his views were less selfish, his conduct was less art-

ful than that of the Prussian tyrant. Like his great model, he was a votary of the pretended philosophy of Voltaire, and considered every thing as reformation which was opposite to established opinions. No people are more attached to their religion than the Flemings; and the alterations which Joseph attempted in the church and constitution of the Belgic provinces, had kept them in a state of agitation for a considerable period. What was effected by violence was enforced by severity. The unrelenting persecution to which all the opponents of Joseph were exposed, had depopulated the country by continued emigrations. The exiles in the mean while preserved a strict correspondence with each other; they had their agents in every part of Brabant and Flanders,

and

and it is generally supposed were not destitute of foreign support. On different parts of the Austrian frontier they attempted repeatedly to collect their scattered forces; but they were as constantly dispersed by applications from the court of Vienna to the states where they presumed to shew themselves. It was not till the latter end of the year 1789 that they were able to take any effectual measures. Then, as if by magic, an army of 40,000 men appeared in an instant of time, and over-ran the whole of Austrian Flanders. Ascount Trautmandorf, the head of the Austrian administration, had arrested several of their friends at Brussels, the insurgents seized in the first instance the person of M. Crumpien, the chancellor of Brabant, whom they detained as a hostage. They soon obtained possession of the town and citadel of Antwerp, of Tournay, and of Ghent. The leaders of the party formed themselves into a legislative body at Breda, where they declared themselves the lawful states of the provinces. Their proceedings at first were marked by an uncommon spirit of unanimity, and their success was correspondent. It was not long before the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, the citadel of Antwerp and a few other strong places excepted, was in the hands of the patriots. It was in vain that the emperor Joseph threatened, in vain he held forth the most flattering and conciliatory language, in vain offered to restore their ancient constitution, and even to endow them with additional privileges. On the 22d of December the states of Brabant assembled, and in concert with the deputies of the other provinces proceeded to the appointment of a ministry. M. Henry Van der Noot, a popular advocate, who had distinguished himself by his opposition to

the emperor, was named prime minister; M. Van Euren, grand penitentiary of the cathedral of Antwerp, was appointed secretary of state; and the baron d'Hore, commissary-general for the war department.

About the same period the other states, viz. Flanders, Hainault, Tournay, Namur, and Guelderland, were convened, and formally disclaimed their allegiance to the emperor. The magistrates whom Joseph had banished were at the same time recalled, and the courts of justice were opened under the new administration. General Van der Merck, who had distinguished himself in several actions, was appointed to the chief command of the forces; envoys were dispatched to several foreign powers, and the states assumed all the prerogatives and functions of sovereign authority.

In the month of January 1790, the outlines of a federal constitution, consisting of twelve articles, were formed by the Belgic states, for that was the title which the new confederation assumed. In these articles it was stipulated, that each province should retain its own peculiar constitution, as well as the right of internal legislation; but that a congress should be appointed, consisting of deputies from each of the provinces, for the conduct of all affairs relative to the federative union, the general defence of the republic, the coining of money, the ratifying of treaties, &c. The Roman catholic religion was established throughout all the states. The civil and military employments were never to be united in the same person; nor were the members of the republic to accept of any military order or distinction from foreign powers.

Though the Belgic states experienced no direct support from the powers which were friendly to their interests,

interests, and which were supposed to have encouraged their revolt, yet their armies were respectably increased by a number of foreigners, particularly from England and France, who entered as volunteers into their service, and performed the most gallant actions. That which was termed the Belgic legion in particular was composed chiefly of British, and no body of military ever distinguished themselves by more active courage or more perfect discipline.

It would be foreign to our purpose minutely to detail the vicissitudes of the war. The spirit of the people, encouraged by their clergy, and the good conduct of their officers, not only enabled them to support an unequal contest, but even inclined the balance of victory in their favour, and soon wrested the whole of the Belgic provinces from the dominion of Austria.

The unanimity which prevailed at the commencement of the revolution was unfortunately not of long duration. The federal government of the Belgic states appeared to be established on a basis not ill calculated to support the fabric of a confederated empire; but, in the government of the different states, there existed enough of evil to produce discontent, faction, and distrust. The constitutions of these provinces were, like most of the old governments of Europe, founded entirely upon feudal and aristocratical principles. The nobles and the clergy were invested with particular privileges, which like all others were so many infringements on the general rights of the citizens. When Joseph subverted the constitution of these provinces, the privileges of the superior orders were involved in one common ruin with the liberties of the people. All parties, therefore, were at first

united in reclaiming the ancient constitution, as more tolerable than the despotism of Austria; but when they had successfully contended, and purchased their liberties at the price of their blood, the enlightened part of the community conceived that, in establishing the new government, such alterations ought to be adopted as were agreeable to the present improved notions of civil policy, and such parts of the old constitution sacrificed as were actually oppressive. But what was their surprise, when they found that, instead of an improved system, the old aristocratical government was every where adopted by the ruling powers, and even with additional burthens on the people, and additional indulgences to the privileged orders!

So far from indicating any desire for improvement, any genuine affection for the cause of liberty, one of the first steps of the Belgic congress was a public declaration of intolerance; the liberty of the press was totally prohibited, and state licensers appointed; arbitrary imprisonment was allowed, and several other unpopular measures were adopted. A general air of mystery covered the proceedings of the congress, which was soon found to be filled with the creatures and immediate connexions of Van der Noot and Van Euren. Among the persons who professed themselves dissatisfied with the existing arrangements, and who wished that something more might be done for the cause of the people, were some of the highest rank and the most popular character. Of these it is only necessary to mention the prince d'AreMBERG, the duc d'URSEL, the viscount WALKIER, and general Van der MERCK. A patriotic committee was formed at Brussels for the purpose of effecting some reform in the government,



government. The constitution of England was the avowed object of the majority of these reformers, which they wished to see adopted as far as might be consistent with republican government. But these were the views of a comparatively small part of the public: the great mass of the people, the inferior orders, were directed entirely by an implicit devotion to the will of their priests, and in every respect subject to monastic influence. The patriotic committee was scarcely formed, than the most alarming riots were excited in Brussels and other parts; in which the rabble, always governed by the most contemptible prejudices, exclaimed in favour of the existing oligarchy, and seemed anxiously industrious in forging fetters for themselves.

Such was the inauspicious crisis for Belgic liberty, in which Leopold ascended the throne of his ancestors. That crafty prince, less dazzled with false glory, less heated with the rage of innovation, than his unfortunate predecessor, was able clearly to discern that his real interest no longer consisted in reaping barren laurels in the unprofitable contest with the Ottomans, but in conciliating or reducing his revolted subjects, and in attending to the actual prosperity and peace of his extensive hereditary dominions. It was even said that the unfortunate Joseph, when humbled and subdued by the approach of death, expressed the deepest contrition for his imprudent conduct, and recommended to his successor, in the strongest terms, the adoption of pacific measures in treating with his Flemish subjects. One of the first steps therefore of Leopold was to issue a conciliatory proclamation, inviting the revolted provinces to return to their allegiance, pledging himself for the restoration of their

civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, and promising a complete redress of every grievance. While such were his proceedings in public; he did not neglect to treat in private with the leaders of the two parties. Whether successful or not in gaining them to his interests, one effect was certain to follow this mode of negotiation; it was certain to increase that distrust and disunion which already existed: each party in fact mutually considered and represented the other as sold and devoted to the views of Austria; but there is reason to believe that the monarch was most successful with the pretended patriotic committee.

The king of Hungary however did not entirely trust to the effects of his negotiation, nor to the disunion which prevailed in the provinces themselves. He no sooner ascended the throne than he secretly determined upon a peace with the Turks; and he began gradually to withdraw his troops from the Ottoman territories, to employ them upon an object of superior profit and importance. General Bender, an excellent officer, was supplied with an immense reinforcement of choice troops, and prepared to renew the war with fresh activity and vigour.

In such an extremity, a union of parties could scarcely be purchased at too large a price. The Belgic provinces were too weak, without foreign aid, to resist the immense power of the house of Austria, had the most perfect unanimity prevailed. But what must be our astonishment, to find that the distresses which threatened them seemed to increase instead of reconciling their dissensions! Adversity and persecution had made Van der Noët appear more than a man—power and prosperity had converted him into a child. There was nothing odious and

and unpopular into which the Belgic congress was not impelled by his advice and authority, and those of Van Euren. The Vonkists, or patriotic committee (so called from the name of their president Vonk), were every where persecuted. The dungeons were crowded with state prisoners. The most sanguinary and severe code of military laws that perhaps ever was invented, was enacted for the regulation of the armies. If a soldier was heard to murmur, he was put in irons, and chastised with the flat side of a sabre, *ad libitum*. If he threatened his officer, he was shot dead on the spot, without form or process. It was death for a soldier, to desert his post, to lose his arms, or fly from the enemy; and even if he were to absent himself from his company for ever so short a time without a pass, he was considered as a deserter, and inevitably punished with death. To complete the impolicy and absurdity of their proceedings, the duke d'Urzel, the viscount de Walkiers, and several of the first nobility were arrested as traitors. The victorious general Van der Merck was put under arrest, and committed to the castle of Anvers, upon charges which in themselves were frivolous; though it must be confessed that there is some reason to believe that this commander had devoted himself to the views of Austria.

A fact of a less important nature will serve perhaps still better to shew the weakness and inconsistency of this administration. When the national assembly of France sequestered the estates of the monasteries, the Belgic congress, which was composed of monks, or of men devoted to that order, beheld the sacrilege with horror and resentment; and to evince their disapprobation, and to retaliate for such, of their coun-

trymen as might have suffered in the general destruction of monastic orders in France, they sequestered themselves the estates of the French monks in the Belgic provinces; and thus to punish this heretical nation for what they had done, they exactly did what the French themselves would have done, had they been in possession of the supreme authority in Brabant.

Baron Schoenfeld, a Prussian, succeeded Van der Merck in the command, and in the outset of his career evinced himself a fit minister of the decrees of congress. In one day he hanged thirty soldiers who had deserted their post. Without form or ceremony he broke all the officers who were obnoxious to him; M. Lochée, colonel of the Belgic legion, was obliged to resign, and many other foreign officers of great merit quitted the service. Still the congress determined to resist; and such was the detestation of the Austrian yoke, that, amidst all these discouragements, the majority both of soldiers and of the people continued to second them in all their operations, and the war was still carried on with various success. The weight however of power and of discipline was at length felt in several unsuccessful encounters with the Austrians; and, as an expiring effort, the peasantry of Brabant and Flanders was embodied; and M. Van der Noot, who appears to have been more deficient in conduct than either in principle or in courage, determined to put himself at their head. On the 23d of September 1790, this undisciplined multitude, to the amount of 60,000 men, entered the province of Limburgh, which the Austrians had recovered by a series of little advantages. On their approach, the Austrians, to the amount of about 15,000, appeared to retreat before them.

them. But it was a fatal stratagem to the Belgic peasants. In their pursuit of the flying enemy, they suffered themselves to be allured into a narrow pass between Huy and Liege, where numbers or even valour itself could no longer avail.—There the Austrians fell upon them with all the advantages of generalship and of discipline; and the unfortunate Van der Noot saw his army completely routed. The fugitives were pursued even to the gates of Liege, where the inhabitants shut their gates against them, and refused them an asylum. The Austrian laurels were stained with blood. Immense multitudes were massacred while crying out for quarter, and a number were hanged on the spot as rebels, among whom were thirty Capuchins, and eighty secular clergy. The loss of the Flemish in this action was estimated at from seven to ten thousand.

To complete the misfortunes of the Belgic insurgents, they found themselves abandoned by the powers under whose expected protection and support they had first revolted. The politics of courts are always selfish; and the moral principles or sentiments which govern the conduct of individuals, in their mutual intercourse, are seldom found to mix in the negotiations of states. The new arrangements which had taken place between the king of Prussia and the emperor, defeated every hope of success from that quarter; and even in a congress which was held at the Hague between the ministers of Prussia, England, Holland, and Austria, they were given to understand, that all which the mediating powers could guarantee was, the restoration of the Belgic constitutions as under the administration of the late empress queen Maria Theresa.

Such was the state of things on

the 13th of November, when M. Van Euren entered the hall of congress with a large crucifix in his hand, which with much solemnity he deposited on a velvet cushion, and took a sacred oath, never to agree to any proposal of accommodation with the tyrant Leopold. He was followed by M. Van der Noot—but, to their unspeakable surprise, by no other member of the congress. The representatives of Hainault, of Flanders, of Tournay, and Malines, declared even that they were instructed by their constituents to treat with the emperor. The session concluded with the mission of four members, one from each of those provinces, to negotiate an accommodation through the ministers of the mediating powers. In the mean time the Austrians advanced with a body of 43,000 chosen troops; on the 24th of November Namur surrendered, and Brussels on the 2d of December. These events were followed by the flight of Messrs. Van der Noot and Van Euren, and the baron Schoenfeld. General Van der Merck was set at liberty, and soon after reinstated in all his honours and possessions by the Austrians. The cities and towns of Flanders and Brabant successively opened their gates to the conquerors; and, at the commencement of the year 1791, Leopold had the satisfaction to see himself completely master of the Austrian Netherlands. On the 1st of January, Te Deum was sung at Brussels in celebration of their reduction under the dominion of Austria; and on the 8th the inhabitants of the Belgic provinces sent an address to the emperor, expressive of their obedience and devotion to his authority.

Several other circumstances concurred to render Leopold desirous of peace. The kingdom of Hungary, though

though not in a state of actual rebellion, had yet manifested some unpleasant symptoms of disquietude and dissatisfaction. Wearied and exhausted by the quixotism of Joseph, the Hungarians complained that the war had been entered into without the consent of the states of the kingdom. As Joseph too had not confined his innovations to his Austrian dominions, there existed some causes of complaint on that account. These however Joseph, previous to his death, had promised to redress; nor was there much probability that the pacific Leopold would persist in measures which the obstinate and ambitious Joseph had relinquished as untenable. When, however, the principle of discontent is excited in a people, it is not easily to be allayed. The demands of the Hungarians appeared greatly to exceed the limits of their first professions, and fell little short of arrogating to the assembly of the states the full sovereignty of the nation. The secret of Leopold's government was perhaps venality. The same persuasive eloquence which had penetrated the hearts of the patriotic party in Flanders, probably served gradually to diminish the haughty pretensions of the Hungarian nobles. Two methods, therefore, remained, by which the new monarch might establish his authority.—The one was, to conciliate the malcontents within; and the other, to remove the cause which had reduced the house of Austria to this predicament, by a speedy termination of the war with the Turks.

There was a cause which perhaps lay still nearer to the heart of Leopold, since it was one which affected more strongly his self-love. He had been a little affected with the rage of innovation himself, and his Italian subjects seemed not to receive his

alterations with the most passive spirit. His tyrannical regulations concerning the interment of the dead in particular were adopted with horror, and some serious riots had been the consequence of this and some other changes.

But if peace was desirable on these accounts, it was almost rendered necessary by the imposing mediation of Prussia. That imperious and insatiable power, who wished to be the arbitress of Germany, had left nothing unattempted to humble the house of Austria, her only rival. In conjunction with another power, which on the continent of Europe is commonly regarded as under the direction of Prussia in all foreign politics, the court of Berlin was commonly supposed to have been the means of plunging the misguided Ottomans into the unpropitious and distressful contest in which they were engaged. Honour, as far as we may apply that term to the negotiations of politicians, forbade the total abandoning of this infatuated people in the extremity of their distress; interest, real or imaginary, also, which is by far the stronger tie, forbade the total destruction of the Ottoman empire. Prussia embraced the opportunity of degrading Austria, and of manifesting its own power; and, however disagreeable or humiliating to Leopold, began soon after his accession to insist on a pacification between Austria and the Turks.

After the reduction of Orsova, therefore, which happened on the 16th of April 1790, the war was carried on with languor on the part of Austria; and in the month of June a conference was agreed upon at Reichenbach, at which the ministers of Prussia, Austria, England, and the United Provinces assisted, and at which also an envoy from

Poland was occasionally present. After a negotiation, which continued till the 17th of August, it was agreed that a peace should be concluded between the king of Hungary and the Ottoman Porte; that the basis of this treaty should be a general surrender of all the conquests made by the former, retaining only Choczim as a security till the Porte should accede to the terms of the agreement, when it was also to be restored. On the other hand, the king of Prussia gave up the Belgic provinces, and even promised his assistance in reducing them to the Austrian dominion.

The king of Prussia was less successful in his mediation with Russia. Catherine had not, like Leopold, an imperial crown at stake, which (unsubstantial as it is) has always its charms with those who are educated in the habitual adoration of rank and dignities. Her conquests also on the side of Turkey were too important to be easily relinquished; and she considered her dignity attacked by the insolent style of Prussian mediation. The substance of her answer to the Prussian memorial was therefore, "That the empress of Russia would make peace and war with whom she pleased, without the interference of any foreign power."

In the mean time, if Catherine found herself, by the conference of Reichenbach, deprived of an ally, it was no difficult matter, on the other hand, to disencumber herself of an adversary. The same motives which had rendered Gustavus for a series of years the devoted instrument of France; the same motives which had induced him to sacrifice the lives of his people in the present contest, might be employed to convert him from the enemy into the ally of Russia. On the 14th of August 1790, therefore, a convention was signed

between the courts of Russia and Sweden, and was ratified in six days after. The basis of the convention was, a general treaty of peace and amity, an alliance of the strictest nature, and an agreement that the boundaries of their respective territories should remain the same as confirmed by the treaties of Abo and Nyfstadt.

At the close of the year 1790, the empress had the satisfaction to see her conquests no longer bounded by the course of the Danube. The Turkish fleet was almost annihilated; and even the slavish maxims of mussulman policy were scarcely sufficient to repress the resentment of the populace in Constantinople, and to prevent their engaging in the most alarming insurrections. The last act of this protracted campaign, which was uninterrupted even by the severity of winter, however it might contribute to the advantage, certainly did not redound to the honour of Russia; and evinces, that whatever steps may have been taken by the present or other sovereigns of this empire to produce a forced civilization, both the monarchs and the people of Russia are still barbarians. The reader will easily perceive that the taking of Ismail is alluded to in this reflection. The progress of the Russians during the whole of the war, was indeed marked with blood and cruelty; but all their former executions were exceeded by the horror of their proceedings at Ismail. This place had been fortified during the late war, and previous to the siege had been reinforced by the flower of the Turkish army. On the 22d of December 1790, it was taken by storm by general Suwarow; and it is said that the siege and the capture did not cost the Russians less than 10,000 men. The most shocking part of the

the transaction is; that the garrison (whose bravery merited, and would have received from a generous foe, the highest honours) were massacred in cold blood by the merciless Russians to the amount of, by their own account, upwards of 30,000 men; and the place was given up to the unrestrained fury of the brutal soldiery. The most horrid outrages were perpetrated on the defenceless inhabitants; and the conduct of the conquerors was more that of a horde of cannibals than of a civilized people. After this bloody scene, the Russians went into winter quarters; the vizir retired towards Constantinople, and on his return fell a sacrifice to the sanguinary policy which has long disgraced the Ottoman counsels.

In the mean time, the people of Constantinople, the janizaries, the very inmates of the seraglio, and particularly the sultana mother, became clamorous for peace. A congress was appointed at Sisthovia, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity to Europe, at which the ministers of the belligerent powers assisted, with those of Prussia, England, and the United Provinces. The dispute between Austria and the Porte was easily adjusted on the basis of the convention of Reichenbach; but the demands of Russia could not be so easily satisfied. After some months of deliberation, the object of the congress appeared as distant as ever, and both parties made the most vigorous preparations for the continuance of the war. The determined perseverance of Selim, and the uncommon activity of the new vizir Jussuf Pacha, seemed to astound the Ottomans, and to awake them from their lethargy. Notwithstanding their repeated losses, the vizir was enabled to take the field early in the spring with an ar-

my which was computed to amount to nearly 200,000 men; and magazines well furnished with military stores were established in Bulgaria, Romelia, and at Adrianople.

The campaign of 1791 opened on the part of Russia with the taking of Maczin, on the 4th of April, by prince Gallitzin; and in a subsequent victory on the 12th, by the same general in the neighbourhood of Brailow, the Turks lost not less than 4000 men, and upwards of 100 officers, besides many pieces of cannon. On the 14th the Russian arms experienced a check, by which they lost about 700 men, and were obliged to relinquish the intention of besieging Brailow. After reinforcing this place, the vizir proceeded to the banks of the Danube near Silistria; and, by means of a bridge which he threw across the river, his advanced posts were enabled to make incursions on the opposite side. The ability of the vizir, and the valour of the Turks, were however exerted in vain against the discipline and experience of European armies. In the month of June, 15,000 Turks were defeated by a party of cavalry under general Kutusow. On the 3d of July the fortress of Anape was taken by general Gudowitsch, and the garrison, to the amount of 6,000 men, made prisoners. This event was followed, on the 9th of the same month, by a signal victory which prince Reprin obtained near Maczin over a body of 70,000, the flower of the Turkish army. The Ottomans left upwards of 4000 dead upon the field of battle, and lost their entire camp equipage, colours, and 30 pieces of cannon. The Russians are said to have lost only 150 men killed, and between 2 and 300 wounded.

While the war was thus vigorously carried on, the mediating powers

powers were not inactive. Great-Britain and Prussia, in particular, declared themselves determined to support the balance of Europe, and to force the empress to peace upon the basis of a *status quo*. Of the interference of Britain in this dispute, there will be occasion to treat more amply in another place. To the first applications of the English minister, the empress answered in nearly the same terms in which she had formerly replied to the memorial of Prussia—"That the British court would not be permitted to dictate the terms of the peace." In the course of the negotiation, however, her demands became more moderate; and as the northern powers, and particularly Denmark, began to exert themselves for the prevention of hostilities, she confined her views at length to the possession of Oczakow, with the district extending from the Bog to the Niester, and even then providing for the free navigation of the latter river. The negotiation was protracted to the 11th of August, when, at length, peace was concluded between the Czarina and the Porte nearly upon these terms;—terms, which, considering the ill success of the war, cannot be accounted very disadvantageous to the Porte, who has lost a fortress more useful for the purpose of annoying Russia, than for defending their own territories; but certainly of considerable importance to Russia, which, by this cession, has secured the peaceable enjoyment of the Crimea.

Peace was probably at this period the more desirable to Russia, from an event which, while it enlarged the scale of human happiness and liberty, certainly was calculated to counteract, in no small degree, the unwarrantable usurpations of that

ambitious power. Every reader, whose attention has at all been directed to political events, must recollect with indignation the infamous dismemberment of Poland in the year 1773. From that period the republic had been reduced to a most humiliating state of servitude, and dependence upon Russia. It cannot be a matter of surprise, that the first opportunity of emancipating itself from so ignominious a yoke should be eagerly embraced, and that, while the contest with the Porte occupied the attention of Russia, the advances of Prussia should be favourably received by a majority of the nation, and even the shadow of independence embraced, while the views of that intriguing court appeared to be tempered with any share of honour or disinterestedness. The enlightened part of the Polish patriots flattered themselves, however, with no advantages from Prussia which were not to be paid for by sacrificing the best interests of the republic; they determined, therefore, to make a wiser use of the interval of relief from foreign oppression, which they now enjoyed; and they found themselves seconded warmly in their views by the majority of the nation, when it appeared that the cession of Thorne and Dantzic to Prussia was the immediate object with that insatiable court. That state which depends for protection and support upon a foreign power will ever find its prosperity precarious, and its government contemptible. It is within itself that every nation must find its own support, and that support is only in one way to be obtained. It was not industry, it was not valour, that Poland wanted; it was unity, it was a *constitution*, it was an efficient and active government. Happily for Poland, she was at this crisis possessed of some men of the most

most eminent abilities, and apparently of the most exalted patriotism. The king had indeed been elected by the Russian interest, but he has shewn that foreign obligations have not been able to eradicate from his breast an attachment to his country. During the session of the diet many excellent decrees had been passed in favour of general liberty, and calculated to attach the citizens to the interests of their country. That of the 18th of April 1791 in particular, which secured to the freemen the rights which had previously been confined to the order of nobles, and which opened the door of nobility to the inferior orders, was a considerable advance in favour of human nature, in a nation which had so long been devoted to the slavish principles of the feudal system. The minds of the public were also prepared for the change, by the apprehensions which the designs of Prussia upon Thorne and Dantzic had excited, and by the just alarms which agitated the people of a future division of their territory. The new constitution, however, was digested and prepared with the utmost secrecy and caution; and but few were entrusted with the projected design. On the memorable 3d of May 1791, at three o'clock in the morning, a select body of patriots assembled in the royal chamber. There, in the presence of the king, they solemnly engaged never to separate till the intended revolution should be happily accomplished.

The galleries of the hall in which the diet was held, were crowded at an early hour, as if in expectation of some important event. The session was opened by the king in person, instead of the marshal; and instead of resorting to the order of the day, which was a report on the

finances, his majesty addressed the assembly on the general state of the nation.—He observed, “that whatever assurances foreign powers might amuse them with, he had undoubted proofs, that the alarming rumours which had been spread concerning a fresh dismemberment of the territories of the republic, rested upon too sure a foundation; and that the contending powers were about to terminate their differences at the expence of Poland. That one way remained, and but one, to secure the possessions of the republic, and to preserve the state from ruin; and this was, to give it such a constitution as might impart unity to its government, and attach the people to its support. That with this view a constitution had been prepared, principally founded on the English and American constitutions, but avoiding the errors of each, and adapted as much as possible to the circumstances of the country; and that this constitution, he trusted, they would adopt.”

After the reading of the constitution a tumultuous debate ensued. The nuncios of Volhynia and Podolia protested against the proceeding. M. Suchorzowsky, who had been the author of the decree in favour of the citizens, threw himself at the foot of the throne, and besought his majesty, that he would not persist in his intention of making the crown hereditary. Others referred to the instructions of their constituents, and entreated that the deliberation should be deferred to a future day; but this proposal did not meet the sentiments of the majority. The king then rising from his seat respectfully called the bishop of Cracovia, and took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution. “He that loves his country,” exclaimed his majesty, “let him follow



follow me to the church, and repeat this oath at the foot of the altar." The king was attended to the church by all the nuncios, except between thirty and forty; *Te Deum* was sung; all the deputies present took the oath; and the new constitution was announced to the people by the firing of 200 pieces of cannon. It was reported, that on the preceding day a foreign minister had distributed the sum of 50,000 ducats, for the purpose of obstructing the revolution. The attempt was, however, abortive; the most perfect tranquillity prevailed; and nothing was heard throughout Warsaw but exclamations of joy.

Thus without bloodshed, and even without tumult, was effected a revolution honourable to those who projected it, and promising to be essentially conducive to the happiness of the people. By the new Polish constitution a full and free toleration is permitted to all sects and religions; the peasants, who were formerly in a state of the most abject vassalage, or rather slavery, are received under the protection of national law and government, and all contracts between the lords and vassals are declared equally binding:—The sovereignty is declared to reside altogether in the will of the people; and three distinct powers are established in the government—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. With respect to the first of these powers, the diet or legislature is to be elected every two years from the order of nobles, and is divided into two houses—the house of nuncios, and the senate: the former however possesses the pre-eminence; and every law which passes in it is immediately to be sent to the senate; where if it is accepted, it becomes a law in full force: if suspended, it must be resumed at the next diet;

and if a second time it passes the house of nuncios, the senate must submit to it.

The crown of Poland is hereditary as to individuals; and elective as to families; and the house of Saxony is the family now chosen for the vacancy. To the king and his council is entrusted the execution of laws. The king's person is inviolable. He may pardon all criminals but state prisoners. He commands the forces, appoints commanders, patentees, officers, bishops, senators, ministers. No minister or senator, however, can sit in the house of nuncios.

The judiciary power is divided into, 1st, Primary courts in each district or palatinate: 2d, Courts of appeal in each of the three provinces. There are some other local inferior courts, and a comital tribunal for the trial of crimes against the state.

All citizens may purchase landed estates; and whoever purchases a village or township, paying two hundred florins land-tax, is entobled. Thirty citizens are also ennobled at every diet. The army, the law, and the church, are all thrown open to the citizens. Perfect and entire liberty is proclaimed to all new settlers, whether foreigners or emigrants returned.

Such is the general outline of the Polish constitution: By some of the ardent friends of liberty it has been considered as too favourable to aristocracy, particularly in confining the rights of active citizens to the equestrian or noble order. Those, however, who conceive of it in this view are but little acquainted with the state of Poland. In that country there are three classes of people: the nobility (most of them without titles), who constitute the great mass of the independent inhabitants; the

peasants;

peasants, who are certainly too uninformed at present, and too dependent, to exercise the functions of active citizens; and the burghesses, or inhabitants of the free towns, who might indeed have been put upon a footing with the nobles, but who enjoy their peculiar municipal privileges, and whose number is too small to form a solid objection to the new arrangement. The provisions for conducting the legislative and executive departments appear well devised, and promise both stability and energy to the government. The circumstance which appears to have excited the strongest opposition in Poland, is the appointment of an hereditary instead of an elective chief magistrate; but certainly, if we contemplate the history of Poland from the reign of Augustus II. with a politician's eye, we shall be disposed to conclude that nothing but a blind attachment to ancient prejudices could dispose any friend of his country to prefer the elective form.

The opposition indeed which at first was made to the constitution, chiefly on account of the hereditary succession, soon began to recede. Count Braniki, grand general of the kingdom, who at first had declared against the constitution, acceded to it, and signed it at the diet on the 5th; and the celebrated friend of liberty, Malachowsky, great chancellor to the crown, who on that event had resigned the seals, re-accepted them at the requisition of the diet, and accepted the office of minister of justice, and for the interior department. On the 17th, M. Goltz, charge des affaires from the court of Berlin, announced his Prussian majesty's approbation of the new arrangement, though there has been some reason to suspect that this profession was not accompanied with much sincerity.

The good understanding which was established between the courts of Vienna and Berlin by the conference of Reichenbach, enabled the former in the beginning of 1791 to bring to a termination the unhappy divisions and distractions which pervaded the territory of Liege. There is a veil of mystery still spread over this transaction, which utterly disables the politicians from clearly distinguishing its causes and motives. All that is known with certainty is, that during the latter part of the year 1789 the inhabitants of Liege complained vehemently of the oppression which they experienced under the government of their bishop, of an invasion of their rights, and ventured to insist upon a regular charter of privileges; to which they asserted they were entitled, not only by the imprescriptible claims of justice and truth, but by their ancient constitution. It is indeed scarcely possible to conceive a worse species of government than an elective sovereignty, where the appointment is confined to an ecclesiastical body, and the people have no share nor influence in the election. A temporary monarch of this nature will act like the governor of a Roman province, and will naturally be disposed to increase the wealth of his family by the plunder of the public. On the other hand, the territory of Liege was too small, and its power too contemptible, to allow the people to flatter themselves with any prospect of success in an opposition to the Germanic body, a part of whose constitution was the existing government of this city. They could therefore be only deluded into insurrection by the hope of foreign support. What that support was to be we are left in ignorance; and it is only certain, that one of the principal persons who promoted the opposition to go-

vernment

vernment had been for some time resident at the Prussian court. Be this as it may, as the bishop and chapter did not think proper to comply with the demands of the citizens, the latter had recourse to arms; and the bishop becoming apprehensive for his personal safety, had recourse to a voluntary exile, and appealed to the imperial chamber of Wetzlaer.

Whatever might be the designs of the king of Prussia with regard to Liege, we only know that he voluntarily undertook the office of mediator upon this occasion; and the offer came from a quarter too powerful not to be accepted. His troops were cantoned in the neighbourhood of the city; but its inhabitants considered them as rather sent to protect than to coerce them. They assumed to themselves the functions of sovereign authority; a noted French prelate submitted to act the part of a pageant on this occasion, as regent in their ecclesiastical affairs; while the actual power was vested in the hands of certain popular magistrates.

In this state matters continued till the latter end of the year 1790, when the reconciliation between the two ruling powers of Germany, and the apprehensions of the extension of the new doctrines in favour of the rights of man, induced the despots of the continent at once to overturn this unsubstantial fa-

bric of liberty. On the 20th of December, the imperial chamber of Wetzlaer issued requisitorial letters, addressed to the government of the Austrian Netherlands, desiring that his imperial majesty's troops would assist those of the serene electoral princes, which were engaged in enforcing the sentences which the imperial chamber had successively pronounced against the insurgents of Liege. Early in January the Austrian troops began to enter the territory of Liege; and the city was almost evacuated by emigrations. The Austrian general, baron Kenhll, however, prepared the way for his reception by a conciliatory proclamation, in which he engaged that the strictest discipline should be observed, and no citizen molested except upon direct provocation; and the only condition that he required was, that they should not appear in arms, and that they should carefully divest themselves of their cockades, scarfs, &c. and abstain from all the signals of insurrection. On the 12th of January the Austrian troops entered Liege, and took possession of all the public places, the palace, the hotel de ville, &c. the old magistracy, who had been expelled, were reinstated in their offices; the chapter resumed its functions; and, in the beginning of February, the prince bishop was reinstated in his full authority.

## CHAP. VI.

*Negotiation and Convention with Spain concerning Nootka Sound, &c. War in India with Tippoo Sultan. Dissolution of Parliament. Meeting of the New Parliament. His Majesty's Speech. Address moved and carried. Papers presented relative to the Convention with Spain. Further Communications moved for. Debate on that Subject. On the Convention. Debate on that Subject in the Lords. Ways and Means for the Expences of the Armament. Debate on the Question, Whether Impeachments abate by a Dissolution of Parliament? Debate on a Motion relative to abandoning certain Articles of the Charge against Mr. Hastings. Motion to petition the King against proroguing the Parliament till the Evidence should be closed on the Impeachment. Debate in the Lords on the Impeachment. Debates on the Indian War.*

IN our preceding volume we have stated, as fully as circumstances would admit, the grounds of the dispute with Spain relative to Nootka Sound. The first event of importance, therefore, which presents itself in our domestic history, is the pacific adjustment of that dispute in the latter end of the year 1790. In the volume alluded to, we ventured to express our doubts concerning the prudence and good policy of the armament which was voted on that occasion; nor has any thing since occurred to us of sufficient force to exonerate the ministry from the charge of precipitation at least. That the object itself was not worth a contest, nor even the three millions which the armament cost, no person we presume will be inclined to doubt: but what is still more surprising is, that the views of Spain appear from the state papers relative to that transaction to have been from the very first pacific; nor can there be much question, but that if we had only firmly insisted on what we conceived to be our right, we might have obtained it without the expence of an armament. The unanimity indeed which was shewn upon this occasion will appear not a little surprising, unless we take into the ac-

count the temper of the nation, and the state of parties at the period in question. A passion for war is, unhappily for the country, too much a characteristic of the English temper; and of all wars a Spanish war has from the reign of Elizabeth been the most popular. In parliament, opposition saw a distant interest in coinciding with the sentiments of the minister on this occasion; and the minister himself, it is commonly supposed, was impelled by stronger motives than any which were subjected to public investigation. Thus all parties agreed in the propriety of lavishing the treasure of the nation; and scarcely an individual was found manly enough to tell the public a salutary truth.

Spain from the first had declared that she was willing to submit the right of trading to that part of America to be determined entirely by the existing treaties; and when Mr. Fitzherbert arrived at Madrid, in the latter end of May, with plenipotentiary powers to adjust the dispute, the first notice he received from the court was a unanimous and decided resolution of the Spanish ministry, to avoid if possible a rupture with Great Britain. Such was not the tone of the British ministry.

With

With a haughtiness, which was probably grounded on a knowledge of the inability of their adversaries to pursue hostile measures, they insisted on full satisfaction to the British traders previous to the discussion of the point of right; while the Spaniards pleaded the necessity of first determining the right, since the indemnification demanded by the traders ought to depend chiefly on the legality of their proceedings. On these principles the negotiation was protracted to the latter end of July; when Spain, finding herself in no respect able to resist the requisitions of Great Britain, consented that the satisfaction and indemnification claimed by the English ambassador should be considered as a preliminary to the determination of the question. Such a declaration we conceive ought to have been considered as the signal of peace, and as a notice to disarm; but however unaccountable it may appear, Great Britain still continued its armaments with incessant vigour, and the public treasure was still lavished with a prodigal hand. The negotiation was again protracted, wherefore we have never been fully informed, till the 28th of October; when the meeting of parliament approaching, and a different object offering itself to the ambition or the resentment of ministers, it was thought proper to terminate the dispute, and a convention was signed.

By this convention the restoration of the buildings and vessels, and the reparation of the losses sustained by the British subjects, were secured; the right of navigation and fishery was equally conceded to both nations; illicit commerce with the Spanish settlements was however prohibited, and the British fishing-vessels or others were restricted to ten leagues distance from the Spa-

nish coast; those parts of the N.W. coasts of America, which are to the north of those now occupied by Spain, were left free; and those to the south of the present Spanish settlements were declared to be the exclusive property of that state.

But though Great Britain was thus happily rescued from the horrors of war in this quarter of the globe, accident or ambition involved our Indian possessions in contest and in blood. At so remote a distance it is difficult to judge accurately of causes and motives; but as nearly as a diligent enquiry has enabled us to collect the truth, the following appears a fair statement of the leading facts:

The usurpation of Hyder Ally, and the military prowess of his son and successor Tippoo Sultan, are facts too recent and too well known to require any repetition. Of all the native princes of India, Tippoo was the most formidable to the British government, and the most hostile to its authority. The peace of Mangalore in 1784 had, it was supposed, secured his fidelity by very feeble ties; and the splendid embassy which not long after that event he dispatched to France, afforded much reason to apprehend that some plan was concerted between the old government of that country and the tyrant of Mysore, for the annoyance of Great Britain in its Indian possessions: but this plan was happily defeated by the French revolution.

The increasing power of Tippoo was not less formidable to the Dutch than to the English; and the vicinity of Cochin, their most flourishing settlement on the continent of India, to the territories of that aspiring monarch, made them tremble for its safety. That sagacious people, however, have seldom been without their resources. Besides Cochin, the Dutch were

were possessed of two other forts, which were situated between Myfore and their favourite settlement; and one of them, Cranganore, had been a place of some note while in the possession of the Portuguese. From the Portuguese it was conquered by the Dutch, who retained quiet possession of it till some time in the year 1779 or 1780, when it was taken by Hyder Ally and garrisoned; but when the war broke out in 1780 between Hyder and the English, he was obliged to evacuate his garrisons on the Malabar coast, to employ his force in the Carnatic; and Holland and France being soon after united with Hyder against the English, the Dutch embraced the opportunity of clandestinely taking possession and re-garrisoning the fort; a measure which greatly offended Hyder, and of which he loudly complained. By the mediation of the French, however, a compromise took place; but upon what terms is uncertain.

From the vicinity of Cranganore and Acottah to his boundary, and their situation within the territory of an acknowledged tributary to Myfore (the rajah of Cochin), the possession of them was a most desirable object with Tippoo: in the month of June 1789, therefore, he marched a formidable force towards Cranganore, with a professed intention of making himself master of it, upon a claim chiefly founded upon the transactions which we have just related. Unable therefore to retain the possession of the forts themselves, and fearing for a settlement of much superior value, the Dutch readily entered into a negotiation with the rajah of Travancore for the purchase of them. It is said that Tippoo offered a more considerable sum than they obtained from the rajah; but as the latter was the ally of Great

Britain, who was bound by treaty to assist him, that politic people easily saw, that by placing them in his hands they erected a most powerful barrier, no less than the whole force of Britain, against the encroachments of their ambitious neighbour upon their settlement at Cochin.

The imprudence of the rajah, in entering upon such a purchase while the title was disputed, drew down upon him the heaviest censures from the government at Madras; and he was repeatedly cautioned, both by sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Holland, his successor in the government, not to proceed in the negotiation. Such however was the ardour and temerity of the rajah, in making this acquisition, that he not only concluded the purchase with the Dutch, but even treated with the rajah of Cochin, without the privity of Tippoo, though he was the acknowledged tributary of that prince, for some adjacent territory.

The bargain was concluded in July 1789, though it was not till the 4th of August that the rajah informed the Madras government, through their resident Mr. Powney, that he *was on the point of making the purchase*.

It was not probable that Tippoo would remain an indifferent spectator of these transactions. He insisted on the claim which he retained over these forts, in consequence of their being conquered by his father, and in consequence of the subsequent compromise. He asserted that, in virtue of the feudal laws, no transfer of them could be made without his consent, as sovereign of Myfore; and alleging as a further cause of complaint against the rajah, that he had given protection to a number of his rebel subjects, he assembled a considerable force, and on the 29th of December made a direct attack upon the lines of Travancore. On receiving a remon-

remembrance from the British government of Fort St. George, however, he desisted, and even apologised by affirming "that the attack was occasioned by the rajah's people having first fired on his troops; that notwithstanding this, he immediately ordered his troops to discontinue the attack, and sent back the people whom they had captured." From the 29th of December to the 1st of March 1790, Tippoo Sultan remained perfectly quiet, still asserting his claims to the feudal sovereignty of the forts; but, it is confidently affirmed, offering to submit the dispute to any impartial arbitration.

On the 1st of March 1790, the rajah's troops made an offensive attack upon Tippoo, who had continued quiet within his lines from the 29th of December. For this extraordinary step, the rajah alleged in excuse the hostile preparations of Tippoo in the erection of batteries, &c. &c. An engagement took place; and war being thus commenced, the British government conceived themselves bound to take an active part. However differently indeed philosophers or statesmen may think of the justice or policy of the war, no period appeared more favourable to humble Tippoo, if that was the object with the British administration. With all the other native powers of India we were not only at peace, but treaties of alliance existed between Great Britain and the two most powerful states of India, the Nizam and the Mahrattas; and both declared themselves in perfect readiness to exert their utmost force to crush the rising power of Mysore. Such was the state of affairs in the East previous to the meeting of parliament; and such were the facts which appeared of sufficient importance to induce the ministry of Great Britain to involve

the nation in the expences and calamities of war.

In pursuance of his majesty's intimation at the close of the session, the parliament was dissolved on the 11th of June. The elections in most places proceeded with a degree of languor, and the number of new members was not very considerable. On the 25th of November 1790 the new parliament assembled; but no business was proceeded in except swearing in the members, and electing Mr. Addington speaker. On the following day his majesty opened the session by a speech from the throne. He began with testifying his satisfaction that the differences with the court of Spain had been brought to an amicable termination. He informed parliament, that since the last session a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte, and for putting an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands. He remarked, that a separate peace had taken place between Russia and Sweden; but as the war still continued between the former of these powers and the Porte, he intimated an intention of employing the weight and influence of Great Britain in restoring the general tranquillity. In the conclusion of his speech, his majesty remarked the hostilities which had commenced in India; and called the attention of both houses to the state of the province of Quebec. On the 30th an address was moved by Mr. Mainwaring, and seconded by Mr. R. P. Carew, which was, as usual, an echo to the speech. On this subject Mr. Fox rose—not, he said, with a view of opposing the address to his majesty, or of breaking through the unanimity which the mover and the seconder of the address represented as so desirable; but there were different modes of

stating the grounds on which the motion might be supported. The honourable member who moved the address, had declared that he would not have moved it, had he not been convinced of the important advantages which would in all probability be derived from the late convention. Mr. Fox desired to disclaim any such motive, declaring that he should vote for the address without any such conviction; and before he could bring his mind to that length, he must have much better grounds for decision than any that had been submitted to the public. War, he said, ought never to be undertaken to increase dominion, or add to the extent of territory. With respect to the Netherlands, it had been said that this country ought to promote their return to the house of Austria, to prevent their falling into the hands of a neighbouring power. France, he had no doubt, was the power alluded to; but if so, how came France so suddenly a greater object of terror than it formerly was? He had looked into the speech from the throne at the opening of the last session, and no mention was made of the Netherlands. The allusion to the Netherlands had indeed made much noise out of doors, and it had been conceived that some new treaties of a very particular nature had been recently entered into. That passage however of his majesty's speech he conceived might be misinterpreted, and by the word "treaties" might be meant that of Utrecht, and the antecedent treaties, by which this country became guarantee to Austria for the Netherlands; but if this was in reality the meaning of the speech, the same obligation that now subsisted to interfere with the Netherlands, had subsisted in equal force last year. The honourable mover of the address had taken oc-

casion to compliment the ministry on the peace which had been concluded between Sweden and Russia; whereas Mr. Fox observed, that had it depended on the mediation of this country, he apprehended the ministry would have acted very differently from making peace between *those* powers.

On the subject of India, Mr. Fox observed, that it undoubtedly was our duty to defend our allies when attacked; but to extend the principle so far as to make a rupture between two native princes a pretence for carrying on a war in India, with a view to extirpate and destroy any particular prince or nation for the sake of an acquisition of territory to the East India company, was against the principle of all the acts of parliament which had been passed for the regulation of our territories in that quarter of the globe.

Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Fox, and frankly allowed that voting for the address did not imply any approbation of the convention, which would of itself become a particular object of discussion on a future day. With respect to India, Mr. Pitt declared that in substance he perfectly agreed with Mr. Fox; but though it could neither be just nor politic to make war in that country merely for the sake of conquest, yet if through ambition or violence any insult should be committed by any native prince, who was a restless tyrant, on an ally of Great Britain, and we were forced by treaty to enter into hostilities in support of our ally, and the war should terminate fortunately for us, were we not to take the obvious advantage of the event, and make our ally an adequate compensation for the insult or injury he might have sustained, and repay ourselves for the expences in which we had been wantonly



wantonly involved? Mr. Pitt concluded by promising to take the earliest opportunity of laying before the house the expenses of the late armament. The address was voted without a division.

On the 3d of December, the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the house a copy of the declaration and counter-declaration, as exchanged at Madrid on the 24th of July 1790, a copy of the convention, with the expenses of the armament. But these not appearing satisfactory to the members in opposition, Mr. Grey, on the 13th, moved for the production of several other papers relative to the negotiation, and particularly the requisitions made by his majesty's ministers to the court of Spain. Mr. Grey supported his motion by shewing the utter impossibility of deciding upon the policy of the late measures without sufficient documents, since without them it was impossible to know whether the late disputes had been owing to the restless ambition and unjust claims of Spain, or to the rashness, presumption, or ignorance of his majesty's ministers. Without the necessary papers, it was difficult to decide, whether we might not have gained all the boasted advantages of the convention at a much less expence than had been incurred. In the case of Falkland's islands, *all* the papers had been produced. Allowing this convention to be as good as he thought it bad (and he had no scruple to say, he thought it the worst that could have been made), it would be contrary to the gravity of the house to vote applause without inquiry. If it should be found that the measure had been *protracted* by the ill conduct of ministers, were they to praise those whom they ought to censure, and perhaps impeach? If, on the

other hand, the minister was conscious of having done his duty, he had nothing to conceal, and would thank him for having made the motion.

Mr. Pelham, in seconding the motion, mentioned, "that it had been the opinion of all Europe that our armaments had not been prepared merely for the affair of Nootka, but had some further object; and that opinion was strengthened by the present increase of our naval establishment." Mr. Wilberforce, in controverting the motion, took a new and singular ground. He asserted, that parliamentary inquiry ought not to be set on foot without strong grounds of suspicion, or manifest blame; and asked gentlemen, whether they must not be convinced, that the quantity of papers which would be produced from a long negotiation might probably afford foundation for some censure? He asserted that the ministry possessed, and deserved the confidence of the people, and appealed to the public approbation which the convention had received from the city of London, which was the first in the kingdom. Mr. Wyndham reprobated the fallacy of the position, that unless there were manifest grounds of blame no parliamentary inquiry ought to be instituted. It was, he said, a most unconstitutional doctrine in concerns that involved in them nearly four millions of the public money; and contended that it was the duty of parliament to inquire into the wisdom of the expenditure.

These arguments were still further enforced by Mr. Fox, who observed, that if the minister had any honourable pride, he could have no satisfaction in that praise which came from those who knew not the grounds of it, who could neither tell  
whether

whether the thing done could have been done at a less expence, or in less time. He himself, he declared, respected authority, and revered that of the city of London: but how did he know what information the city of London was possessed of respecting the convention? It had been said that the exposure of these papers might revive grievances.—But what, he would ask, was to have this serious effect? Why, letting the house of commons know what the courts of Spain and of Great Britain know full well already!

Mr. Pitt asserted, that it was of no importance to know whether this or that part of the negotiation was proper, but whether the whole conduct of government in bringing the late differences with Spain to such a termination deserved praise or censure. He reminded the house, that it was not the right of calling for papers that was now disputed, but the exercise of that right; and that it ought to be exercised only upon grave, solemn, and weighty occasions, when the reason for blame, dissatisfaction, or suspicion appeared upon the face of the treaty; that it would be a loss of time if the house entered upon the detail of every negotiation; and added, that Bristol as well as London had approved of the convention. The motion was negatived, Ayes 134, Noes 258. Majority 124.

Much of the debate concerning the convention was anticipated in that relating to the production of papers. It was opened on the 14th of December by Mr. Duncombe, who, after prefacing that the little interruption which the dispute with Spain had occasioned to trade and manufactures was a subject of gratitude to administration, proposed an address to his majesty, "offering their cordial congratulations on so

satisfactory an issue of the late negotiation," &c. The ministerial party on this occasion expatiated largely on the advantages to be derived from the whale fishery and the fur trade; a new continent, it was said, was opened to the commercial spirit of our countrymen; and a new sea declared free to our navigators. On this subject Mr. Pulteney remarked, that if it was true, as had been stated, that the advantages obtained by the convention had been extorted from Spain, it was by no means improbable that they might again become the subject of dispute. What had been unwillingly granted could not be expected to be satisfactorily or permanently enjoyed. With respect to the whale fishery in the south, he observed, that it was obliged to be supported by a bounty of 10 per cent. upon the whole, and that the Greenland fishery was infinitely more extensive and profitable. Mr. Grey expressed his astonishment to hear that the possessions ceded to this country by the convention, had been obtained contrary to the engagement of former treaties; this was in effect to deny our right to those possessions, as the only criterion of that right must be the former treaties. He observed, that the limits of our right to trade were still left undefined: as to Nootka, the original cause of the dispute, it was not mentioned in the treaty, and even fell expressly under the description of those places that were to be given up to Spain. Mr. Grey concluded with moving, "that the house do now adjourn." In reply to Mr. Grey, Mr. Dundas confessed, that no precise line of demarkation was drawn by the convention; because we were not contending for a few miles, but for a world, and no such line could be drawn without an enormous and unnecessary expence.

Whatever

Whatever settlement we had at Nootka, he added, every thing was restored according to circumstances, either in land or by a pecuniary compensation.

Mr. Fox lamented the necessity he was under of discussing the merits of the convention without the proper documents. If, for instance, it was true that Spain had offered to disarm immediately after the exchange of the two declarations in July, which there was reason to believe, ought they to pass a vote of thanks to ministry, when, had they disarmed in August, as in that case they might have done, the greater part of the expence, and much of the loss and inconvenience, might have been avoided? It had indeed been insinuated, that the naval war in the Baltic was the reason for keeping up our armament; but if this was the case, he would be glad to hear it from authority. The reparation, he insisted, was insufficient, because it was merely verbal; and, having made a settlement at Nootka, that settlement ought to have been restored to us in the same situation as we at first possessed it. It had been said that the advantages of the convention were in a great measure owing to the length of the negotiation; "had it then been but sufficiently protracted, it is impossible to say how high the sum of our gains might have risen!" It had been amplified as a great accession of national honour, that we had broken through an unreasonable claim, not only for ourselves, but for all other nations: but would any man seriously defend this romantic doctrine?—On this principle his majesty might be attacked for assuming the title of king of France, and the kings of Naples and Sardinia, for styling themselves kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem. After all that

had been said of our acquisitions, the truth had at length been stated by a gentleman in administration, (Mr. Ryder)—viz. "that we had in reality acquired nothing, but obtained security for what we possessed before."—This however Mr. Fox confessed was an advantage, if it could be proved that we had really retained the valuable part of our possessions; because it was often wise to give up part of an unlimited right, to secure the uninterrupted possession of the rest. But how miserably were we curtailed in our rights by this convention! Our right before was to settle in any part of South or North West America, not fortified against us by previous occupancy; we were now limited to settle in certain places only, and under certain restrictions. Our right of fishing before extended to the whole ocean, it was now confined to certain distances. The line of demarkation which was pretended to be drawn on this occasion was, Mr. Fox remarked, impracticable, since the most skilful navigator could never answer for an implicit obedience to the injunction, not to approach within thirty miles of a coast which he had never seen before. The line of demarkation by land was equally liable to dispute. It was to the north of the Spanish settlements; but suppose we were to meet with one further to the north than we expected, and a dispute was to arise, whether it was new or old; it would be some difficulty to send out builders to decide from the condition of the materials. A treaty conceived in such indecisive terms reminded him, he said, of a lawyer's will drawn up by himself, with a note in the margin of a particular clause: "This will afford room for an excellent disquisition in the court of chancery." Thus it was evident

dent that the treaty was a treaty of concessions instead of acquisitions, and we had given up what was of infinite value to Spain, and retained what could never be of much to ourselves.

Towards the conclusion of his speech Mr. Fox noticed the lavish expenditure of the public money. He said he had approved of the treaty with the landgrave of Hesse, merely in the hope that it would have enabled us to reduce our standing force at home. It was indeed curious to see a minister, who called himself a minister of economy, increasing our establishments in every department, adding to the ordinary establishment of the navy ten sail of the line, and 100,000*l.* to the annual expence of the army. On the whole, as he could not yesterday give a vote of blind confidence, so neither could he this day of blind admiration.

Mr. Pitt denied that there was any period in the course of the negotiation, when they could have made better terms, or when they could have disarmed with safety. He asserted that the armament was kept up solely on account of the pending negotiation with Spain, and without any view whatever to the state of the northern powers. He contended, that wherever we had made a concession in the treaty, a stipulation equally favourable to us had been acceded to by Spain. In reply to Mr. Fox's observations concerning the line of demarkation, he observed, that ten leagues of such extended seas as the Pacific ocean were by no means to be compared with the four leagues distance from our coasts, which foreign vessels by our hovering acts were obliged to observe; and with respect to the limits by land, he endeavoured to shew that they could not as yet be properly defined. On the motion for the ad-

journalment the numbers were, *Nees* 247, *Ayes* 123. Majority 124. The main-question was then put, and carried.

In the house of lords, the convention was opposed by the marquis of Lansdowne with an unparalleled display of diplomatic ability. He took an extensive review of the politics of Europe from the peace of 1782. He said the basis of our politics at that period was a permanently pacific system for Europe. This principle we had pursued with respect to France, in extinguishing all false ideas of rivalry, in leaving nothing undefined, nothing to commissaries, nothing to foreign interference.—With respect to Spain, the view was to give the most of what was conceded to the weakest power; and this was done with the more propriety, as American possessions were no longer the same object with England as formerly. As to Holland, the design was to stipulate in favour of the general freedom and extension of trade, and to counteract that monopoly of commerce which had ever been the aim of that power. In pursuance of this system of politics, the commercial treaty with France had been concluded; as well as the convention with Spain respecting the Spanish American main in 1786. At this period the king of Prussia died, and then commenced an entire new system of English politics. France was again held out as our natural enemy. Every court was to tremble at the name of Britain. Holland was obliged by force, and not upon principle, to return to our alliance. The Turks and Swedes were put in motion to murder the Russians. Denmark was forbidden to interfere; and more work was found for the emperor in the Belgic provinces. To crown the whole, the British triumph

triumph was at last to terminate in Nootka Sound. A few adventurers and men of letters had fitted out ships with fine names; and, under Portuguese colours and papers, prepared to break through a system regarding Spanish America, which had been sanctioned by the policy of Europe for more than 200 years. In conclusion, we arm in a manner the most insulting, and summon Spain in terms equally unprecedented. Such was the present system; but we had not even pursued that with consistency and ability. We had neither secured France nor Spain, nor any other power. By the convention the fishery was defined to our disadvantage, being limited to ten leagues from the shore. As to the right of trading, that was asserted even in the time of Elizabeth, by the treaty of 1670, and afterwards acknowledged in 1749.—But this proceeding at Nootka endangered the whole advantages of our commercial treaty with Spain. We were doing, his lordship said, the work of other nations, and of North America in particular. He should vote, he added, for the previous question: 1st, To shew the Spaniards the true temper of the nation, that we were not restless or insolent, as our enemies represent us: 2dly, To preserve our reputation in Europe: and 3dly, To deter future ministers from a similar proceeding.

Immediately connected with the armament, were the ways and means for defraying the expences of it. This business was opened on the 15th of December, by the chancellor of the exchequer, who stated the expence incurred by the late armament to be:

For the Navy - - £1,565,000.  
Army - - 64,000.  
Ordnance - - 151,000.

Provisions to the E. and  
W. Indies £.41,000

Making in the whole 1,821,000  
To which was added the }  
vote of credit expended } 1,000,000

Total expence of the ar-  
mament } 2,821,000

From this, however, 200,000l. might be deducted for naval stores on hand; but this he should avoid, wishing to have every expenditure, occasioned in any degree by the armament, stated separately, and separately provided for: upon this principle, he should include the expence of the addition of 6,000 seamen, at - - 312,000

Left to be provided for 3,133,000

This addition of debt, Mr. Pitt said, he hoped the house, considering the great resources of the country, would meet with energy. They ought not to be content with finding the means to defray the interest, and leave the capital a permanent burden. With this view, he felt it incumbent upon him to produce a plan of ways and means, which would in a short period clear the whole of the debt. The first resource for this purpose, which he should suggest, was the balance of issues of public money, which had accumulated from unpaid dividends in the hands of the bank of England. By the yearly accounts of the bank it appeared that this balance had been increasing from the year 1727, and on the 5th of July 1789 amounted to 547,000l. On the 12th of October there was a floating balance of 660,000l. and there were just grounds to believe that

that this would still continue to increase. It was his intention, therefore, to avail himself of this dead balance, to the amount of 500,000*l.* which he should take for the public use, and 160,000*l.* would then be left for the discharge of arrears.

His next object was, to propose such *temporary* taxes as might serve to discharge the whole of the remainder in the course of four years. The first tax would be upon an article of general consumption, sugar, which now paid 12*s.* 8*d.* per cwt. to which he should propose an addition of 2*s.* 8*d.* which would raise 241,000*l.* The second tax would be on spirits, and would consist of one-sixth additional tax, which would make on

|                  |          |
|------------------|----------|
| Home spirits     | £.86,000 |
| Brandy - -       | 87,000   |
| Rum . . .        | 67,000   |
| <hr/>            |          |
| Total on spirits | 240,000  |
| <hr/>            |          |

A tax on malt, of 3*d.* per bushel, he proposed for two years only, which would amount to 122,000*l.* The next tax was 10 per cent. on all assessed taxes excepting the commutation and land tax; and lastly, a double tax on game-keepers, and one-third additional on game-licences. The sums to be raised respectively would then be:

|                     |           |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Sugar - -           | £.241,000 |
| British spirits - - | 86,000    |
| Brandy - - -        | 87,000    |
| Rum - - -           | 67,000    |
| Malt - - -          | 122,000   |
| Assessed taxes - -  | 100,000   |
| Game licences - -   | 25,000    |
| <hr/>               |           |
|                     | 728,000   |
| <hr/>               |           |

To these he proposed to add one permanent tax, which consisted in a further regulation of the tax already

existing upon bills of exchange. Should these propositions be carried into effect, the consolidated fund would gain 500,000*l.* from the bank, and 800,000*l.* of the produce of the first year, in the sum of 1,300,000*l.* which sum he should move to be issued from it for the year 1791; and as a temporary resource for the remainder, he would propose the issuing of 1,800,000*l.* in exchequer bills.

Mr. S. Thornton, and some other gentlemen connected with the bank, complained that 500,000*l.* of the deposit at the bank for the unpaid dividends was a measure likely to give a stab to public credit, and to be attended with the worst consequences. Mr. Sheridan complimented Mr. Pitt on the measures he had just proposed, and only differed from him in one particular, which was, supposing that the country was in such a state as to admit of taxes being taken off after they had been once laid on. He saw that the present income of the country was 15,800,000*l.* and that the last year's expenditure amounted to 17 millions. He lamented that one great object of resource was entirely overlooked; viz. the reduction of our establishments: instead of this, with the strongest alliances, and under no apprehensions of attack, we increased them year by year. He recommended to the minister to consult the bank directors concerning the appropriation of the 500,000*l.* which was afterwards more strongly pressed by Mr. Fox and others. In fact, after much hesitation and contest, the minister was obliged to relinquish this part of his plan, and content himself with accepting from the bank a loan of that sum without interest, as long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of their cashier. The other

other arrangements relative to this subject were carried into effect.

A subject of considerable constitutional importance came under the cognizance of parliament in the beginning of this session. The question in debate was in substance, whether prosecutions upon impeachment of the commons before the peers of Great Britain, do or do not abate by the dissolution of parliament; and the motion which gave rise to the debate was introduced by Mr. Burke, on the 17th of December, who moved, "that the house do now resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq.

The motion for a committee was resisted by Mr. Bastard, because, he said, he wished to meet the question in the first instance, rather than give up an inch of ground in a matter which he did not approve. If he succeeded in his opposition, he was candid enough to acquaint the house, that he would afterwards move that Mr. Hastings's trial be put off till that day five months. The present parliament being a new one, would do well to profit by the proceedings of the former. They would do well to pause before they adopted an impeachment, to which, but from report, they must be utter strangers. Let them look into the journals, and they would find falsehoods in the resolutions of the last parliament; the resolutions of one day contradicting those of another. When it was resolved to impeach Mr. Hastings, India was represented as a desert. Afterwards, when another object was in view, they had resolved that India was in a most flourishing state. Mr. Bastard acknowledged that he had given a vote for Mr. Hastings's impeachment, but it was under the

expectation that Mr. Hastings's system of government was to be done away, and a very different system established in its stead. But on the contrary, the board of control had sanctioned the old system, and confirmed all Mr. Hastings's measures. He could not look at the impeachment, and forget certain constitutional principles. One article of the great charter was, that no Englishman should have excessive fines imposed upon him; nor should any man undergo cruel or unheard-of punishment; and a great point was, that every accused person should have the most speedy means afforded him of acquittal or condemnation: these principles had all been grossly violated in the case of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Bastard complained of the manner in which the charges had been prepared; voted one day, brought in the next, adopted almost without reading, and hurried away to the lords; and what was still more extraordinary, several of them were actually never read to the house. The very court had undergone a change of no less than forty by death. He mentioned the advantage the prosecutors had in bringing forward their evidence, whereas by the course of nature many of them might drop off before Mr. Hastings could be put on his defence.

Colonel Macleod adopted the same side of the question, and complained that Mr. Burke had now artfully and insidiously avoided bringing forward any arguments for his motion, and consequently had left the opposition to it to be made by anticipation. The colonel agreed that the dissolution of parliament did not abate the prosecution. Such a concession would put it in the power of a bad monarch to impede the course of justice, and put an end to the trial

trial of any great state culprit. He mentioned several conversations which he had held with Tippoo Sultan, whose abilities and penetration no man could dispute, and who invariably spoke of Mr. Hastings in the warmest terms of respect, though he described him as the greatest enemy he had in the world, having by his exertions in the Carnatic entirely stopped the progress of his (Tippoo's) arms. He represented the countries under Mr. Hastings's government as in the most flourishing state, and far beyond every other part of India in population, agriculture, happiness, and security; and added, that sir John Macpherson and lord Cornwallis had exactly followed Mr. Hastings's system, under which the country continued in a progressive state of improvement.

Mr. Pitt observed, that there could not be two more distinct questions than the question of right (to proceed with the trial), and the question of discretion—or whether, the right being first resolved, the house were willing to carry it into effect. The first question he begged might be considered as having no connexion with Mr. Hastings, his merits, or his crimes; but as relating to the permanent principles of the constitution. If the speaker was not now to leave the chair, the determination would be no acquittal of Mr. Hastings; but should the question of discretion be negatived, he would be acquitted by the dropping of the impeachment, after they had allowed an opportunity of inquiring into the reasons for proceeding or not.

Lord John Russell and sir W. Young differed entirely from the chancellor of the exchequer; and the latter deprecated above all things the agitation of the abstract question of right. Such abstract declaratory

resolutions were, he said, always dangerous; and in the present instance there were yet other objections, such as ought to induce the house to pause, before it put itself in issue on the question. He alluded not merely to the lords' house; but as it was a matter of notoriety that the legal profession was generally of opinion that impeachments did abate by a dissolution of parliament, he feared to push the lords to a resort to the judges: as a friend to the constitution, he feared to commit the house of commons with the judges on a question of law. Mr. Burke's motion was however carried, and the house resolved itself into a committee.

The main question was then opened by Mr. Burke; but amidst an infinite variety of allusion, and the most active playfulness of fancy in reply to the opponents of the impeachment, it will be necessary to the great object of this publication to confine ourselves to such arguments as relate immediately to the subject. He assured the house that he was not going to move an abstract proposition, for he never loved abstract propositions in his life. In the committee, which he considered as a committee of privileges, he meant to move a proposition applicable to a particular case. His intention was not to move any thing that implied a doubt, but a plain assertion of their privileges, as handed down to them by their predecessors; through an uninterrupted succession of five hundred years. In all the convulsions of our government, in all the incidental changes of the functions and powers of the house of commons, this alone had remained immutable:—that an impeachment was never to be defeated by collusion with a minister, or by the power



of the crown. That an impeachment abated with the dissolution of parliament, was neither to be found on the journals of the lords nor commons, nor yet on the minutes of conferences between the two houses. It was as little to be found in any book of authority, or in any good report of law cases. Without any attempt at unnecessary refinement in separating the question of right and of expediency, he should therefore take for his model the vote for the impeachment of lord Danby, after a dissolution of parliament, and move a plain practical resolution,

“That it appears that an impeachment by this house in the name of the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, and of all the commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, Esq. late governor-general of Bengal, for sundry high crimes and misdemeanors, is now depending.”

Mr. Erskine rose, he said, at this early stage of the discussion, to suggest the propriety of deferring the decision, and appointing a committee to search for precedents on the subject. It was the invariable practice, he added, of both houses to search for precedents; on all subjects of deliberation where the resolutions of either house might be expected to guide or influence the decision. He was farther prompted to this measure by the language of the right hon. gentleman who moved the resolution; for though he did not detail the principles or precedents on which his resolution was founded, yet he informed the house that he had sought its foundation in every extant record and history. Mr. Erskine intimated that he had examined some precedents on the subject, which he should submit to the house, only to shew the necessity of examining for themselves, as they

ought not to take them merely on his representation, and as they could not be sure that many others did not remain behind unexamined.

From this topic he adverted to a great preliminary question:—By what rule or upon what principles the subject was to be investigated; or, to speak more plainly, was it a question of privilege to be decided by expediency, or a question of law to be decided by rule? It appeared to him to be a pure question of law. It was to give to all the subjects of England, under the fixed standard of law, the possession of life, property, freedom, and reputation; and God forbid that, after these rights and liberties had been gloriously fought for by our patriot ancestors in that place, they should be at once set loose again by the house, in the meridian of its authority, giving law to a court of justice, and dictating the state of its own prosecution to those judges appointed by the constitution to decide it. The resolution appeared to him to be judicial; and the commons ought rather by the weight of their privileges to uphold the course of law, and to support the balance of the state, than to exert them against the one or the other.

Considering the question in this light, that is, as a question of law, it was to be determined by the house of lords, which, according to the principles of the constitution, was as much a court of law as the king's bench. By the magna charta it was enacted that no man should be taken, imprisoned, deprived of any property or privilege, but by the judgment of his equals, or the law of the land. A jury of equals must decide in all cases, except where there were exceptions by immemorial custom, or by a positive statute; in other words, by the law of the land.

The trial by impeachment, he added, was one of those exceptions, and its only foundation must be the English law: consequently the course of proceeding under it could never be changed by a resolution of the house of commons, but must be changed alone by the entire legislature of the kingdom. Considering an impeachment as a legal prosecution, on the accusation of the commons, before the house of lords, could it be any longer a question, by which of the two houses every matter in which the accused had a direct interest for his own preservation should be adjudged? If the commons therefore should have reason to think, on an examination of the subject, that, consistently with a series of former judgments of the lords in similar cases, a person impeached had a legal right to be dismissed from the impeachment by a dissolution of parliament, they ought studiously to forbear, by an exercise of their own authority, to place such a person in a worse situation than he might stand in without such interference; and rather repair the defect of law by a prospective statute, than deprive an individual of the protection of it by an *ex post facto* resolution.

If the decision then was with the lords, where were the rules of decision to be found but in the journals of the lords? Having thus laid the foundation of his argument, and having discussed the abatement of writs of error in parliament by the common law before 1673, Mr. Erskine was proceeding to state the precedents; when being suddenly taken ill, he was obliged to conclude.

Mr. Erskine was followed by the speaker, who remarked, that after having examined with all the attention in his power such precedents as

were analogous to the case, he felt himself warranted in pronouncing that they went decidedly in favour of the impeachment remaining *in statu quo*. He produced various instances of writs of error not abating prior to 1673; and observed, that the report and resolution of 1678, respecting the continuance of an impeachment after a dissolution, were grounded on the report of the lords in 1673. He added, that when the earl of Danby applied to the court of king's bench to be bailed after the dissolution of parliament, the court recognized the doctrine, that the impeachment did not fall to the ground on a dissolution. On the precedent of 1685, by which this resolution, as far as regarded impeachments, was reversed, its authority was of no avail, the commons having been corruptly chosen, and the principal evidence for the prosecution, Titus Oates, convicted of perjury. From the cases of lords Salisbury and Peterborough in 1690, it was understood to be the law of parliament, that impeachments do not abate with dissolution; and even the case of the earl of Oxford in 1717, would as far as it proceeded warrant a similar resolution.

Mr. Hardinge professed himself an earnest advocate for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings; and regarded it as a political evil much to be deprecated, if a king, by a dissolution, can terminate this mode of trial aimed by the public spirit of the kingdom at a favourite minister. Yet he would embrace the calamity in both these views, before he would buy them off at the expence of those rights and liberties which he could never separate from a government by law. When the parliament was at an end, he contended, that all their controul was equally at an end. If the commons imprisoned for contempt,

tempt, the door of the prison was opened when those who imprisoned were no more. If the commons framed a bill, and their messenger was carrying it up to the lords when the king dissolved the parliament, no future house could proceed upon that stage of the bill. If such a bill was in the nature of a public charge against a culprit of state, as an attainer, or a bill of penalty, the same rule attached upon it. Even in the present case he would ask if any lawyer would assert that Mr. Hastings and his bail could, upon impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, be touched between parliament and parliament by an order from the house of lords.

Upon the topic of precedents, the first fact that struck him was, that from the time that impeachments began, down to 1678, not one instance was to be found of an impeachment continued by the next parliament; and instances occur within the reigns of Charles I. and II. where impeachments in fact, if not in law, were at an end when the parliament was dissolved before judgment. Of these cases he would mention two; one was of the duke of Buckingham in the 2d year of Charles I. when the king evidently dissolved the parliament on purpose to screen his favourite. In 1665 another instance occurred of Drake impeached for a libel; when the lords directed, that in case of a dissolution he should be prosecuted in the king's bench by the attorney general.—Mr. Hardinge proceeded to remark on the celebrated case of the earl of Danby in 1678, and on several other succeeding cases; from all which he expressed a very serious doubt, whether impeachments could be taken up *in statu quo* by a new parliament.

Mr. Anstruther protested against searching for precedents relative to

the privileges of the commons in the journals of the lords. He said the house had proceeded in this impeachment from session to session, from prorogation to prorogation; and in principle and in law there was no difference between dissolution and prorogation, between a new session and a new parliament. He denied the analogy between bills of attainder and impeachments, since bills of attainder, like all other legislative proceedings, ended in a session, and were destroyed equally by a prorogation as by a dissolution. He quoted the authority of lord Nottingham, as decisive that impeachments do not abate by dissolution; and several cases which favoured the opinion that such was the doctrine of the courts of law. The same person, he added, who had been impeached as earl of Danby, was in 1695 impeached as duke of Leeds. He lay under this impeachment for five years, and through several parliaments. After five years and three dissolutions, the lords took up his case; but they did not declare that it had long been at an end, but acted upon it as a pending proceeding, and dismissed it—"the commons not prosecuting." This argument Mr. Anstruther further strengthened by the opinions of lord Holt and judge Foster; and brought some instances to prove that writs of error did not regularly abate by dissolution previous to 1673.

On the motion of Mr. Pitt, the question was adjourned to the 22d; and the debate was resumed by Mr. Erskine, who observed, that the turn which the discussion had taken, strengthened his argument for the necessity of searching precedents, as not only volumes of precedents had been resorted to, but even common law-judgments adduced as the criterions by which the question was to be determined. The speaker had

admitted that no precedent was to be found previous to 1678 of an impeachment surviving a dissolution. With respect to the order of that year, it was established on no antecedent custom of parliament, but grounded entirely on a resolution of 1673, which regarded only writs of error. He next proceeded to notice the barbarous use which was made of that order in the trial and execution of viscount Stafford. Lord Nottingham, whose authority had been quoted on this occasion, was speaker at that trial, and kindly consented that lord Stafford should have counsel, provided they did not stand near enough to prompt him; so that the aged and infirm prisoner was refused the right of arguing, whether his impeachment had not abated. This order however of 1678 was completely annihilated by the subsequent order of 1685, the words of which were—"Resolved, that the order of the 19th of March 1678 shall be reversed, and annulled as to impeachments." The question therefore was now, whether this order of 1685 was still in force? And the fact was, that it stood on the lords' journals from the time it passed, and no impeachment had continued from parliament to parliament.

The next precedent was of the lords Salisbury and Peterborough in 1689. Parliament was dissolved in 1690; and these lords petitioned to be discharged, alleging the dissolution and a free and general pardon. The operation of the pardon was referred to the judges, and was determined in the negative; but they were discharged wholly on the search for precedents, and on the order of 1685. About the same time sir Adam Blair, Mole, Gray and Elliot were liberated precisely on the same principle.

The duke of Leeds's case also in

1701, which had been adduced against him, made directly in his favour; since the resolution ran, "that in the *former parliament* the duke of Leeds had been impeached, &c.; but the commons not prosecuting he was discharged."—The words *not prosecuting*, he argued, must apply to the *former parliament*; for if the impeachment had continued to the new one, a new message must have been sent to the commons, before the articles could be dismissed for want of prosecution. He then noticed the cases of lords Somers, Oxford, and Halifax, where the entries were similar to that concerning the duke of Leeds.

But the precedent of the earl of Oxford in 1717, Mr. Erskine said, established beyond all question his position. It was absurd to believe that lord Oxford could be advised to build a petition to be discharged on a prorogation only, if even a dissolution had been taken to be ineffectual. He next adverted to the cases of common law. The case on which lord Holt's opinion was given was that of lord Salisbury, who was told by the king's bench, "that being impeached for high treason, his case was not within the habeas corpus act."

Mr. Pitt asserted, that cases might be found in the early pages of our history, where impeachments did not abate with a dissolution of parliament. He would only mention the case of the duke of Suffolk in the reign of Henry VI. which indisputably proved that impeachments continued from one parliament to another. The resolution of 1673, he contended, did virtually include impeachments; for the report of the committee expressly stated, "that writs of error, petitions of appeal, and *other business of a judicial nature*, ought not to be narrowed in their discussion, but extend

extend from parliament to parliament. In the order of 1678, impeachments are expressly mentioned in common with writs of error, &c. He asserted that the reversal of this order in 1685 was done in suspicious times; and that lords Salisbury and Peterborough were liberated in consequence of a general pardon; and sir Adam Blair, &c. through a failure of the prosecution; and the same conclusion was deducible from the case of lord Danby, &c.

The master of the rolls observed, that the case of the duke of Suffolk, as mentioned by Mr. Pitt, was not at all applicable. The noble duke had been banished, and his enemies not considering that as a sufficient punishment, moved an impeachment; but it was not true that a trial had begun in one parliament, and continued in the next; nor till 1678 had it entered into the mind of man, that a dissolution did not put an end to every parliamentary proceeding.

Mr. Yorke, Mr. Pybus, and Mr. Adam, spoke in favour of the continuance of the impeachment, and the attorney-general and Mr. Serjeant Watson in favour of the abatement: but as the arguments of these gentlemen were chiefly in reply, they contained little relative to the main point that has not been anticipated. The debate was adjourned to the 23d, when Mr. Burke rose in reply to those gentlemen of the law who had opposed his favourite object. He acknowledged the respect which was due to precedents; but to render them of full authority in law, he asserted that they ought to be—1st, numerous, and not scattered here and there—2d, concurrent, and not contradictory—3d, made in good constitutional times—4th, not to serve an occasion—5th, to be agreeable to the general tenor of legal principles, which over-rule precedents and are

not to be over-ruled by them. He was concerned to find his expectations from the gentlemen of the law disappointed. Not one ray of legal light had been thrown upon the question from that quarter. The reason he deduced from the confession of an honourable gentleman who sat near him, that he did not *feel himself so much at home*. They were only sojourners at that house; they only perched in their sight to a higher region. They exercised themselves there in light skirmishes with the rights of the commons, with which in the other house they meant to carry on a war. He ridiculed the precedent of sir Adam Blair, as totally inapplicable. Among other arguments of the gentlemen of the law, one of them had complained of the tediousness of the impeachment. What rendered the complaint singular was, that the honourable gentleman had been an eminent practitioner, and was now a judge in the court of *chancery*. In the same strain, written evidence had been objected to, while it was well known that no other evidence was admitted in the court of *chancery*. The proposition which all these objections tended to establish, was, that impeachments terminate with the dissolution of parliament, and consequently at the will of the crown. But the law of parliament, he contended, knew of no such shameful and monstrous defect, as that by which a state criminal might free himself, by his own act, and at his own pleasure, from the pursuit of his country.

Mr. Powell recommended the establishing the continuance of impeachment by a special act of parliament, founded upon the particular case.

Colonel Simcoe, Mr. L. Grant, Mr. Mitford, and sir John Scott, argued for the abatement; and Mr.

Dundas and sir Charles Gould against it. Mr. Fox took a most able and comprehensive review of the arguments; but as his speech consisted chiefly of recapitulation and illustration, it appears scarcely necessary to present our readers with any abstract of it. On the committee dividing, the numbers were, for Mr. Erskine's motion to search for precedents, Ayes 30, Noes 143. Mr. Burke's original motion was then put, and carried without a division.

This decision concerning the continuance of impeachments was followed, immediately after the recess, by a notice from Mr. Burke, that he would on the 14th of February make a motion relative to the impeachment of Mr. Hastings.

On the appointed day Mr. Burke introduced his motion, by congratulating the house on the decision of the 23d of December, and shewing that it was their duty to proceed in the prosecution. He proved that the length of a trial ought to be no bar to its proceeding; because, should such a principle be admitted, by artfully protracting a trial, a door would be opened to any criminal to escape. He agreed that a trial of three years was a hardship upon an individual, but it was upon an individual largely salaried to bear the responsibility annexed to a high situation. Even this hardship might be salutary, as it might teach persons in office to shun not only guilt, but suspicion. The complaint, he observed, had chiefly proceeded from the gentlemen of the law, who measured by the standard of the comparatively meaner transactions in which they were immediately conversant. The rabbit, which breeds six times a year, is unable to comprehend the time of gestation proper for the elephant. An action *quare clausum fugit*, or *de parco fracto*, furnished no

standard for a trial for breaking down the fences of general property, and desolating whole provinces. He complained that the length of the trial had been increased by obstructions thrown in the way of the managers by their opponents, among the chief of which might be numbered the prevalence of the Indian interest. Indian influence now extended from the Needles to Johnny Grott's house: it was to be found in the house of commons itself. Well it might seem for the people of India, that they had so many to plead their cause; but it was to be doubted, whether gentlemen that had made their fortunes in India were proper representatives of that people: they were, in his opinion, the antichrist of representation. It was to be feared they were the representatives of tyranny and oppression, and would naturally wish to suppress all enquiry which would strike at their own opulence and greatness. Mr. Hastings had declared, that with all the arbitrary authority he had exercised, he found it impossible to correct certain corruptions, because the sons of great families came to the country, for the express purpose of acquiring immense premature fortunes.

But the greatest obstruction of all proceeded from the body of the law, and the *esprit de corps* by which that body was actuated. Hence arose their enmity to impeachments, by which they, who on every occasion called others to account, were themselves rendered liable to a similar responsibility. In their evidence, in the forms of the tribunal, and in every step of their progress, the lawyers had endeavoured to throw embarrassments in their way.

As however the length of the impeachment had been made an objection, though he solemnly protested

tested that the committee could prove the whole of the articles, yet the object of the present motion was a limitation of the impeachment. In the fixed and unalterable course of human affairs, it has pleased God to decree that injustice should be rapid, and justice slow: he therefore concluded with moving, "that, in consideration of the length of time which has already elapsed since carrying up the impeachment now depending against Warren Hastings, Esq. it appears to this house to be proper, for the purpose of obtaining substantial justice with as little delay as possible, to proceed to no other parts of the said impeachment than those on which the managers have already closed their evidence, excepting only such parts as relate to contracts, pensions, and allowances."

Mr. Erskine sincerely commiserated the condition of Mr. Hastings, which he said was unparalleled in the annals of even parliamentary justice. Yet as the house was committed to the continuance of the prosecution, he should, without meaning any disrespect to the house, decline taking any share in the decision, till he saw by the judgment of the house of lords that the prosecution still had existence.

Mr. Bastard said that Mr. Hastings was impeached for a breach of treaty, and that lord Cornwallis and general Meadows had precisely done the same, in seizing the country of the nabob of Arcot: if therefore certain papers relative to that transaction were before the house, he was persuaded the impeachment would not be proceeded in.

In reply to this observation of Mr. Bastard's, Mr. Fox asserted, that if lord Cornwallis and general Meadows had violated the line of conduct laid down for them, it was

the strongest possible reason to persevere in the depending impeachment.

In a long and able speech Mr. Wigley contended against the impeachment in general. He said; that before this house of commons took up an impeachment voted by the last house, they should examine the grounds and evidence on which the impeachment had been voted; and on the evidence he could find, he could not make up his mind to proceed. The only evidence regularly before the house were the articles and charges on the journals, and the answers of Mr. Hastings. Perhaps it would be said that he might resort to the minutes of the evidence before the house of lords. Gentlemen would however recollect, that the evidence was ordered to be printed for the use of the lords *only*. It might again be said, that he might have heard the evidence at the trial. He was not in the former parliament till near the close of it; but he had frequently attended, and had heard no evidence to convict Mr. Hastings. Evidence irrelevant to the articles he often heard offered; and when it was rejected, he heard the managers complain of the hardship of their situation, and assert, that if such evidence was not received, they could not proceed, for they had no other to offer. He might perhaps be directed to the evidence given at that bar. It was not reported in the journals, but was in a book published without authority, and containing nothing but hearsay evidence, or what was worse, the evidence of those who were actuated by private malice and resentment against Mr. Hastings, and who wreaked their vengeance on him under the mask of public justice. Those who had attended the trial would also recollect how little of the evidence given at

the bar, where no oath was required, had been confirmed *on oath* at the bar of the house of lords. The charge against Mr. Hastings accused him of cruelty, oppression, &c. by which the country was ruined and depopulated: but the journals of the house denied the fact, and stated the country to be flourishing. Not a single complaint from that country had reached the house: on the contrary, representations in favour of Mr. Hastings had been sent from every part of India under his government; and these might be termed addresses or petitions to the house in his favour, and he had a right to appeal to them.

With respect to the length of the trial—had it been necessarily long, and not unnecessarily delayed, the length, Mr. Wigley said, would be of no weight in his mind to put an end to it. If the charges against Mr. Hastings required a long trial, it must be submitted to: but this had been unnecessarily protracted. The right hon. mover had said, that in former impeachments each article had contained a single charge; but in this each article was sufficient for an impeachment, for each contained several distinct accusations. On this very ground Mr. Wigley objected to them. It was an unfair way of bringing them before the house. If an article contained a single fact, a majority of the house must believe the evidence brought to prove it, or it would be rejected: but if there were one hundred members present, and an article containing one hundred facts should be presented, if each believed but one single fact, and thought Mr. Hastings ought to be impeached on that separately, the impeachment would be voted unanimously; when, if each fact was voted separately, there would be a major-

ity of ninety-nine to one against the impeachment.

Mr. Wigley concluded by observing, that when the first abilities in the kingdom had been employed ten years to find out the crimes of Mr. Hastings without effect; when so much time had been spent on the trial, and so little had been done; when he found so much in Mr. Hastings's conduct to praise, and so very little, if any thing, to disapprove—he could not vote for the continuance of the impeachment.

Mr. Wigley had no sooner concluded than Mr. Ryder rose for the express purpose of submitting to the house an amendment, the object of which was still more to shorten the proceedings. He said that it was five years since the first charge had been brought forward against Mr. Hastings, and three since the trial commenced. The object was to prove to opulent guilt and successful oppression, that no power would be able to evade the punishment due to such crimes. Three of the charges were now gone through, and these three were stated to contain fifty facts: surely then sufficient progress had been made for the purpose of example; and the having been on his trial for three years was of itself a very severe punishment. He recommended therefore to stop where they were, and to call for immediate judgment; and moved, that in the latter part of the motion the exception be left out.

The amendment of Mr. Ryder was opposed by Mr. Dundas and others, chiefly on the ground, that the managers were the only proper judges of what was necessary to substantiate the main object of the impeachment. Colonel Phipps said he had originally voted for the impeachment, and expressed his satisfaction



saction that the house had asserted its rights on the subject of the abatement, but deprecated the proceeding any further in the prosecution than merely to call for judgment.

Mr. Pitt contended that the house ought to proceed to the charge respecting contracts, &c. because the evidence on that charge might be intimately connected with the former articles, and that it might invalidate the plea of state necessity on which Mr. Hastings rested his defence on the charge of oppression, by shewing that the treasures of the company were profusely lavished. Mr. Stanley, on the other hand, complained that the original motion was too complex; and wished to take the sense of the house on the plain question of the expediency of proceeding at all in the trial. Mr. Stanley's observations produced a motion from Mr. Jekyl, to insert after the words Warren Hastings, "that these proceedings be continued no longer;" and Mr. Ryder's motion was for the present withdrawn to make room for the other.

Major Scott complained that he rose under considerable embarrassment, as he had conceived the question this day would simply regard the expediency of proceeding or not. He complained of the unfair manner in which the articles had been brought forward, particularly that of Benares. Mr. Burke had said that infamy must rest somewhere—if the charges were true, upon Mr. Hastings; if false, elsewhere. With regard to many, and all that were material of the articles, the major affirmed they were false, notoriously and palpably false. If the charges were true, it must be allowed that Mr. Dundas had for four years successively presented *false* accounts to the house, as it appeared

evidently from them that, contrary to the assertion of the charges, the country was in a most flourishing situation, owing to the system established by Mr. Hastings; and that this fact had also been confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Shore, and other respectable evidences. These contradictions the house could never have been induced to countenance, but for the notorious absurdity of passing thirteen of twenty articles, without having read a line of them. One of the charges against Mr. Hastings was, the wanton waste of the public money for private purposes: whereas if the present peace establishment of Bengal, under the direction of the board of control, be compared with that of the gentleman under impeachment, it would be found to exceed Mr. Hastings's expenditure in the enormous sum of *one million* sterling per annum. Even the present bullock contract was 15 per cent. higher than that of Mr. Hastings, which had been so much reprobated. Mr. Lushington, chairman of the India company, confirmed all that the major had advanced concerning the flourishing state of Bengal; but on dividing, the numbers appeared—For Mr. Jekyl's amendment, Ayes 26, Noes 231; and on Mr. Ryder's amendment, Ayes 79, Noes 161. The original question was then put and carried, also another for the appointment of managers.

In order to give a connected view of all that passed in the house of commons relative to the impeachment, we shall transgress a little the chronological order of the parliamentary proceedings, and carry our readers forward at once to a motion which was made on the 27th of May, by Mr. Loveden, on this subject.

The

The hon. member prefaced his motion by remarking the unprecedented hardship resulting to Mr. Hastings, from the trial being continued from parliament to parliament, and from prorogation to prorogation.—“*Nulli deferemus iudicium*,” was one of the sacred maxims of *magna charta*; and in this instance the public would gain very little by the decision, that impeachments did not abate upon dissolution, if the trial was to continue for another session; as Mr. Hastings would then have a right to say that the principles of the constitution were broken to oppress and injure him. The motion of Mr. Loveden was in substance, “That his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue the session until the evidence on the part of the prosecution has been closed, and Mr. Hastings’s defence heard, and judgment finally given.”

Mr. Dundas opposed the motion, on the ground that its effect would be to abrogate the king’s prerogative, and to delegate it to the managers of the prosecution. He added, that if such were to be the decision, instead of the cause being tried by the peers in general, there would be very few who would consent to stay in town to wait the issue of the trial. The presence of the judges also he considered as essential to the trial, and yet it was absolutely necessary that the administration of justice in the country should not be neglected, or the judges prevented proceeding on the circuits.

Major Scott insisted that every principle, not only of *magna charta*, but of the whole constitution, was violated by this trial. As to its unprecedented length, he affirmed the principal cause was the nature of the articles themselves, which were such

as never had been before presented. He said it was an act of the most grievous oppression to Mr. Hastings, and of the grossest injustice to the country, that the expences amounted already to 45,000*l*.

Mr. Burke, as well as Mr. Fox, declared that the constitution or the constitutional prerogative of the crown could not possibly be violated by the house of commons interposing its advice upon great or important occasions; and the latter proposed an amendment to the motion, by requesting his majesty “not to prorogue the parliament before such further progress was made in the trial, as should afford reasonable grounds of expectation that it might be brought to a conclusion early in the next session.” For this amendment the numbers were 61, against it 144. The original motion was then negatived without a division.

Though the house of commons had so speedily determined the question relative to the abatement of impeachments by a dissolution of parliament, the lords were less precipitate in their proceedings. In fact the appointment of a committee to search for precedents, and to frame a report upon the subject, delayed the consideration of the impeachment almost to the conclusion of the session.

On the 16th of May the attention of the house was drawn to this object by a motion of lord Portchester, “That a message be sent to the commons, to inform them, that they (the lords) were ready to proceed on the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.”

The lord chancellor avowed that he had no knowledge of the subject, except what he derived from the report of the committee. If, however, that report was fairly and historically

torically extracted, it would amount, he said, almost to demonstration that there never had been such a proceeding as the continuance of an impeachment after a dissolution. The report however was very defective, and particularly with regard to writs of error. His lordship concluded with recommending to refer the matter to a committee, and that a committee should come to certain resolutions.

Lord Abingdon remarked the singularity of circumstances, by which he saw at this time a man who by his enterprise and exertions had *preserved* a great country to the British empire, and who had acted to the entire satisfaction of his employers, made the object of impeachment; and another man, who, by worse means, it was said, than the *want* of enterprise and exertion, had *lost* a great country to the British empire; coalescing with his own accusers, and becoming an accuser of this man, in whom if there was guilt, he was himself *particeps criminis*, by continuing him in power. The inference he drew from this view of the impeachment was, that it was a proceeding not founded in national justice nor in national honour, but in malice and revenge, and kept up by the fuel of animosity and invective.

Lord Mulgrave and lord Radnor were of opinion, that the proceedings of that house were not to be guided so much by precedents, as by their own discretion; that there was a wide difference between that house and the courts below; that the inferior courts should be confined strictly to positive rules of law; but that this reasoning ought not to apply to that court which was formed for great and extraordinary occasions. Lord Radnor concluded with a mo-

tion for referring to the judges the following question: "Whether, by his recognizance, Mr. Hastings is still bound to appear before the lords in parliament when called on?"

Lord Stormont, on the contrary, did not agree with those lords who thought that little or no stress was to be laid on precedents; and if there were only one series of precedents, or no precedents at all, he said, he should have no doubt on the occasion. On the whole, however, considering how dangerous it was to invest the crown with a power of abating an impeachment by dissolving the parliament, he was disposed to vote for the question.

Lord Loughborough supported the doctrine, that the commons of England were a permanent body, though the house of commons were not so. The impeachment, he said, was brought in the name and on the behalf of all the people of England. He warned their lordships not to act incautiously with regard to the popular part of the constitution—Let them look about them, and be warned—let them not deny that the people were *any thing*, lest they compelled them to think they were *every thing*. He went through the precedents in point in nearly the same manner in which they were stated in the commons. In the course of his speech he pointed out the fallacies of sir George Jeffries and other court sycophants, and rested his argument on the authority of Hale, Clarendon, Holt, and Foster, the last of whom was, he said, the best constitutional lawyer that had ever written on the subject, and from whom he read an extract in confirmation of his position.

Lord Kenyon took the opposite ground. The whole of the question, he said, appeared to lie between two resolu-

resolutions, that of 1678, and that of 1685. One of these, he observed, had been made upon the spur of the occasion, which was a bad feature; and what was worse, that resolution was meant, as it afterwards proved to be calculated, to countenance the assassination of an individual under the colour of the law. The trial and conviction of lord Stafford he called a *legal murder*. He said that judge Foster in one part of his writings had supported the abatement on a dissolution; and he was sure that learned judge never would countenance so dangerous an idea, as that of suffering it to be insinuated that they were to consider the law *as it ought to be*, and not *as it was*.

The marquis of Lansdowne pointed out many instances of absurdity in our laws, such as that of landed property always *descending*, and personal property *ascending*; adding, that this furnished no argument for our departing from the strict tenor of the law *as it was*, since that was the only safe mode of proceeding, however objectionable the law might be in some instances. The authority of lord Nottingham had been appealed to on this occasion. His lordship was happy to have it in his power to produce the words of lord Nottingham himself, and read from a curious, and apparently well authenticated manuscript, a part of a letter written by lord Nottingham on the earl of Danby's case in 1683, the year before his death; in which that great lawyer says of the resolution of 1678, that it was a mistake to suppose that an impeachment went on from parliament to parliament; it could not be, &c.—and declaring that the resolution in question must be revised and corrected; and what his lordship predicted actually happened, for the resolution was corrected in 1685.

Lord Loughborough said, he had it in command from the lord president of the council, to do that for him which the lateness of the hour did not permit him to do for himself, viz. to state that noble lord's opinion as coinciding with his own; and he had left with him an opinion of Selden, that the new parliament, in the impeachment of the duke of Buckingham, did hold, that they might, if they had chosen it, have called upon their lordships for judgment against the duke. Lord Loughborough said, he had also to quote the testimony of a learned and venerable earl, who had authorized him to say, that if the present question was carried, it would be perfectly conformable to the law of parliament, and consistent with precedent.

Such were the principal arguments and opinions urged in both houses on this important question, in the stating of which we are not conscious of having omitted any thing immediately connected with the object of enquiry. The motion for proceeding in the impeachment was carried in the lords by a majority of 48; and this being agreeable to the previous decision of the commons, the impeachment, contrary to the expectations of several persons, who were apprehensive of a difference and dispute between the two houses, proceeded. As, however, the lords decided so late in the session, little progress was made in the trial.

On a candid review of the arguments, we cannot help observing, that it would have been dangerous, if not fatal to the constitution, to admit the principle that an impeachment abates by a dissolution of parliament. On the other hand, we are apprehensive that the balance of precedent was really in favour of that side of the question. In that

case the difficulty would perhaps have been avoided in a more constitutional manner, by a particular act of parliament, declaratory of the principle that impeachments do not abate.

The next important business that engaged the attention of the British legislature, was the INDIAN WAR, the causes and circumstances of which we have already noticed.

Mr. Cox Hipplesley, member for Sudbury in Suffolk, a gentleman whose knowledge of India politics qualified him in a peculiar manner for the task, undertook to evince to the house of commons the injustice and evil policy of a measure which he conceived ruinous to the finances, and indeed to all the best interests of his country.

On the 22d of December Mr. Hipplesley rose to propose a preliminary motion, the object of which was merely to desire that copies of the correspondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore should be laid before the house. Mr. Hipplesley supported his motion by a statement of the particulars as far as he had been able to inform himself of the transaction, and insisted principally on the ancient feudal claim of the sultans of Mysore to the forts of Cranganore, &c.; on the pacific intentions of Tippoo; and on the report of his offer to submit the dispute to an equitable arbitration. He considered the purchase of the fort by the rajah of Travancore as the effect only of an unwarrantable ambition, and as a fair cause of uneasiness and complaint to the neighbouring powers. Travancore he allowed to be the ally of Great Britain, who had certainly guaranteed all her lawful possessions: but he asserted that it was a most mischievous principle, that we were

bound to protect her in every ambitious scheme for the extension of dominion, whether by purchase or otherwise. Such, he said, were his doubts as to the justice of the war, but his doubts as to its policy were not less formidable.

The native powers, he asserted, neither were, nor could be, radically friendly to the English. Little dependence was to be placed upon the Nizam or the Mahrattas: both these powers were notorious for their perfidy. However flourishing our force in India, there was reason to believe that Tippoo had kept equal pace with our improvement. He had a force of 150,000 men, a large corps of Europeans well officered, an admirable artillery well served. He had a revenue of five millions sterling; and a treasury of eight or nine millions. To these resources we had to oppose an exhausted treasury, and a tottering credit. Mr. Hipplesley deprecated a war in India, and entered into a forcible detail of the difficulties and miseries which would attend it in that part of the world; declaring himself altogether of Mr. Grey's opinion, as given on another occasion—"that war was the chief of political evils; and that any peace which was consistent with the honour of the nation, was better than the most successful war."

Mr. Francis supported Mr. Hipplesley's reasoning, by shewing that it had been considered by all good statesmen, and by the British legislature, that to increase our territories in India was a destructive policy to this country. He enforced his argument by another observation of equal authority—That it was the policy of this nation to avoid all alliances with the native powers of India, as they only tended to lead us into dangerous and expensive connections.

nections. Between the Nizam and Tippoo there subsisted a mutual jealousy, by means of which they might be prevented employing their power to the prejudice of our settlements. The Mahrattas again were the most formidable power in India; and on this account it would be dangerous to extirpate Tippoo, even were it in our power, as he served particularly to maintain the balance of India. With regard to the character of Tippoo, it was by no means unusual to exaggerate accounts of characters; and even if these accounts were true, it remained for them to consider whether they would expose their subjects and allies to the consequences of that tyranny and cruelty which had been depicted in such formidable colours.

Mr. Dundas asserted, that if the rajah had justice on his side, it was obvious we were bound to support our ally. The claim of Tippoo Sultan to the feudal sovereignty of the forts in question was recent, and founded on the province to which they belonged having been over-run and conquered by the Mysorean power about twenty years before. The Dutch, on the other hand, had held them by right of conquest from the Portuguese for more than a century. But there were proofs of a still more unequivocal nature, that Tippoo had engaged in the dispute, not from any notion of right, but from motives of ambition. In 1788 he had advanced with a formidable army to the frontiers of Travancore, without any provocation or pretence. The rajah applied to the government of Madras; and, on receiving an intimation from sir Archibald Campbell, that he would consider any act of hostility as a declaration of war against Great Britain, he withdrew. If Travancore was to fall into Tippoo's hands, Mr.

Dundas asserted that the whole of our territories would be laid open. It was therefore necessary to watch his motions with a jealous eye. If he had made no other attempt, his conduct at Tellicherry would be sufficient proof of his intentions. At the time when he advanced in force to attack Travancore, he surrounded Tellicherry, and seized a boat loaded with provisions. When complaint was made, and restitution demanded, he not only returned the letter unopened, but told the messenger, that if any other was sent, the bearer should leave his head with it. Mr. Dundas added, he had some reasons for disbelieving the report that Tippoo offered to submit the dispute to arbitration. In speaking of our resources, Mr. Dundas said, we had as fine an army in that quarter, and as well appointed, as ever had appeared in India; and instead of having a war to support against the French, the Dutch, the Mahrattas, and all the European and native powers of India, we had only to contend with one of them. He had no objection to producing the papers.

Mr. Fox conceived that we were to be made the dupes of the Dutch upon this occasion, and were likely to be led into a war unnecessarily, if not unjustly. It was confessed that the rajah of Travancore making a purchase of Cranganore was a subject of jealousy to Tippoo Sultan. Ought it not, then, to have been the wisdom of government to prevent our ally from making a purchase likely to stir up the jealousy of a watchful and suspicious neighbour? By such looseness of conduct we might be incessantly involved with the country powers. It had been further allowed by the opposite side, that Tippoo manifested an indisposition to the transfer of those  
 forts,

forts, when first proposed in 1788; and that sir Archibald Campbell prudently preventing the transfer, he was perfectly satisfied, and had remained so till the transfer was actually made in 1790. *A war for conquest, he hoped, never would be undertaken by England, either in India or elsewhere.* The extirpation of Tippoo would not be a politic measure: however we might detest his vices, with the Mysorean country we ought to be friendly, inasmuch as it was a strong barrier between the most powerful states of India and our settlements.

Mr. Pitt, Mr. D. Scott, and colonel Macleod, supported the necessity of the war, and represented Tippoo as a merciless tyrant. The question was however carried in favour of the production of the papers.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Hippley followed up his former motion on the Indian war; but his ill state of health only permitted him to move the reading of the acts of parliament and resolutions of the house of commons, which prohibit the British governors in India from entering into *offensive war*. The reading of these was followed by that of several extracts from the correspondence of the government and council of Fort St. George, tending to establish the ill policy of such measures, and particularly with Tippoo Sultan. After the reading of these papers, Mr. Francis rose at the request of Mr. Hippley, and in a very able speech explained the causes of the war, which he entirely attributed to the policy of the Dutch, and the ambition and imprudence of the rajah of Travancore. He said it was a mistake to suppose that a war in India did not affect the best interests of Great Britain; for India did not possess the means of

supporting the war for a single hour, but by incurring debts which must be paid by England. Compared with this, he added, if extended to any length, a war with Spain would be a blessing; a war in Germany, or even in America, would hardly be a calamity. He urged the necessity of adhering to that system established by law, which positively forbade the servants of government, or the India company, engaging in offensive wars. He censured the appointment of a military officer over the immense civil as well as military government of Bengal, observing, that the preservation of peace could not be the predominant passion of men educated in a camp. From a civil to a military, from a military to an arbitrary government, the gradations are easy, and the progress rapid. The same facts which counteract principles to-day, will be precedents to-morrow, and principles the day after.

He requested the attention of the house to a paper on the table, the treaty of alliance *offensive* and *defensive* concluded lately with the Nizam. That war and conquest should be the object of an *offensive* alliance, was not extraordinary; but it was indeed extraordinary, after what they had just heard read to them, that a British governor should profess that the acquisition of territory was his object in making war, that he should propose or think of making a new partition of dominion, or even accept of an extension of territory, if it were offered him. Mr. Francis remarked some other singularities in the treaty; such as, that the rajah's name was never mentioned in it; that the pay of the cavalry was not specified, &c.

In speaking of the expences of the war, Mr. Francis produced several authentic documents, to prove that

the resources of India were utterly inadequate to them. He endeavoured to shew that the rajah was the aggressor, in making what Mr. Francis termed a *collusive* purchase from the Dutch: the aggressor, he said, should alone be answerable for his aggression; and as to the forts themselves, they were on all hands allowed to be of no use or importance, and ought in fact to be demolished. In the single article of bullocks we incurred an expence of above 700,000 l. per annum; and general Meadows very freely declares, that *we must be undone* by procrastination. He pressed the necessity of preserving the balance of power in India, by keeping Tippoo as a counterpoise to the Mahrattas; and quoted, in support of his opinion, the authority of Mr. Dupré, Mr. Hastings, lord Clive, and several others. Mr. Francis concluded with a series of motions, the object of which was to censure the origin, and prevent the prosecution of the war.

Mr. Dundas, in reply to Mr. Francis, admitted that the war in India was a seriously expensive war, but contended for the justice of it. The claims of Tippoo on the forts of Cranganore and Acottah, he said, were not the actual cause of the war; for Tippoo had marched 150,000 men to the lines of Travancore, previous to any complaint of the rajah's conduct. The forts he held to be essential to the preservation of Travancore, as they were the key to that country; and his bargain with the Dutch was a legal contract. Tippoo's claim to the forts rested on his own assertion; and he could have no object in obtaining them, but to over-run the territory of the rajah. The Mahrattas were no longer formidable, as they were no longer a united body: Tippoo was the only formidable native

power, as he was the first both in troops and in revenue: and with respect to the amicable intention of that prince, Mr. Dundas observed, that he had three times attacked the lines of Travancore, while he was making professions of peace.

Major Maitland observed, that the cause of the war was the great object of enquiry, because upon that depended every consideration. The war had been occasioned, he said, by the ambition of the rajah, and not of Tippoo Sultan. The alliances which we had formed in India he styled "alliances of division, and treaties of ruin!" There were four great powers in India, the British, the Mahratta, the Mysorean, and the Nizam. It was our business to balance these powers. We had less to fear from Tippoo than from any other, as he could only come down upon us through six narrow passes easy to defend (the Ghauts): whereas, if we had a quarrel with the Mahrattas, all our frontier would be exposed. A long and a successful war, he said, was a contradiction in terms; for what was the acquisition of a dirty province, weighed against the expence of three or four millions?

Mr. Fox remarked, that lord Cornwallis had originally taken up the matter in the proper point of view; he had condemned the purchase of the forts in the strongest terms; but had afterwards unfortunately altered his opinion—why he could not conceive. With respect to the hostile preparations of Tippoo, it was an argument that scarcely deserved an answer. He reprobated the treaties which had been entered into with the Nizam and the Mahrattas for the extirpation of Tippoo: at a time when the enlightened policy of all Europe led them to renounce their offensive alliances, we

were



were pursuing that disgraceful system in India. The rajah, he asserted, was the aggressor even to us, by purchasing the forts contrary to our advice. But supposing Tippoo to have been the aggressor, what right had we to ask for more than adequate satisfaction? We censured his conduct, but did not look at the injustice of our own. He professed to have a claim upon Cranganore, and aimed at recovering his right.— But what do we? We carry the war into the centre of his dominions, extirpate him, and divide his territories:

The arguments of Mr. Dundas were powerfully supported by Mr. Pitt; but he advanced little new respecting the cause of the war. He agreed with Mr. Fox, that any proposal of amicable adjustment was preferable to war; but asserted, that while we had named commissioners for the termination of the dispute, Tippoo Sultan had refused to name any; but, with a view of placing the British government in a state of humiliation in the eyes of all India, he had insisted on our sending an ambassador to his court, and, even while the negociation was pending, had committed an act of hostility. Mr. Pitt denied that the treaties with the Nizam and the Mahrattas were grounded on any such principles

as that of extirpating Tippoo, and dividing his dominions. He ridiculed the idea of favouring Tippoo, who was at present our enemy, in order to balance him against the Mahrattas, who were at present our friends; and professed that this was a sort of policy, which he, for one, did not understand.

Mr. Wilberforce, lord Fielding, and the solicitor-general, supported the conduct of administration, and Mr. Francis's motions were negatived. Not satisfied, however, with this triumph, Mr. Dundas, on the 2d of March following, moved three resolutions, approving of the Indian war and of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, which were carried without a division. But as the subject was so much exhausted in the two preceding debates, it would be treading beaten ground to report the arguments.

The expediency of the war was debated upon nearly similar principles in the house of lords, on the 11th of April; but the debate ended only in the triumph of ministers; as lord Grenville, before the house broke up, moved three resolutions, similar to those which had been moved in the commons, approving of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, &c. which were carried by a great majority.

## CHAP. VII.

*Bill for the Relief of Protestant Catholics. Libel Bill. Slave Trade. Resolutions on that Subject. Establishment of a Colony at Sierra Leona. Bill for the Division of Canada into Upper and Lower, and for the Regulation of those Provinces. Altercation between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox concerning the Affairs of France.*

THE cause of toleration received this year an accession, which must be peculiarly grateful to the friends of freedom. It is remarkable,

markable, that, notwithstanding the radical freedom of our constitution, no nation in Europe has been more jealous of their religious establishment; and scarcely have the Roman catholic states themselves loaded with a more oppressive weight of civil penalties those who dissented in religious opinion. It has for almost half a century been the task of the legislature, to root out, gradually and cautiously, from the code of our laws those disgraceful statutes which groundless apprehension in many instances, and perhaps actual necessity in a few, had caused to be enacted: they are not yet entirely removed; but in proportion as the peaceful influence of philosophy shall extend over the minds of men, we have little doubt but all parties will see the absurdity of sacrificing the cardinal virtue charity at the shrine of vain speculation: and as the fears and jealousies of mankind shall subside, in the course of a few years every trace of persecution will fade away. As the Romish church was the grand object of terror in the first ages of reformation, it was scarcely matter of surprise that our statute-book should be loaded with the most rigorous and sanguinary edicts directed against the professors of that obnoxious faith; and though in the year 1780 some of these were removed, yet in the year 1791, in a well-known book, Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, not less than seventy pages were to be found, entirely occupied with the bare enumeration of the penal statutes in force against the Roman catholics. Among these were some of the most sanguinary nature—It was high treason and death to make a convert to the Roman catholic faith—Severe penalties were enacted on papists for hearing mass, by some statutes; and by others they were compelled to at-

tend the established worship, however contrary to their consciences. That such laws should have been framed in times of difficulty and danger, in times when the church of Rome flourished in all the vigour of temporal power, and urged her authority by all the rigours of persecution, and all the artifices of bigotry, is not surprising; it is only surprising that they should have been suffered to remain in force for centuries of peace and tranquillity, when the power of the pope is annihilated even in countries professing his religion, and when all the obnoxious principles of that religion are disavowed by its professors. A reform in the penal statutes became the more necessary, since, in the course of the year 1790, a large body of catholic dissenters had formally protested against the temporal power of the pope, against his assumed authority of releasing men from their civil obligations, or dispensing with the sacredness of oaths.

It was upon these principles, and supported by these arguments, that Mr. Mitford moved on the 21st of February for a committee of the whole house, to enable him "to bring in a bill to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, persons called protesting catholic dissenters, from certain penalties and disabilities, to which papists, or persons professing the popish religion, are by law subject." This bill, Mr. Mitford added, would be similar to that which had passed in Ireland some years since; and as no ill consequences had resulted in a country where the Roman catholics were so much more numerous than in this, he should hope the house would see no impropriety in the proposition.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Wyndham.

Wyndham. He observed, that there were two principles upon which coercion and penalty, with respect to religious opinion, were supported. The one was the ground, that the opinions were false, and of ill consequence to the salvation of such as professed them; the other was, that their religious principles were calculated to make them bad citizens, and dangerous subjects. In the former of these cases, coercion, he added, might properly be termed persecution, and, as such, might be considered as totally exploded. Reasoning on the other principle, it had been long the language that such laws were necessary to guard against the dangerous practices of the Roman catholics for the subversion of the government: but though much had been said upon this subject, Mr. Wyndham was not of opinion that the truth of history would support the fact. With respect to the principle, that religious opinion ought not to exclude men from civil offices, Mr. Wyndham remarked, that he was not one of those who thought it no part of the duty of government to look to the religious prejudices of the subject; but he thought that no more could be justified against the Roman catholics, than the safety of the state absolutely required, nor did he see the difference between them and dissenters of other descriptions. They did not ask to be admitted to places of power and trust, but to live in a free and enlightened country, exempted from the severe penalties imposed by the laws, which were by connivance evaded, and for that reason ought not to be suffered to disgrace the statute-book. Much had been said formerly relative to the power of the pope to grant a dispensation from oaths; but the folly and fallacy of this opinion Mr. Wyndham

evinced, from the case of a Roman catholic peer omitting to take his seat in the house of lords, because he would not take the oaths; and also mentioned several instances in which a Roman catholic was believed upon his oath.

Mr. Stanley, member for Lancashire, confirmed the good report of the Roman catholics, as good and loyal subjects: and Mr. Fox rose to object to the proposed bill, not for what it did go to, but for what it did not go to; for in his opinion it by no means went far enough. He asserted his opinion, as formerly stated to the house, "that the state had no right to enquire into the opinions of people, either political or religious; in his mind they had a right only to take cognizance of their actions." He urged the necessity of repealing those sanguinary laws which had been mentioned, not to any persons exclusively, but to the Roman catholics of every description, let them protest or not. He entreated that the bill might be made general; since there was no set of men who, on account of their religious principles, ought to be tried for high treason, and to incur the penalty of death. Mr. Fox mentioned the extension of religious liberty in Prussia, Holland, France, &c. and said he should move to leave the word *protesting* out of the title of the bill, when it came to the committee. Mr. Mitford's motion passed unanimously.

On the 1st of March, agreeably to the orders of the house, which require that no question be put affecting the religion of the country before it has been referred to a committee of the whole house, the house resolved itself into a committee on Mr. Mitford's proposal relative to the Roman catholics. On this occasion no further difference of opi-

nion existed than that which we already noticed. Mr. Fox, in renewing his objection to the exclusive nature of the bill, adverted to his own opinion concerning tests, which, he observed, was too well known to require any recapitulation. He had been most strong against the test and corporation acts; yet he admitted that there was a great and material difference between the considerations that ought to weigh with the legislature on that occasion, and the considerations that ought to weigh with them on this. Where Roman catholics did not solicit an admission to any place of trust, but only asked leave to worship God in their own way, they ought in justice, in reason and humanity, to be allowed this liberty, without being subjected to the operation of sanguinary laws. Mr. Fox remarked upon the good conduct of the catholics for a series of years, and insisted upon it that they were entitled to ample relief, and ample relief he foresaw must in a few years be conceded to them.—“There is, said he, but one plain road to pursue. Keep in, if you please, all the statutes for the establishment; even the test and corporation acts, if you like; but let the statute book be looked over, and strike out all which attach penalties to mere opinions.” Impressed with these sentiments, Mr. Fox said he should move his amendment for extending the benefit of the act to all catholics; but, rather than impede the present measure, he would withdraw it, if he found the sense of the house not likely to be with him.

Mr. Burke said he would second the motion of Mr. Fox, but agreed that it would not be wise to persist in the amendment if it did not appear satisfactory. The surest way of remedying grievances, he said, was to proceed moderately, and do

away a little at a time, rather than attempt to cure them all at once. He could not agree with his right hon. friend—“That the state had no authority over opinions.” Opinions influenced the passions, and the passions governed the man; and so long as such was the case, it was the duty of government to attend to them; but in this case the proceedings of government should be guided by virtue and wisdom, by candour and temperance. Mr. Burke remarked, that in the preamble to the 27th of Elizabeth, the danger of the state was the plea made use of; and, instead of any religious or moral purpose being assigned as the ground-work of the statute, it declared that the act was passed solely for the suppression of a dangerous faction in the state. Were the preamble true, and the plea founded, he said, he should have voted for it, as the state must be preserved for the good of the whole. At present, he added, there was no danger from the pope. He had neither absolved the Americans from their allegiance, nor, by his interference, caused any of the late revolutions in Europe. Such laws as those, for the repeal of which they were now pleading, Mr. Burke observed, enabled men to oppress their neighbours, and to rob them of their goods: they were calculated to make a man not love his neighbour; and he who loved not his neighbour, would not love his state. It was the duty of every government to make the people happy; but such points can never be accomplished, when every justice of the peace is made an inquisitor, and a man who worships God in his own way condemned for high treason.

The chancellor of the exchequer recommended to Mr. Fox to withdraw his amendment, since it might

be more properly urged at a subsequent stage of the bill, if that should appear most expedient, or the relief might be produced by another bill; and it amounted to the same, whether the object were effected by two bills or by one. Upon this recommendation the amendment was withdrawn by Mr. Fox, and the bill proceeded through its several stages without opposition.

The cause of liberty was less successful in another instance. The rights of juries had been long in an indefinite and indeterminate state, particularly in the case of libels; and disputes disgraceful in themselves, and injurious to the administration of justice, had frequently arisen between the court and the jury, between the judges and the counsel; even among the professors of the law a difference of opinion had long existed. While the herd of mere technical practitioners earnestly supported the indefeasible authority of the bench, that oracle of constitutional jurisprudence, lord Camden, Mr. Erskine, and many others of the greatest eminence, held the rights of an English jury in too sacred a light to suffer the great constitutional principle on which that institution was founded to be undermined by the fallacious doctrine of precedents. To ascertain and settle the law in this point, and in another which appeared equally defective, on the 21st of February Mr. Fox gave notice, that, at some time in the course of the session, he would move for a grand committee of justice to consider of two important law questions; the one concerning the conduct of the court of king's bench in matters of libel, and the other relative to informations in the nature of *quo warrantos*. As Mr. Fox was desirous of conciliating the gentlemen of the law to

his proposals, and as a number of them were necessarily absent upon the circuits, it was the 20th of May before a convenient opportunity presented itself for agitating the subject in the house of commons. Mr. Fox prefaced his motion by declaring, that he was perfectly convinced that every gentleman who heard him was so well acquainted with the duties of the house, and its peculiar function to watch with care every part of the executive government, that it was unnecessary to use any words to shew that he was not bringing under the consideration of the house any thing that did not fall within the province of its duty. The most important part of the executive government was the administration of justice. He would not, he said, engross the time of the house by declamations on the subject of the press. Whoever saw what the world was now, and compared it with what it had formerly been, must be sensible that we had greatly improved in the science of government; and that improvement was entirely owing to the liberty of the press. If even the just liberty of the press were transgressed, he owned he should be an enemy to a severe punishment after the crime was committed; he was also an enemy to all previous restraints, because such have always operated only to restrain the just liberty of the people, and not to prevent the licentiousness of the press. He acknowledged the abuses of that sacred engine of liberty; but if persons were to argue, from the circumstance of there being so much licence, that there was liberty enough, in his apprehension they would argue very inconclusively. There was no difficulty in this country for any man to libel another; but no man ought to libel with impunity, and public characters had as much a right

right to be defended as those who never engaged in public affairs. Any man could indeed libel with impunity any character public or private: but, on the other hand, he much doubted whether any man could really discuss the actions of government in the way which it was the right of every man to discuss them, without a greater risk to his person and property than prudent men would choose to hazard.

As an instance of what he now stated, gentlemen would recollect that in the course of last year, when the Spanish armament was raised, a considerable degree of discussion had taken place among the people with regard to the objects of the armament, and the conduct of parliament in granting the supplies. On that occasion there had appeared in a newspaper some strictures on the conduct of the ministers; and that paper, to the astonishment of most people, was prosecuted. The printer pleaded guilty, or suffered judgment to go by default, and a judgment most inordinately severe was given against him. He could hardly have thought; that the mere stating, "that the ostensible purpose of the armament might possibly not be the real purpose; that the object of Nootka Sound was too minute to justify so great a hazard; and therefore it might be connected in some way with our Prussian alliance"—he could hardly have thought; he said, that such a paragraph would have been attended with a severe punishment; for, in his humble opinion, it was no libel at all.

Mr. Fox contended, that the filling up the innuendoes in an information on a libel was entirely the province of the jury. He fully acquitted the king's bench of acting, in the case alluded to, from any mo-

tives of direct corruption, or even from party motives; what they had done was from error, and from the difficulty of their situation as the law now stood with respect to libels.

Mr. Fox mentioned it as the general opinion of the king's bench, that in cases of libels the jury were to find the publication and the innuendoes, and that the question of intention was afterwards completely left to the court; the court were to consider it in the nature of a special verdict. On the contrary, he was of opinion that many of the things stated were not matters of law, but matters of fact; but whether they were matters of law or of fact, where the general issue was joined, the jury must consider such general issue, and give a verdict compounded of fact and of law. This he said was not a new opinion, and instanced it in the trial of John Lilburn for a libel, shortly after the beheading of Charles I. With regard to his acquittal or condemnation, Lilburn declared the jury were every thing, and the judges mere cyphers: the reply of judge Jermyn, who presided on that occasion, was a curious specimen of the temper and manners of those times.—He said, "It was a damnable and blasphemous heresy to call the judges cyphers." Lilburn was however acquitted, in spite of the anger of the judge, and the influence of Cromwell. For a long period after this, Mr. Fox added, the business had been considered in the way he considered it. He remarked further, that it had been admitted by almost every judge, by lord Raymond, Mr. justice Lee, lord Mansfield, Mr. justice Buller, from many of whom he differed; that the jury had a power to find not guilty.

With respect to the pretended distinction between law and fact,

Mr.

Mr. Fox observed, that when a man was accused of murder, a crime consisting of law and fact, the jury every day found a verdict of guilty; and this was also the case in felony, high treason, and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception, the single anomaly. He contended, that if the jury had no jurisdiction over libels, the counsel were libellers for speaking before a tribunal which had no jurisdiction. When a jury was in a court of justice, and they did not enquire into the criminality at all, but only into the fact of publication, the counsel addressing them on either side as to the criminality was a sarcasm. There was another part of the doctrine of libels which appeared unaccountable—It was admitted, that if a part of the writing were libellous, and another part not libellous, they had a right to bring the whole before the jury in evidence. Mr. Fox asked, on what principle the jury were to look at the whole, but that they might know whether the paper was libellous or not? In 1731, in the time of lord Raymond, the present doctrine of libels was introduced; but he hoped that no man would contend that it ought to be law. It was a system so vicious and untenable, that in the practice of this reign, and of lord Mansfield himself, it was not adhered to. In the case of the king against Horne, lord Mansfield had said, “that it was a matter for the judgment of the jury, and that they were to decide on the criminality.”

Mr. Fox said he had hitherto considered the subject as relating to libels, and to libels only. He meant to state it with regard to a matter of still higher importance, with regard to high treason. He believed it was admitted on all hands, that a writing might be an overt act of

treason. In this case, if the court of king's bench were to say to the jury—“Consider only whether the criminal published the paper; do not consider the nature of it; do not consider whether it be treasonable or not:” would Englishmen endure that death should be inflicted without a jury having had an opportunity of delivering their sentiments, whether the individual was or was not guilty of the crime with which he was charged?—Mr. Fox wished to know whether the modern doctrine of libels did or did not extend to high treason? Having shewn that the law of libels was contrary to the original principles of law, Mr. Fox said, when he would suggest a remedy for these evils, he found himself incapable of doing it without the assistance of the house. If the committee were clear as to the law on the subject, their wisest and most proper measure would be to enact a declaratory law respecting it: but if they were of opinion that high authorities on the other side made the law doubtful, they might settle the law for the future without any reference to what it had been in times past.

Having finished the subject of libels, Mr. Fox wished to call the attention of the house to another subject of great importance. By a statute of queen Anne, for regulating proceedings by *quo warranto*, every corporator might inform himself of the corporate situation of any burghers of the same borough. Any private man might make his application; and, according to a late opinion, the court has a discretionary power of granting or refusing it. According to another opinion, the court had no such discretion; but the former opinion was the best. The court of king's bench had endeavoured to frame a rule to guide their discretion,

tion, and lord Mansfield had laid down twenty years as the space of time after which no application should be made to disturb men in their franchises: but about two terms ago the king's bench had greatly shortened the period within which people might apply for such informations, and determined that after six years a man should never be called in question on the subject.

There was, however, another serious view in which this matter might be taken into consideration. The attorney-general could of authority move for such informations; and though private persons were confined within six years, the king's attorney-general was subject to no such inconvenience, being wholly unlimited in point of time. It always happened that the king's ministers were more or less concerned in elections; and consequently the attorney-general might move for a great many informations against those who were not friendly to him or his associates. This, Mr. Fox said, was an immense additional weight to the prerogative of the crown, and might prove extremely dangerous to the liberty of the people. The remedy he meant to propose appeared perfectly unexceptionable. He thought there ought to be a statute regulating the conduct of the king's bench with regard to the granting of such informations, and giving double costs in cases of frivolous applications.

Reverting to the case of libels, Mr. Fox said there was one great and popular topic, which he had purposely omitted—viz. the doctrine, "that truth was not only not a justification, but a libel was more a libel because it was true." With respect to this question, he should not meddle with it, because he conceived it to be a most difficult question. To say that truth was not some-

times a justification, would be very extraordinary indeed; and yet there were some cases in which it might be even an aggravation. Suppose a man, for instance, had any personal defect or misfortune, any thing disagreeable about his body, or was unfortunate in any of his relations, and that these evils were repeatedly brought forward with the malicious intent of exposing him to the ridicule of the world—would any man tell him that in cases of that sort truth was not rather an aggravation? On the other hand, in questions relating to public men, verity with respect to public measures ought to be held a complete justification of the libel, if a libel it could be called in that situation. He conceived, therefore, that the best way would be to permit every defendant to prove the truth of a libel, if he thought proper; and then to consider what effect it ought to have, whether it amounted to a justification or otherwise, and to let it affect the judgment either way and in proportion.

There were two or three great springs, Mr. Fox said, upon which the constitution turned. He thought he saw, among many minuter pieces of political mechanism, the two most important or main springs of the constitution; viz. the representation of the people through the medium of that house, and the juridical power of the people through the medium of juries: and it appeared to him, that if even the other parts of the system fell into disorder, yet if these main springs were preserved in full vigour, the rest might be repaired; but if these gave way, all the rest must fall completely to destruction. The right of the trial by jury could not be complete, unless, in every criminal case where the law and fact were mixed, the jury were to be the judges;



judges, and unless the intention was to be decided by the jury, and not by men who could only judge by means of books, and many subtleties and distinctions, but could never find out the heart of man, and distinguish between his actions.

Such were the most important general arguments urged by Mr. Fox upon this occasion; and they were ably seconded by Mr. Erskine. Among a variety of legal and political arguments stated by this gentleman, he divided libels into three classes—1st, those which were subjects of civil action; as those which affected lives, property, or liberty, or which occasioned any actual damage—2dly, those which were punishable by indictment, which included all that might in any way disturb the public peace—and, 3dly, those which had a tendency to sow sedition. The law of libels by civil actions was as ancient as the law itself—Reputation ought to be secured by law. The constitution, he observed, had made a difference between civil and criminal cases. A learned judge had asserted, that they were to apply the same rules in both cases. But in order to shew the power that was given to the judges in a civil case, it was entered upon the record; and they afterwards were entitled, if it should not meet with their approbation, to set aside the verdict of the jury. But in a criminal case, though it was stated upon the record, it was necessary to ask leave of the people; and the jury, if they pleased, might throw out the bill. Law and fact, Mr. Erskine said, were kept as much asunder by our constitution, as night and day in the system of nature: matters of property were wisely deemed too intricate for the decision of a jury; but crimes, whose guilt consisted in their intention, were pec-

uliarly fitted for their consideration, and could only properly be ascertained by their verdict. In cases of property, a new trial might be moved for; but if the jury should acquit a criminal, not even the king could afterwards attain him.

Mr. Erskine stated, that by the present system of things, by merely entering the word *literatim* upon the record, a man might be hanged by the attorney-general for high treason. In such an exercise of authority as this, he said, there was an end of the protection of juries. In the present way of treating libels, the judge says to the jury—"If you find the publication, you are bound to find him guilty; if we find him not guilty of a libel, there may then be an arrest of judgment." But should he, as counsel for the defendant, move an arrest of judgment, upon the plea that there was no libel, the judges would answer, "that the jury had already found the malicious intention."—In an enlightened age, the absurdity of the case was astonishing. In the instance of a duel, where the alternative was that the individual should be banished from society, or expose himself to the hazard of taking away the life of another, at an equal risk of his own, the crime was murder; yet, during the course of his experience, in such an instance, murder had never been found. It was however in the power of the attorney-general to render it murder, by putting *literatim* on the record. If the defendant shall appear guilty of all those facts by the verdict, he must be found guilty; but if there shall be afterwards discovered to have existed no malicious intention, judgment might be arrested.

The attorney-general and the chancellor of the exchequer perfectly coincided with the principle of

of what Mr. Fox and Mr. Erskine had stated; but objected to a committee of justice, as it might seem to convey an undeserved censure on the existing courts. On their recommendation, therefore, Mr. Fox consented to withdraw his motion, and to substitute in its place a motion for leave to bring in two bills, one "to remove all doubts respecting the right and functions of juries in criminal cases," and the other "to explain and amend the act of the ninth year of queen Anne, c. 20, relative to *quo warrantos*."

On the 25th of May, Mr. Fox introduced his bill concerning the rights of juries, and, with a slight opposition from the legal profession, it completed its progress through the house of commons, with the loss of its preamble. In the house of lords, however, where the influence of the law is more predominant, it experienced a very different reception. It was on the 8th of June that the second reading was moved for in that house, when it met with a warm opposition from the lord chancellor, who alleged that the purpose of those who had introduced the bill was not answered by it as fully as they wished; and said, that, considering the state of the session, and the great importance of the bill, he should move that the bill should be read a second time on that day month.

So extraordinary a motion, unsupported by any single objection against the bill, excited the astonishment of earl Stanhope. His lordship said, it was incumbent on that house to protect the people of this country from such arrogance, such usurpation as had been frequently exercised by judges in their conduct towards juries. The question, he added, was neither more nor less than this—Whether they were to have a trial

by jury, or a jurisdiction as detestable as the star-chamber itself? Four points, he said, ought to be decided by the jury—1st, the fact of publication—2d, the sense of the thing published—3d, the law which made it criminal—and, 4th, the criminal intention. Criminal intention, he observed, consisted of two parts—1st, the intention of publishing a thing—and, 2dly, the criminality of the thing published; and it appeared to his lordship, that the leaving these points to be decided by a jury, was what constituted the difference between this country now, and at the period when it was governed by a star-chamber; between this country in its present state, and those countries where tyranny was exercised, and despotism prevailed.

Lord Camden defended the principle of the bill with a noble fund of constitutional doctrine. He said, after the bill was passed, the law of the land would stand just where it did before. A jury, he asserted, had a right, in deciding on a libel, to judge whether it was criminal or not; and juries not only possessed that right, but had exercised it in various instances. With regard to those papers called seditious libels, there had been various opinions; but he conceived that the principal cause of complaint respecting libels had been owing to the directions of some judges, who had told the jury that "they had nothing to try but the publication and the innuendoes;" and this, he said, he had always thought contrary to the law of the land. If their lordships meant to bring in a bill to say that the case of libels should not rest with the jury, they ought to speak out, and declare that it ought to rest with the judges. It must remain either with the judges or the jury; at present he conceived it was the province

of the jury. The licentiousness of the press, his lordship said, was an abomination; they felt it daily, and could not repress it; but the reason was, because the law was not well understood.

Lord Loughborough declared himself also friendly to the principle of the bill; but, for the satisfaction of others, was willing to give way to the proposed postponement of it to another session.

Lord Grenville concurred with lord Loughborough, in what he had said relative to the propriety of postponing the bill; but protested against the idea going forth that administration were hostile to it, or unfriendly to the rights of juries.

The bill was defended in a very able manner by the marquis of Lansdowne. His lordship observed, that upwards of twenty years ago, a bill of the same nature was introduced, which was negatived, merely on the ground that the law then stood exactly as the bill meant to establish it, and therefore the bill was unnecessary. He remembered, he said, a time when prosecutions of the press were extremely frequent, and yet public animadversion had never enjoyed a fuller scope than at that period. The marquis conceived it highly justifiable to canvas, in every form, public measures and public men; but confessed that the licentiousness of the press had been carried to a most scandalous excess in attacking private character. To his certain knowledge too, public negotiations had more than once suffered from publications meddling with subjects of which the authors were completely ignorant; or, what was worse, were set on by mercantile men, for mercantile purposes. He himself, he said, had never condescended to commence a prosecution for a libel. He declared he never

wished to see the liberty of the press curtailed, but only its licentiousness; and on this principle was a friend to the bill, because it would give them a distinct trial by jury. If the whole power was lodged in a jury, and if the prosecutor could expect no favour from the great man on the bench, a prosecution for a libel, instead of being considered as mean, would be accounted honourable, when the greatest and first men in the country submitted themselves to the judgment of a jury. It is almost unnecessary, after what we have premised, to add that the lord chancellor's motion was carried, and the bill consequently postponed to a future session.

In our preceding volume we noticed the progress which had been made in the important question relative to the abolition of the slave trade. Early in the session of 1791, Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of an intended motion for appointing a committee for receiving and examining evidence on that subject; and on the 4th of February he submitted a motion to that effect, which was opposed by colonel Tarleton and others, on the frivolous ground that there were many other objects on which we might exercise our philanthropy; and which was ably supported by Mr. Burke, on the principle that the argument was absurd; that, because there were several acts of charity to be performed, we ought to neglect the one in hand; and that, on the contrary, the best mode of getting through the acts of charity necessary to be performed, was to bring that first to an end which was begun. After a short debate, the motion of Mr. Wilberforce for a committee above stairs was put and carried.

It was not however till the 18th of April, that the business was in such

such a degree of forwardness as to enable Mr. Wilberforce to press for the abolition. On that day he opened the debate with a most copious display of the leading arguments in favour of that measure. The first point to which he directed the attention of the committee, was the manner in which slaves were obtained on the coast of Africa. This vast country, he observed, was divided into districts of different sizes, some governed by kings, and others, and those the greater part, by elders. The state of civilization was in general very imperfect, their notions of morality extremely rude. It was natural, therefore, that when the kings or chieftains were tempted by the pressing solicitations of appetite to acts of injustice and oppression, they would not be slow in the commission of them. This maxim, founded on the principles of human nature, accorded with the most authentic accounts. To begin with the river Senegal; captain Willson and captain Hills of the navy, and Mr. Dalrymple of the land service, being at Goree, had an opportunity of making observations in that quarter. On the arrival of the slave ships, armed parties were regularly sent out in the evening, who scoured the country, and brought in their prey in the night: these wretched victims were to be seen, bound back to back, in the huts on the shore; whence they were conveyed, tied hand and foot, on board the slave ships. The object of these depredations was confirmed, beyond all doubt, by the fact, that when the slave trade was stopped, these expeditions also ceased. This representation, he observed, was confirmed by several other witnesses; who added, that these ravages, excited by presents of brandy, gunpowder, &c. were not only carried on by one community against

another, but the kings were stimulated to commit them, in their own territories, on their own subjects. Individuals also were kidnapped whilst in their fields and in their gardens. There was a universal sentiment of distrust and apprehension.

On the windward coast, by the evidence of lieutenant Story and Mr. Brewman, they would find all the fore-mentioned evils existing, if possible, in a still higher degree. They would see the remains of villages which had been burnt, whilst the fields of corn were still standing beside them. Here an agent was sent to establish a settlement in the interior country; and his instructions from his employers were, "to encourage the chieftains, by brandy and gunpowder, to go to war, and make slaves." Mr. How, a botanist in the service of government, gave in evidence, that, on the arrival of an order for slaves from Cape Coast Castle, the native chief immediately sent forth his armed parties, who in the night brought in a supply of all descriptions. When captain Hills was in the river Gambia, happening to mention to the black pilot that he wanted a cabin-boy, the pilot told him he might soon obtain one; and accordingly, some youths being on the shore with vegetables to sell, he beckoned them on board, and at the same time intimated that he might then take his choice. When captain Hills rejected the proposal with indignation, the pilot seemed perfectly at a loss to account for his warmth, and dryly observed, that slave captains would not have been so scrupulous. When general Rooke commanded at Goree, a number of the natives, about a hundred and fifty, men, women, and children, came to pay him a friendly visit. All was gaiety and merriment. It was a scene to gladden the

the saddest, and soften the hardest heart. But a slave captain is not so soon put off his guard. Three English barbarians of this description preferred it as their joint request to general Rooke, to seize the whole unsuspecting multitude; alleging the precedent of a former governor, who in a similar case had consented!

The usual proportion of children, he said, on board the slave ships, was one third of the whole cargo, scarcely ever less than one fourth. The only legal way in which children could be brought into that situation, was by whole families being sold, when the principals were condemned for witchcraft: but this, by the evidence of their opponents, was not often the case; and, consequently, the majority of them were obtained by kidnapping, which was indeed confirmed by the testimony of respectable witnesses. On the slave coast, even the administration of justice was converted into an engine of cruelty. Crimes were fabricated, false accusations resorted to, and men employed to seduce unwary persons into the commission of crimes, with a view to the conviction and sale of the culprit.

Another effect of this trade was, that it corrupted the moral principle of those who carried it on. Every possible fraud was employed to deceive the ignorance of the natives, by false weights and measures, adulterated commodities, &c. Such indeed was the opinion the natives entertained of the slave ships, that it had been given in evidence by many respectable commanders in the navy, that when the ships of war appeared off the coast of Africa, the people were so apprehensive of being kidnapped, that they could not be persuaded to come on board, till they were con-

vinced that the vessels were not of the former description.

"But," continued Mr. Wilberforce, "let us withdraw from this disgraceful scene, and, in the words of an emphatical writer, *turn our eyes for relief to some ordinary wickedness.*

But, alas! no such relief is yet to be enjoyed—a still more dreadful scene is to succeed. Let us represent to ourselves a vessel, in a sultry climate, heaped to the very brim with these unhappy people, torn from their homes in the manner I have described, and ignorant whither they are going."—He proceeded to state, that even in the year 1788, when the friends of humanity were agitating the subject within those walls, all the misery, all the compulsion, all the despair, all the insanity which on a former occasion he had brought into their view, were actually going forward in the slave ships; and it appeared upon the evidence, that several of these wretches voluntarily threw themselves into the sea, and, before they expired, shewed signs of exultation that they had escaped. A vessel of a hundred and twenty tons, commanded by captain Knox, carried two hundred and ninety slaves, and forty-three other persons: the slaves had not room to lie on their backs, and yet captain Knox had declared, "they slept tolerably comfortable!" Another vessel of a hundred and eight tons carried four hundred and fifty slaves; and a third, of a hundred and fifty tons, six hundred. He next adverted to the instance of an African captain; who, on a slave refusing to eat, had ordered *hot coals* to be held to his mouth, till he consented to take food. Mr. Wilberforce spoke of the favourable character which many creditable witnesses had given of the natives of Africa;

Africa;

Africa; of their ingenuity, tractableness, cheerfulness, hospitality, and every quality that evinced them to be fitted for civilized life. To suppose them an inferior species, and the peculiar objects of the divine vengeance, he termed a gross and impious blasphemy.

Considering the trade in this one light, as entailing such complicated misery on the continent of Africa, no petty, dubious interest could be stated as a sufficient plea to resist the abolition. He however had little doubt but he should be able to prove, that, instead of being ultimately injurious to the West India islands, the abolition of the trade would in reality be beneficial to them. He would not detain the committee with arguing against the bringing of new lands into cultivation, by fresh importations of African slaves, since, apart from every consideration of justice and humanity, the impolicy of the measure was sufficiently clear. If they but attended to the evidence of Mr. Woolrich, and considered the dreadful mortality that attended the opening of new lands, they would be convinced of the difference between the slow but sure progress of cultivation carried on in the natural way, and the attempt to force improvements. He might even appeal to the enormous sum, said by the West Indians themselves to amount to more than 20,000,000l. owing to the people of this country.

The grand basis on which were rested all the arguments of those who apprehended that the abolition might prove injurious to the West India islands, he apprehended to be, that the stock of slaves now in the islands could not be kept up by propagation. In direct refutation of this position, he should prove—1st, that,

in the condition and treatment of the negroes, there were causes sufficient to afford us reason to expect a considerable decrease—2dly, that this decrease, notwithstanding the disadvantages alluded to, was not so great in fact as might be expected: nay, he might now almost venture to say, that in most parts it had actually ceased. He wished to treat the gentlemen of the West India islands with all possible candour: but there were some evils necessarily connected with a system of slavery. Above all, the state of degradation to which they were reduced, deserved to be noticed, since it produced an utter inattention to them as moral agents. They were kept to work under the whip like cattle, left totally ignorant of both religion and morality, without any regular system of marriage among them; and, consequently, promiscuous intercourse, early prostitution, and excessive drinking, proved material causes of their decrease.

Whatever might have been said to the contrary, Mr. Wilberforce observed, that it was plain from the evidence that the slaves had not been under the protection of the law. Colonial statutes had indeed been passed, but they were a mere dead letter; since, however ill treated, the slaves had not been considered as having a right to any redress. An instance of astonishing cruelty appeared in the testimony of Mr. Ross, as committed by a Jew; but, though a matter of notoriety, it does not seem to have entered into the contemplation of any person to call him to a legal account. Some instances had indeed occurred *very lately*, of convictions; one of which was, for a master having cut the mouth of a child from ear to ear: when the verdict of the jury evinced, that

that the doctrine of calling masters to account was entirely novel, as it only pronounced him "Guilty—subject to the opinion of the court, if immoderate correction of a slave by his master be a crime indictable." The court determined in the affirmative; and, for this horrid act of cruelty, the master was fined twenty-five shillings!

In point of medical care, the slaves were but in a bad situation; and, from positive evidence, it appeared that they were in general underfed. They were usually supported partly by their own ground, partly by an allowance from their master of flour or grain. In one island, where provision ground does not answer one year in three, the allowance was from five to nine pints of grain a week: in Dominica, from six to seven quarts: and in St. Christopher's, where there was no provision ground, the allowance was but eleven pints. The capital cause of the decrease of the negroes was, however, the non-residence of the planters: sir George Young, and many others, had seen the slaves treated in such a manner as they were sure their owners would have resented, had it been known to them. The fact was, that managers sought to establish their characters by producing large crops, not considering how far the slaves might suffer from ill treatment and excessive labour. He observed, that in some islands the fine for the wilful murder of a slave was 180*l.* and in Barbadoes, only 15*l.*

Against the argument, that the condition of slaves was much preferable to that of free negroes, in the West Indies, Mr. Wilberforce stated the well-known fact, that when a slave, by hard labour, and the indulgence of a kind master,

had saved a sum of money, the first use that he made of it was, to purchase the release from this situation of superior happiness, by the sacrifice of his last shilling. The greatest boon too with which a master rewarded the long and faithful services of a slave, was *freedom*. He would not so calumniate the West Indians, as to suppose that they only meant to mock these poor people with a real evil, for an imaginary good. Captain Wilson, he remarked, assures us, that the funerals, which in Africa are attended with lamentations, in the West Indies are accompanied with every mark of exultation and joy. Thus, he trusted, he had made good his first proposition, that the causes of decrease were so many and so great, that a very considerable decrease might be expected.

He would now proceed to fulfil his second proposition, and bring forth such facts as would serve to prove, that in case of the abolition, a very considerable increase might be expected. The testimony of his opponents, he said, furnished him with sufficient examples to prove that wherever the slaves were well treated, there was uniformly an increase in numbers: this he instanced by referring to the evidence for a number of facts, and shewed that in America, in Beccoolen, in St. Vincent and Jamaica, they had always very rapidly increased under tolerably favourable circumstances.

Mr. Wilberforce next proceeded to remark on the apprehended consequences of the abolition, in other views. With respect to the loss of seamen which the nation sustained by this pernicious trade—it appeared, by the Liverpool and Bristol muster-rolls, that in 350 slave ships, having on board 12,263 persons, 2,643 were lost in twelve months; whereas,

whereas, in 452 West-Indiamen, having on board 7,640 persons, 218 only were lost. He remarked the ill effects of the slave trade on both the physical and moral habits of the seamen, who, after they had served on board a slave ship, were seldom thought fit for any other service. He related a fact of a vessel stranded on the Morant Keys, near Jamaica—The crew saved themselves in the boats, and left the unhappy negroes in irons; nay, afterwards, when the poor slaves had freed themselves from their fetters, and swam upon rafts, &c. to the island where the whites were, these latter, apprehensive of their consuming their provisions, &c. murdered them as they landed, to the number of four hundred. He noticed also the well-known account of captain Collingwood; and the treatment of what are called refuse slaves, that is, those who were sick, and who are sometimes sold as low as a dollar. He adverted to the numbers who lost their lives on the coast of Africa, in the most shocking manner: so that in one year, no less than six ships were cut off, and the crews massacred by the natives; and concluded, that “the history of this commerce was written in characters of blood.”

With respect to the effects of the abolition on the commerce of certain places—he remarked, that the slave trade constituted only one thirtieth of the commerce of Liverpool; and the delegates from that place had declared at the bar, that they could not carry on the trade under the restrictions of the late bill proportioning the numbers to the tonnage. Of the commerce of Bristol, the slave trade constituted a still smaller proportion. The trade, he said, was a lottery, profitable indeed to some individuals, but a losing

trade on the whole. The manufactures exported to Africa amounted annually to the value of about 400,000 l. This loss he considered as a mere trifle.

The abolition of the slave trade, he proceeded to shew, was the only means of amending the treatment and condition of slaves in the colonies. Any mode of regulating the treatment by positive laws in favour of the slaves, he considered not only as inefficacious, but unsafe. If the negroes were once raised to the rank of moral agents, they would perceive that they had *rights*. To give them a power of appealing to laws, would awaken them to a sense of the dignity of their nature: the first return to life, after a swoon, is commonly a convulsion, dangerous at once to the party himself, and to all around him. Such, in the case of slaves, he feared might be the consequence of the sudden communication of the consciousness of civil rights. It was therefore best and safest to render it indispensably necessary to the planters to take care of their slaves, and to provide for their increase by good treatment.

Mr. Wilberforce concluded with noticing the beneficial effects that might result from a fair and open commerce with Africa, which was capable of producing the most desirable commodities. The slave trade did not deserve the name of commerce. He said, let the fate of his motion be what it might, he was satisfied of one thing, which was, that “the public had already abolished the slave trade.” Supported by this consideration, he should continue to persevere, and would never abandon the object till he had accomplished it. He concluded with moving—“That the chairman be instructed to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the  
further



further importation of African negroes into the British colonies."

Among the most able opposers of the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, were Sir William Young and Lord Sheffield. It was also resisted by Colonel Tarleton, alderman Watson, Mr. Drake, Colonel Phipps, and others. The arguments of these gentlemen chiefly consisted in denying or depreciating the evidence which had been offered in favour of the abolition, which they asserted was in part fallacious, and in part exaggerated. The nations of Africa they represented as in a state of barbarism, and endeavoured to prove that the slave trade rather prevented than promoted the loss of human life, since these nations were all in habits of putting to death their prisoners of war. They remarked that the strong and prevailing principle of self-interest bound the planters to take care of their slaves. They urged the faith of parliament so frequently pledged to the West India planters and traders; pleaded the immensity of their debts, and the danger that a precipitate abolition might draw their creditors upon them. Many facts and statements were adduced, to prove that the decrease of slaves in the West Indies was such as to require a constant supply from the coast of Africa; and even the resolutions proposed by Mr. Wilberforce on a former occasion were referred to, to shew that such had formerly been his opinion. The slave trade, it was urged, employed a number of seamen, who were ready to supply on occasion the necessities of the navy. The loss of seamen in that trade seldom exceeded five out of a hundred, whereas the loss in regiments sent to the West Indies and America generally amounted to more than ten out of a hundred.

The exports to Africa were estimated by the supporters of the trade at 800,000*l.* per annum; and to this we might add the West India trade, which they asserted must suffer by the abolition, the exports and imports of which amounted to upwards of six millions per annum. All this they conceived to be at stake on the question of abolition; and our Newfoundland trade must also suffer.

It was asserted, that if the vote of that evening were to pass, we should only abandon the trade, we should not abolish it. Every nation in Europe, and even the states of America, were endeavouring to force a trade with Africa. The report of M. Barnave, in the national assembly of France, which we noticed in a preceding chapter, was referred to, and was considered as a sanction from that body to the trade. The opening of a free trade with Africa was considered as a visionary project, and never likely to be profitable.

Even the right of Great Britain to bind the colonies by such an act as that which was proposed was doubted. It was insinuated that we might for ever offend, and perhaps alienate the West India islands. The least consequences that could be apprehended were insurrections among the negroes in the islands. The stigma which such a vote would fix on the traffic, would, it was asserted, render the slaves in the plantations dissatisfied with a state of slavery itself; and a late insurrection in Dominica was attributed wholly to the agitation of the question in England.

The measure, it was alleged, was not likely to answer the very end which was proposed by the advocates for the abolition, since the want of hands, which the stoppage of the importation would occasion, would be an inducement to the planter

planter to work those who remained proportionably harder; and this labour increased from year to year must finally prove the destruction of the negroes, and consequently of the planter himself.

In reply to these arguments, the cause of the abolition was very ably supported by Mr. Francis, Mr. W. Smith, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Fox. Several well-authenticated instances of the most shocking cruelties were stated. It was evinced, that in the West India islands there was no law to the blacks; that the punishments inflicted upon them were of the most horrid kind, such as flogging to death, and gibbeting *advers*; but that the most atrocious murders by the whites escaped unpunished. That so little attention was paid to population, that even when children were produced, the planters would rather give them away than be at the trouble of rearing them. That so little care was taken of infants, that the women slaves deemed it a misfortune to have children; and that it was a maxim among the overseers, "that it was cheaper to buy African slaves than to breed, as they lost so much of the mother's work during infancy."

Mr. Pitt observed, that the present was not a mere question of feeling; it was not for the purpose of exercising humanity, that the abolition was pressed upon the committee. The main argument was, that the slave trade was founded in *injustice*. "It is therefore," said he, "such a trade, as it is impossible for me to support, unless gentlemen will in the first place prove that there are no laws of morality binding upon nations, and that it is no duty of a legislature to restrain its subjects from invading the happiness of other coun-

tries, and from violating the fundamental principles of justice."

He took a very ample view of the probable consequences of the abolition to the West India islands;—though he trusted "that no small or temporary disadvantage to the plantations, no slight degree of expediency, no trifling balance of profit, would determine any gentleman in the present question. The slave trade was an evil of such magnitude, that there must be one common wish in the committee at once to put an end to it, if there was no very great and serious obstacle."

Taking the island of Jamaica as the standard of his calculations, as it in reality contained more than half of the slaves in the whole West Indies, he proceeded to shew that the population might be sufficiently supported without fresh importations from Africa. He observed, that in the twenty years ending in 1788, the annual loss of slaves (that is, the excess of deaths above the births) was in Jamaica about one in a hundred. In preceding periods this loss was greater, and had gradually diminished. A peculiar calamity had during that period swept away 15,000 at once; and of the mortality which now took place, an immense proportion consisted of the new negroes who died in seasoning. From these premises therefore it was fair to conclude, as the decrease every year grew less and less, that in future, should the abolition take place, it would be very trifling indeed. Added to these reasons, it was evident, that when the importation ceased, that disproportion between the sexes (the males imported being much more numerous than the females), which was one of the chief obstacles to population, would be removed; and the planters finding

finding so near and urgent an interest in promoting population, every means to that end would be employed, and a new system of happiness and prosperity would be established in the islands.

After these remarks, Mr. Pitt proceeded to take a view of the other islands. In Barbadoes, he said, the population appeared rather on the increase. In St. Kitts the decrease for fourteen years had not been one per cent. In Antigua, but for a particular calamity, the decrease would have been almost nothing. In Nevis and Montserrat there was little or no disproportion of sexes. In Dominica there was an increase of the births above the deaths. From all this he concluded, that there was no serious ground of alarm to the West Indies from the immediate abolition of the trade.

The reasonings of the chancellor of the exchequer were strongly enforced by the energetic eloquence of Mr. Fox. He said, that having received evidence, having had the facts undeniably established, knowing in short what the slave trade *was*, if they did not by the vote of that night mark their abhorrence of a practice so enormous, so repugnant to all laws human and divine, it would be more scandalous and more defaming in the eyes of the world than any vote the house of commons had ever given. It would in fact be giving a parliamentary sanction to rapine, robbery, and murder.

If the population of the islands was not on the increase, he proved it must entirely arise from the errors and negligence of the planters themselves. The climate was declared to be remarkably congenial to the negroes, so much so, that this circumstance had been actually pleaded in favour of the slave trade. Why then should they not breed? It

was merely because the West India planters thought it more convenient, or more cheap, to buy them. What then was the purpose for which this accursed and horrid trade was kept up? The purpose was this—to give the planters an opportunity of destroying the negroes on their plantations as fast as they pleased.

Mr. Fox adverted to the means of obtaining slaves, and particularly that mode in which the slave dealers wished us to believe they were usually obtained, viz. by the banishment of criminals. The slave trade in this view, he observed, was kept up by us on a sort of friendly principle, and as a necessary part of the police of Africa. The chief crimes which produced convictions were alleged to be adultery and witchcraft. Was adultery then a crime, that we need to go to Africa to punish? Or, in the case of witchcraft, was it the part of an enlightened nation, instead of endeavouring to dispel the ignorance of these poor people, to lend themselves to their superstition, and become the instruments of their blind vengeance?

To the instances of barbarity narrated by Mr. Smith, Mr. Fox added two others. In one of the French islands a poor negro had run away; to prevent his repeating the offence, and as a common punishment for such offences, the planter ordered the surgeon to amputate his leg: but the surgeon, who had more humanity than his master, refused. "You refuse," said the planter; "then what you decline as an act of friendship to me, I will force you to do as an act of duty," and immediately broke the poor wretch's leg in a barbarous manner. The other instance occurred in an English island. As one of the evidences, Mr. Ross, was walking along, he heard the

most dreadful shrieks proceeding from a barn or outhouse. On looking in, he perceived a young female tied up to a beam by her wrists, entirely naked, writhing and swinging about, while the author of her torture was applying a lighted torch to different parts of her body as it approached him.

Mr. Fox added, that it was one of the most glorious triumphs of the christian religion, that it produced the almost immediate abolition of domestic slavery, and this it did by inculcating this important truth—"That in the sight of heaven all mankind were equal."

Such was the impression which the speeches of Mr. Fox, and the other members who supported the abolition, made on the understanding and the feelings of their hearers, that Mr. Stanley declared that he had come to the house for the express purpose of voting against the abolition, but what he had heard had convinced him that the entire abolition of the slave trade was equally called for by sound policy and justice. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was notwithstanding negatived by a majority of 75.

To those who have perused with an impartial eye the evidence, or even the debate, on the slave trade, it may appear at first extraordinary that the motion of Mr. Wilberforce should not at once have met with an unanimous concurrence. We are, however, to remember, that the proposal had many prejudices to encounter. Man is by nature a timid animal, and is with difficulty persuaded to enter upon any innovation, the direct consequences of which are not exceedingly clear. In this business, the interests of two considerable bodies were either really or apparently involved, the West India planters and merchants, and the slave

dealers and all connected with the trade. To the former description of persons every possible tenderness and attention from the British legislature is undoubtedly due. To men who have embarked their capitals, and exposed their persons in a tropical climate, and whose labours all ultimately tend to the enriching of the mother country, too much favour, as far as is consistent with the principles of justice, can scarcely be shewn; and if it could be proved that they would be materially injured by the measure, then Mr. Pitt's proposition would be the only argument for the abolition, and the slave trade would be condemned only on account of the gross and manifest injustice which it radically involves, and which none has presumed to deny. Many of the West India planters and merchants are persons of the highest respectability, and on account of their utility to the state, as the supporters of a lucrative and important commerce, have a further claim on the attention of the legislature. The slave dealers, and those immediately concerned in that trade, have not this claim upon the public. They are chiefly desperate adventurers, who have, with a true gambling spirit, embarked in this precarious, but sometimes profitable traffic. We cannot indeed help suspecting, that the gentlemen who are possessed of West India estates, or are engaged in that trade, have in this business been made the dupes of the slave dealers in part, and in part of their own managers, who on many accounts are interested in the support of the African trade. Upon the broad principles of human nature, it is impossible to doubt but that with proper management a very considerable increase might be produced in the population of the West Indies, nor can we hesitate to believe that

that this would be the most profitable and advantageous mode of cultivation for the planters. But whatever their motives, as friends to the West Indians, we cannot but lament the opposition which they have given to the proposal for abolishing the slave trade. One immediate consequence, which must in the end prove materially injurious to the interests of the West India islands, was the establishment of a company for the express purpose of cultivating West India and other tropical productions at Sierra Leona, on the coast of Africa, the bill for chartering whom was introduced on the 28th of March by Mr. Thornton. Another circumstance, which, trifling as it may appear, will ultimately prove not to be in their favour, is the number of persons whom their opposition has impelled to the disuse of sugar, a considerable majority of whom will certainly not return to the use of it in every mode. Supposing even for a moment, that the interests of the West Indies should be in some degree affected by the abolition; in that case, had the gentlemen connected with the islands come liberally forward on the first agitation of the question, declared their abhorrence of the trade, but pleaded their apprehensions from the immediate abolition, there is little doubt but they might have obtained better terms than they are now likely to obtain; we mean, a more distant period might have been fixed for the annihilation of the trade than is now likely to be fixed; since the truth is, that the more the slave trade has been investigated, the more has the indignation of the public been excited against it.

It has been already intimated, that one of the main objects recommended in his majesty's speech was, that the house would consider of

such regulations for the government of the province of Quebec, as the present circumstances of the province should appear to require. Early in the session the matter was brought more in detail before the house, by a message from the king, importing that it appeared to his majesty, that it would be for the benefit of the inhabitants of the province, that the same should be divided into two separate provinces, to be called the Upper and Lower Canada. He further recommended to the house to consider of such provisions as might enable his majesty to make a permanent appropriation of lands within the said provinces, for the maintenance of a protestant clergy within the same, &c.

On the 4th of March, in pursuance of this message, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain provisions of the fourteenth of his majesty respecting the government of Canada, and to make such further provisions, &c.

Mr. Pitt stated, that the division of the province into an Upper and Lower Canada, he hoped, would put an end to the competition between the old French inhabitants, and the new settlers from Britain and the British colonies: this division, he trusted, would be made in such a manner as to give each a great majority in their own particular part, although it could not be expected to draw a complete line of separation. Any inconveniences, however, to be apprehended from ancient Canadians being included in the one, or British settlers in the other, would be averted by a local legislature to be established in each.

In imitation of the constitution of the mother country, he should propose a council and house of assembly for each; the assembly

be constituted in the usual manner, and the members of the council to be members for life; reserving power to his majesty to annex to certain honours an hereditary right of sitting in the council. All laws and ordinances of the province were to remain in force till altered by the new legislature. The habeas corpus act was already law by an ordinance of the province, and was to be continued as a fundamental principle of the constitution.

It was further meant to make a provision for a protestant clergy in both divisions, by an allotment of lands in proportion to those already granted; and as in one of them the majority of the inhabitants would be catholics, it was meant to provide, that it should not be lawful for his majesty to assent to future grants for this purpose without first submitting them to the consideration of the British parliament. The tenures were to be settled in Lower Canada by the local legislature; in Upper Canada, the settlers being chiefly British, the tenures were to be soccage tenures. To prevent any such dispute as that which separated the thirteen states from the mother country, it was provided that the British parliament should impose no taxes but such as might be necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce; and to guard against the abuse of this power, such taxes were to be levied and disposed of by the legislature of each division.

In its progress through the house the bill was warmly opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Hufsey, lord Sheffield, and some other gentlemen. They objected in the first place to the division of the province. It had been urged, Mr. Fox said, that by such means we could separate the English and the French inhabitants; but, was this to be desired? Was

it agreeable to general and political expediency? The most desirable circumstance was, that the French and English inhabitants of Canada should coalesce into one body, and that the different distinctions of people might be extinguished for ever. If this had been the object in view, the English laws might soon have prevailed universally throughout Canada—not from force, but from choice, and conviction of their superiority.

The proposed representation was also a strong ground of objection. The great object (it was observed by the same great statesman) of all popular assemblies was, that the people should be fully and fairly represented; and that the representative body should have all the virtues and the vices incident to such assemblies: but when the assembly of one province was to consist of only sixteen, and the other of thirty persons, they deluded the people by a mockery of representation; they seemed to give them a free constitution, when in fact they withheld it: and it was on the whole so great a fallacy, that he hoped it never would be said that we gave Canada even a sketch of the British constitution. Such an assembly might be a wise assembly, a virtuous assembly, an enterprising assembly, but it never could be called a popular assembly.

The period of election was considered by the opposition as equally inconsistent with freedom. In England, it was acknowledged, we had a septennial bill, but the goodness of it had been doubted even by many of those who took the lead in the present bill. One reason assigned for the propriety of such a bill was, that general elections in this country were attended with great and innumerable inconveniences; but in a

country so differently circumstanced as Canada, why not make the elections annual, or triennial at most? A septennial bill indeed was peculiarly ill calculated for that country, where many of the most respectable persons might be persons in trade, and, if chosen representatives for seven years, might not be in a situation to attend during the whole of that period; though they might be able to give their attendance for one or even three years, without danger or inconvenience to their commercial concerns: and thus, by a septennial bill, the country of Canada might be deprived of more than half of the few representatives which were allowed it by the present arrangement.

The legislative councils were considered as peculiarly liable to objection. In the first place, they were unlimited as to numbers by any thing but the will of the government. Instead of being, as in some of the West India colonies, hereditary councils, or councils chosen by electors, they were compounded of both. As to the points of hereditary honours and hereditary powers, Mr. Fox observed, to say that they were good, or they were not good, as a general proposition, was not easy to decide; but he saw nothing so good in them as to warrant their introduction into a country where they were not known, and by such means to distinguish Canada from all the colonies in the West Indies. In countries where they made a part of the constitution, he did not think it wise to destroy them; but to create them where they did not exist, he considered as exceedingly unwise. He could not account for it, unless it was, that Canada having been formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction

of which some gentlemen so much deplored, and to revive in the West that spirit of chivalry, which had fallen into so much disgrace in a neighbouring country.

The provision for the clergy was considered as being too large, particularly in those parts where the inhabitants were almost all Roman Catholics. The bill was also exceptionable so far as related to the regulation of appeals at law. Suitors were first to apply to the courts in Canada, thence to appeal to the governor and council, thence to the king in council, and lastly to the house of lords. Now if the house of lords was a better court than the king in council, why not apply to the house of lords at once? The trial by jury, as well as the habeas corpus act, it was urged, ought to have been made integrant parts of the present bill, and not left to an ordinance of the province.

The bill was defended by Mr. Pitt on the principle of expediency. He alleged that the representation bore a proportion to the population of the country, as that of the upper province amounted to only 10,000 inhabitants, and of the lower to not more than 100,000. The assemblies undoubtedly ought to extend with the growing population of Canada. A septennial legislature appeared the most convenient; but if found to be otherwise, there was nothing to hinder the legislature of Great Britain from correcting at a future period any part of the present bill. Mr. Pitt defended the hereditary part of the legislative council by saying, that an aristocratical principle being one part of our mixed government, he thought it proper there should be such a council as that provided for in the bill. As to the provision for the clergy, one tenth of the produce was evidently a much greater pro-

provision than one seventh of the land. Dividing the province he considered as the best means of conciliating the French inhabitants, as they would by this measure be made sensible that there was no intention to force the British laws upon them. It would also, in elections, prevent that contest between the two parties which would be likely to take place if there were but one house of assembly.

During the discussion of this bill, a most extraordinary dispute took place between two of the most distinguished members of the opposition. In our preceding volume we noticed a difference between Mr. Burke and Mr. Sheridan, similar to that which now occurred between the former of those gentlemen and Mr. Fox. Though, however, the discussion of the Quebec bill was the apparent occasion which produced this clash of sentiment, yet there is much reason to believe that the seeds of disunion had long existed. The well-known irritability of Mr. Burke upon the subject of the French politics had estranged from him in some degree his former friends who differed from him on that subject; and even in the debate to which we allude, he complained that Mr. Fox's visits had been less frequent than they had formerly been. Possibly the allusion of Mr. Fox, which we noticed in the preceding page, to the times of chivalry, might serve in some degree to irritate Mr. Burke, and to call forth his animadversion on the present occasion. But as some account of the difference between these illustrious characters may be more interesting as a point of history than conjectures concerning its motives, we shall proceed to lay a short statement of the facts before our readers.

On the recommitment of the Quebec bill, on the 6th of May, as soon as the chairman had put the question "that the clauses of the bill be read paragraph by paragraph," Mr. Burke rose, he said, to speak to the general principle of the bill. He enlarged upon the importance of the act which they were now about to perform, viz. to appoint a legislature for a distant people. The first consideration was the competency of the house to such an act. A body of rights, commonly called the *'rights of man'*, had been lately imported from a neighbouring kingdom. The principle of this new code was, "That all men are by nature free, and equal in respect to rights, &c." If this code therefore were admitted, the power of the house could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada to choose a constitution for themselves. Rejecting this code, however, which was never preached any where without mischief, he would assume the principle, that this country had acquired the right of legislating for Canada by right of conquest. The next question then was, what model was to be followed in instituting a government for Canada. He proceeded to notice the three great modern examples, the constitutions of America, of France, and of Great Britain. With respect to America, as a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Canada had emigrated from that country, as they had fled from the blessings of American government, there was no danger of their being so much shocked with the introduction of the British constitution as to return. He next noticed the French constitution, which he condemned in the strongest terms. He said the practical effects of this constitution might be seen in St. Domingo, and the other



other French islands: they were flourishing and happy, till they heard of the rights of man. As soon as this system arrived among them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open; hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the country. Ought this example to induce us to send to our colonies a cargo of the rights of man? As soon would he send them a bale of infected cotton from Marseilles. The state of France, in consequence of this constitution, he represented as most deplorable—They had got a king who was every thing in name, and nothing in reality; over whom M. la Fayette, the chief jailor of Paris, mounted guard, as a state prisoner; and who, being desirous of a little fresh air, obtained a day rule to go five miles from Paris, but was stopped by one of his faithful grenadiers presenting a bayonet to his breast—

At this part of his speech, Mr. Baker called Mr. Burke to order; and a long altercation ensued, concerning the decency and propriety of canvassing and abusing foreign governments, when the question before the house merely respected the government of Quebec. In the course of the dispute, Mr. Burke intimated "that there was a design formed in this country, by certain persons, against the constitution." At length lord Sheffield moved, "that dissertations on the French constitution are not regular and orderly, when the question is, that the clauses of the Quebec bill be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph."

Mr. Fox seconded the motion. In the course of his speech, Mr. Fox observed, that if Mr. Burke's intention had been to debate the

Quebec bill, he would have debated it, clause by clause, according to the established practice of the house. If his object had been to prevent the apprehended danger to the British constitution, he would have given notice of a particular day for that particular purpose; or would have taken any other occasion for doing it, rather than this, on which his nearest and dearest friend had been misrepresented and traduced—But that the course which his right honourable friend had taken, was such as seemed to confirm the insinuation against him, of having maintained republican principles, as applicable to the British constitution, in a former debate on the bill. He defended his former sentiments, relative to the French revolution. He repeated "that he thought it, on the whole, one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind." In this assertion, however, he spoke of the *revolution*, and not of the *constitution*; the latter remained to be improved by experience, and accommodated to circumstances. Mr. Fox said, that if the committee should decide that his right honourable friend should pursue his argument on the French constitution, he would leave the house till it was finished. He said, however, that on a proper occasion he should have no objection to maintain his sentiments; and would undertake to prove, that the *rights of man*, which his right honourable friend had ridiculed as visionary, were the basis of the British constitution, as our statute-book evinced, in recognizing "the original inherent rights of the people as men, which no prescription could supersede, no accident remove or obliterate." If such principles were dangerous to the constitution, they were

were the principles of his right honourable friend, from whom he had learned them. His right honourable friend had said, with equal energy and emphasis, "that he could not draw a bill of indictment against a whole people." Having been taught by him that no revolt of a nation was caused without provocation, he could not help rejoicing ever since the French constitution could boast the same foundation with the British, the rights of man. Mr. Fox declared that he had said more than he intended; but if his sentiments could serve the other side of the house, which had countenanced the discussion apparently with a view to get at them, they had taken unnecessary pains. They might be sure of him and his sentiments on every subject, without forcing any thing like a difference between him and his right honourable friend.

Mr. Burke began his reply with reminding the house, that he had calmly heard to the end one of the most disorderly speeches ever made in that assembly. He complained that Mr. Fox had treated him unfairly; and had made a direct personal attack on all he had said, on all he had written, on every thing that passed in their public and private intercourse. He said, Mr. Fox was no stranger to his sentiments on the Quebec bill; they had walked down to the house together, talking all the way upon the subject. He asserted again that dangerous doctrines were encouraged in this country. It was become the practice to extol, in the highest strain, the French constitution; and those who disapproved of the anarchy and confusion which prevailed in France, were stigmatized as the enemies of liberty. He insisted, that the discussion of the Quebec bill was a

proper opportunity to put the country on its guard against those dangerous doctrines; as it afforded an occasion of entering upon a true and minute comparison of the French constitution with that of England. He had been accused, he said, of having provoked this discussion, to give an advantage to the enemies of Mr. Fox; a principle which he utterly disclaimed, and never thought that any fair or candid man could have laid to his charge. He could have produced unexceptionable authorities for all that he should have advanced concerning France, had he been permitted. He could have shewn that the people of that country had gained nothing by the revolution; but that, comparing evil with evil, with respect to the liberty of the subject, his happiness, and the preservation of his property, they were much worse off now than under the old government. He charged Mr. Fox with having treated him not only with harshness, but malignity; after having harassed him with his light troops in the skirmishes of order, he brought the heavy artillery of his own great abilities to bear upon him. Mr. Burke denied the charge of inconsistency, and said his opinions on government had ever been the same. As he proceeded to treat, in a ludicrous manner, of the discipline which Mr. Fox maintained among his troops in that house, he was called to order by Mr. Grey; but refusing to apologize, he proceeded, and urged his majesty's ministers to look with a vigilant eye to the plots to which he had alluded. He adverted to the riots of 1780: had he at that time come forward, and cautioned the house to beware of the protestant association, he supposed he would have

have experienced the same treatment as now. He observed, that he had differed on many occasions from Mr. Fox, but there had been no loss of friendship between them; but there was something in the *curfed* French constitution that envenomed every thing. Mr. Fox whispered that there was no loss of friendship. Mr. Burke replied: There was—he knew the price of his conduct: he had done his duty, and their friendship was at an end. Mr. Burke earnestly urged the right honourable gentlemen, who were the great rivals in that house, that whether they should move in the political hemisphere, as two blazing stars in opposite orbits, or walk together as brethren, they would preserve the British constitution, and guard it against innovation. He concluded with moving an amendment on lord Sheffield's motion—That the words of the motion, after “*disertations on the French constitution,*” be omitted, and the following inserted in their room—“*tending to shew that examples may be drawn therefrom; and to prove that they are insufficient for any good purposes, and that they may lead to anarchy and confusion, and are consequently unfit to be introduced into schemes of government, are improper to be referred to, &c.*”

Mr. Fox rose to reply; but the agitation of his mind was so great, as to deprive him for some time of utterance.—He said, however events might have altered the mind of his right honourable friend, still he must so call him; because, grating as it was to any man to be unkindly treated by those on whom he had bestowed obligations, it was still more grating to meet with such treatment from those by whom he had been highly obliged, and whom, notwithstanding their harshness and

severity, he must still love and esteem. Almost from a boy he had been in the habit of receiving favours from his right honourable friend, and they had lived on the most intimate terms for twenty-five years. He hoped, therefore, that notwithstanding what had happened, the right honourable gentleman would think on past times; and, whatever imprudent or intemperate expressions of his might have offended him, would at least believe that such was not his intention. He repeated his reasons why Mr. Burke's introducing the French revolution, in a debate on which he had been charged with republican principles, appeared to be done with an intention to injure him. It was the first time, he said, that he had ever heard from a philosopher, that the best way of praising the British constitution, was by abusing every other. For his part, he had ever thought that the British constitution, in theory, was imperfect and defective; but that in practice it was excellently adapted to this country. He had often said, that because he admired the British constitution, was it to be concluded that there was no other part of the constitution of other countries worth praising, or that the British constitution was not still capable of improvement? As a proof that it had not been thought quite perfect, he reminded the house of the two late projects of reform; that proposed by Mr. Pitt for the reform of parliament, and that of his right honourable friend for the reform of the civil list. Mr. Fox alluded to the expression Mr. Burke had made use of, *disciplined* troops; and added, that if this was meant to convey an insinuation that any improper influence was exercised on the minds of gentlemen, such an imputation he utterly disclaimed. To shew further that

that the British constitution was not perfect, Mr. Fox mentioned the vote of the year 1780, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." To this vote his right honourable friend had assented; and in 1783, when his majesty, on the loss of America, lamented in his speech the fate of the provinces, in being deprived of the advantages resulting from monarchy, Mr. Burke had ridiculed the idea, and compared it to a man's opening the door, after he had left the room, and saying, "At our parting, pray let me recommend a monarchy to you." He said, if we did not wish a monopoly of that liberty which we prized so highly, we must rejoice in the emancipation of France. Feeling the present temper of Mr. Burke's mind, he said, he should keep out of his way till time and reflection had fitted him to think differently of the subject; and then if their friends did not endeavour to re-unite them, they would not act as he had a right to expect.

The concessions of Mr. Fox made but little impression on Mr. Burke. —He said, that the tenderness displayed in the beginning and end of his speech, had been completely counterbalanced by what occurred in the middle of it; and complained loudly of Mr. Fox taking advantage even of his jokes and most careless expressions, to prove him guilty of inconsistency. It had been said that in some points the British constitution might be amended; but had he ever said that that or any other human constitution might not? It had been said, that, in order to praise the British, he had thought proper to abuse every other constitution; but had he ever displayed any such spirit? He would not even have brought forward the

French constitution, had not attempts been made to introduce the monster into this country. Libels, he said, had been circulated against the constitution, by societies calling themselves constitutional. He said, when he saw the new French constitution, he wept: it was the work of Goths and Vandals, where every thing was out of place, disjointed and inverted. He mentioned many of the enormities which were committed in France, and particularly the religious persecution to which the non-juring clergy had been subjected; and which, he justly observed, was a cruel violation of the principles of toleration. His opinion of the American revolution did not militate against his opinion of the French, as the Americans had some reason for the conduct which they had pursued.

The chancellor of the exchequer explained that part of his former speech, which Mr. Fox had considered as charging him with republican principles. He said, that when that gentleman proposed an elective instead of an hereditary council, he conceived that he (Mr. Fox) was inclined to think that a larger infusion of the republican principle than at present subsisted in the British constitution, was best adapted to the new government of Canada; but that this was a sentiment to which he (Mr. Pitt) could not possibly agree. With this explanation Mr. Fox declared himself satisfied; and concluded this tumultuous debate with intimating, that at a future day he had no doubt of exculpating himself from every charge of republicanism.

The debate which followed on the same bill, on the 11th of May, took a milder and more temperate course. Mr. Fox declared himself an advocate for the British constitution,

tion, and for hereditary honours, such as existed in this country, which were frequently incentives to patriotism and virtue: he granted, however, that his principles were so far republican, that he wished to give the crown less power, and the people more, in every government, old or new; and added, that he was decidedly of opinion, that the constitution of this country was more liable to be ruined by an increase of the power of the crown than of the people. Mr. Burke denied that he had ever imputed democratic principles to Mr. Fox, with a view to hurt him; and if he had pushed him to a declaration of his principles, the speech which they had just heard from him would prove how far he was likely to have attained his end. He considered himself as forsaken by his party; but he had done

his duty to his country, in warning it against the pernicious French principles, at a time when there was not merely a plot, but open and avowed attempts to subvert the constitution.

Thus concluded an altercation, which has produced a schism still evident in the politics of the opposition party. How far the later proceedings in France may tend to abate the ardour of contention, which the French revolution first excited in this country, it is difficult to say. To us it appears, that they are too likely to unite all sensible and well disposed persons in a condemnation of the present measures of the popular party there, however they may have differed as to the principle of the Gallic revolution.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Message from his Majesty. Dispute with Russia. Armament voted. Debates on the State of the Nation, and on the Probability of a War with Russia. Debates in the Lords on these Subjects. Committee of Finance. Budget. Debate on the Report of the Committee of Finance. Finances of India. Debate on the Repeal of the Test Act, as far as regards the Church of Scotland. Scottish Burghs. Prorogation of Parliament. Riots at Birmingham.*

WHILE several of the topics which we have just noticed remained in agitation before the British senate, the attention of that body was called to another object, not less important to the interests and welfare of the nation. On the 28th of March a message was delivered from his majesty, importing that the endeavours which he had used, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a pacification, not having proved successful, his majesty judged

it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force.

As soon as Mr. Pitt had moved "that the message be taken into consideration on the morrow," Mr. Fox rose, and deplored the circumstance of their having fallen into a situation so unfortunate and so unexpected. Reserving himself for the consideration of the message, he asked the chancellor of the exchequer,

quer, whether he meant only to move a simple address of thanks to his majesty for the communication, or whether he meant to include in the vote an approbation of the measure? If the latter were to be the case, he trusted the doctrine of confidence had not yet proceeded so far, that they would hastily profess themselves ready to support the king's expences, without having before them any ground of information whatever. Mr. Pitt answered, that it had not been usual to delay the consideration of a message from his majesty longer than a day; and in the present case, there were many reasons why the business ought not to be deferred. He intimated also, that a vote of supplies should be included in the answer to the message.

The debate on the 29th was opened by Mr. Pitt, who lamented that his majesty's endeavours to restore peace to Europe had proved ineffectual; yet while they felt the advantage of that system of defensive alliance, which had been so generally countenanced, he trusted they would admit that a temporary expence might be wisely and judiciously incurred, to prevent any alteration taking place in the relative condition of the affairs of Europe. With a view to the state of these affairs, he said, an additional force had been kept up after the late armament; and a further addition was now necessary. He stated, that if defensive alliances were to be maintained, it was our duty to adhere to those alliances. The influence of the Turkish empire, he said, was of great effect in the general scale of European powers; and its present situation was such, as to afford just cause of apprehension to all the other powers, whose interests were at all liable to be affected by a

diminution of that influence; and to Prussia in particular it must be highly injurious, to suffer the Turkish empire to be diminished in force and consequence. He therefore moved an address, to thank his majesty for the communication, and to assure him that the house would make good the expences, &c.

Lord Wycombe observed, that, on first hearing this report, he had met it with a positive disbelief. In a commercial view, there were no benefits to be hoped for from the measure, in any degree equivalent to the mischief attending hostilities. In a political view, he could not think a dispute concerning the frontiers of Turkey was a sufficient motive to engage this country in a war. At all events, he should resist the measure, till he was possessed of a more adequate share of information on the subject.

On the same grounds the motion was opposed by Mr. Coke, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Martin, Mr. Vyner, and others; and it was supported by Mr. Steele.

Mr. Fox declared, that he was not against a necessary share of confidence in ministry; but he observed, at the same time, that *necessary* confidence was only a necessary evil; and ought, therefore, to be always the least that the nature of things would permit. To admit simply that the king, by the advice of his ministers, had ordered an armament, and that the house must pay the expence, was not in all the gradations of rational confidence; and the house of commons which entertained the proposition, betrayed its duty and insulted its constituents. The right honourable gentleman who moved the address had enveloped himself in mystery and importance, but explained nothing. When the balance

of power was mentioned as a reason for arming, it ought to be shewn how it was endangered. When supplies are called for to prevent the aggrandisement of Russia, it ought to be stated whom she meant to attack. He mentioned it as a general opinion, that Russia was attacked by the Porte, at the instigation of Great Britain and Prussia. If this was not so, why did we not prevent the war, if we thought we had any concern in its issue? Would sir Robert Ainslie say, that he had been instructed to divert the Porte from attacking Russia? In all his majesty's former speeches, he had regretted the war on principles of humanity; but always added an assurance, that no danger was to be apprehended from it to us. What then had since happened to involve us? The dispute between the empress and us he believed to be this: She offered to cede all her conquests between the Niester and the Danube, and proposed to retain only those between the Niester and the Don; while we insisted that she should surrender all her conquests without exception. Such was the proposition which we held out to Russia; while in India, in our own case, we insisted that, should we be successful against Tippoo Sultan, he should not only make reparation, but also surrender as much as we could conquer of his territories, as a fine for having made the first attack. Our whole ground of quarrel with Russia was, therefore, the tract of territory he had mentioned; unprofitable and worthless to any power, except for a single place contained in it, and this place was Oczakow. Now had Oczakow been taken in the present year, it might have been said to have produced a change of circumstances; but it was taken in 1788,

and in 1789 his majesty again assured parliament, that the situation of affairs was such as promised us a continuance of peace.

Whatever confidence, he observed, might be claimed by ministers, none could be due where they had betrayed incapacity; and this the present ministers had done in their continental connexions. In the negotiations at Reichenbach, when they found the emperor disposed to peace, they had neglected the opportunity of engaging the empress by the same arguments which induced him to consent, and which were then in their power. They had stimulated Sweden to attack Russia; prevented Denmark from assisting her; and then neglected Sweden. If the armament in the Spanish dispute was equipped with any view to Russia, deceit and falsehood were practised upon the house. After the termination of the dispute, why did we disarm, if we knew that we had still occasion for an armament? Accidental causes, and particularly the state of France, had contributed to our prosperity. But how miserably had we abused these advantages! By the absurd pride of interfering in the affairs of every foreign state, we had involved ourselves in expence, and obtained only the hazard of war. Neither had we been successful in any but the instance of Holland. We had not lowered Russia; we had not raised Sweden; and between the emperor and his Belgic subjects our interference had been ridiculous. The allied powers had made certain stipulations with the emperor in behalf of the provinces; and when marshal Bender was about to enter the Netherlands with an armed force, their ministers at the Hague wrote him, that he must *stop* till certain preliminaries were adjusted. His answer

was

was a peremptory refusal. They then said, "You must take the consequence, we wash our hands of the business." If our allies were attacked, we had then indeed a right to interfere; but we had no alliance with Turkey, and were only called on to gratify the pride of our own ministers, and second the ill-judged policy of Prussia. How far ministers were pledged to support that policy he knew not, but he knew the country was not bound to support it.

Mr. Pitt in reply observed, that as Mr. Fox had admitted, that to interfere occasionally in the politics of the continent made a part of that defensive system which he had always thought it right to support, the present question was simply, "whether the present was an occasion on which we ought to interfere?" Now if it were true that Prussia, by the aggrandisement of Russia, must be endangered, and consequently our defensive system impaired, then the circumstances actually called for our interference. It had been insinuated that ministers were bound by engagements to Prussia, with which the country had nothing to do. He begged leave to assure the house that the insinuation was unfounded, and that ministers were bound by no engagements to Prussia but such as had received the sanction of parliament. Admitting, for the sake of argument, what he would not admit in fact, that we ought to have interposed sooner on the present occasion, that was no reason against interposing now. But had the necessity been so pressing at any former period, or were such consequences to be apprehended without a speedy interference? It was next said, that we had lost the opportunity of bringing Russia to terms, when the emperor was prevailed on to treat—But when the em-

peror manifested a favourable disposition, would it have been wise to suspend the negotiations with him, at the risk of their being broken off, in order to wait for the concurrence of Russia? Pending our dispute with Spain, we were neither so free to act as now, nor was the necessity then so urgent. But why, it was asked, did we dismiss our armament after that dispute was concluded? We had not dismissed our armament, for we had kept up a considerable addition of force; but as the season of the year made it impossible to act for several months, we had not kept up a force of fifty ships of the line, because it would have been to no purpose, and the expence would have exceeded that of the present armament.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the predominance of Russia would probably effect an alteration in the state of Europe in other respects disadvantageous to this country, with respect to *Poland* in particular. We had a commercial interest in cultivating a trade with Poland, and preventing Russia from obtaining such a decided command of the articles we wanted, as to give or withhold them at her pleasure.

Mr. Burke said, that as it might be the last time that he should have an opportunity of delivering his sentiments on a similar question, he could not refrain from offering a few remarks to the house. He said, it was extremely novel, and contrary to all the politics with which he was acquainted, to bring the Turkish empire into the consideration of the balance of power in Europe. The question, he said, was not, whether the empress of Russia should or should not dismember Turkey? it was simply, whether she should possess Oczakow or not? When the empress had made those sacrifices, which



which she seemed willing to make, she had given up more than any other victorious prince would have done in her situation. To carry to this length the Prussian alliance, he contended, was in fact establishing an anti-crusade; it was offending the empress without an adequate cause, who might at some future period direct her vengeance against us, when another armament might be required to avert the effects of her resentment. The question was carried in favour of the address by 228 votes against 135.

The attention of the house was again called to this important subject on the 12th of April by Mr. Grey, who said that he had intended to introduce a motion for a committee on the state of the nation; but having been given to understand from high authority, that an objection would be taken against such a committee, he was induced to wave that object, and to come before the house directly with certain propositions. He said there were certain principles upon which mankind were generally agreed: among these might be reckoned the just causes for going to war; and of this nature also were those maxims of policy which ought to govern this country with respect to its connections with foreign powers. The only just cause of war originated in the principle of self-defence; the cases, therefore, where a war was just, might be reduced to three heads: 1st, when it was undertaken to redeem a right forcibly withheld, and to which we had an undoubted claim; 2d, in providing for future safety; and the last, a right of repelling an unjust attack, under which might be included a case when an ally had been unjustly attacked. He proceeded to shew that not one

of these cases applied to the present instance. The Prussian treaty engaged us no further than that, if that country should be attacked, we were bound to furnish them with a certain number of troops, or a certain sum of money. Suppose, at the time when the Prussian treaty was laid before the house, that it had been a condition in it, that whenever Russia should possess herself of Oczakow, Great Britain should go to war with Russia, would any man in that house have assented to it? Perhaps he would be told, that he had admitted that a country was bound, for its own safety, to guard against the dangerous aggrandisement of any one power. This was certainly true; but he must be understood to suppose that that aggrandisement was aimed at by unjust and violent means; and that the danger accruing from it was not remote, but near and imminent to this country. He considered the balance of power in Europe as an object of great concern; and if they could shew him that it was in the least danger, he should certainly give his vote to rescue it from that danger. But who would undertake to prove that the possession of the town of Oczakow was such a circumstance as could materially affect the interest of this country, and would endanger the balance of power in Europe?

Mr. Grey next stated the reasons why the possession of that fortress was an object of importance to the empress of Russia, though it could be none to any other European power. The country between the Bog and the Niester was known by the name of desert plains, and therefore of no value. But although the country was barren, it afforded shelter to some hordes of Tartars who plundered the dominions of the empress,

empire, and she therefore wanted Oczakow as a place of defence for her own territory. He next mentioned the importance of our trade with Russia, and observed that lord Chatham had refused, when pressed by the king of Prussia, to send a fleet into the Baltic, for fear of interrupting that commerce. He did not wish to alarm the country with respect to its resources; but he was sure that every additional burthen, in its present situation, must be severely felt. Mr. Grey concluded his remarks with proposing the following resolutions; which we insert at large, as they exhibit the substance of the arguments of opposition on the Russian armament in a peculiarly clear and condensed state:

I. "That it is at all times, and particularly under the present circumstances, the interest of this country to preserve peace."

II. "That it is neither reasonable or just to take up arms for the purpose of dictating terms of peace between two nations engaged in hostilities, without any reference either to the cause of the disputes, or the circumstances of the war."

III. "That the refusal of an offer of mediation is no just cause of war."

IV. "That during the progress of the war between Russia and the Porte, and since the taking of Oczakow, this house has received repeated assurances from the throne, that *the situation of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace.*"

V. "That, convinced of the truth of the assurances which we have received from the throne, this house has hitherto considered

"the interests of Great Britain as not likely to be affected by the progress of the Russian arms on the borders of the Black Sea."

VI. "That we are not bound by any treaty to furnish assistance to any of our allies, except in the case of an attack upon them."

VII. "That none of the possessions of this country, or any of its allies, appear to be threatened with an hostile attack from any foreign nation."

VIII. "That the expence of an armament must be burthen-some to the country, and is, under the present circumstances, as far as this house is informed, highly inexpedient and unnecessary."

The resolutions of Mr. Grey were opposed by lord Belgrave, Mr. Pybus, Mr. Ryder, Mr. J. T. Stanley, sir William Young, and Mr. Dundas; and supported by major Maitland, lord North, Mr. Powys, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Sheridan. On the side of the ministry a degree of confidence was claimed, not on vague or indefinite ground, but on the unequivocal and sure one of their former merits. Peace, it was said, was certainly preferable to war; but even war was preferable to dishonourable tranquillity. Oczakow was represented as a place of little importance; but it should be remembered that it was the key of Constantinople, and thence led to the acquisition of the lower Egypt and Alexandria, &c. It was acknowledged that we were not bound by treaty to assist Prussia on the present occasion, and that it would be even imprudent in this country to promote the designs of the court of Berlin in any plan of national aggrandisement or conquest. But though

though our interference might not be expressly called for by treaty, it might be essentially necessary to the welfare of Europe, and our own safety : such was the case with respect to Holland, where we were under no federal necessity of becoming parties ; but the balance of power required that that country should be prevented from falling under the direction of France. Setting aside every idea of the intrinsic importance of the Turkish empire, the unprecedented aggrandisement of Russia was a most alarming circumstance. If she were suffered to realize her obvious schemes of conquest and dominion, she would certainly hereafter do us more harm than her friendship could do us good. Her ambition extended to the annihilation of all the powers of the north, of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland ; with the latter of which our interests were materially connected. The hemp which we received through Russia, was chiefly the growth of Poland ; and if it could not be exported through Riga, there were other ports to which our merchantmen could have access—viz. Memel, Dantzick, &c. But if the empress was suffered to proceed in her scheme of universal empire in the north, she would have it effectually in her power to withhold our naval supplies whenever she might think proper. Circumstanced as she was at present, it was urged, a war would be less disadvantageous in a commercial view to us than to her. The balance of trade in favour of Russia was stated to be 1,500,000*l*. The iniquitous transactions of the court of Petersburg, in attempting to unite the powers of the Baltic against us in the time of our distress, in wresting the Crimea from the Porte, and above all, in dis-

membering the unhappy kingdom of Poland, were stated in glowing colours. Our trade with Turkey was noticed as being far from contemptible, as it was a rising trade ; and, in the last year, the exports amounted to 800,000*l*.

In addition to the former arguments of opposition, it was now contended that ministers had professed that the late armament was to ensure *permanent* tranquillity to the country. It was further said, that if even the interests of an ally were concerned, that was no reason why we should not attend a little to our own. This was a favourable opportunity for reducing our establishment, and turning our attention to the cultivation of peace. The aggrandisement of Russia was acknowledged to be a formidable circumstance to this country ; but how could it be proved that Oczakow in the hands of the czarina could hurt either the interests of Prussia or this country ? It was even suggested that Oczakow was held out to the world as the *pretence* for this armament, when in fact its object was the aggrandisement of the king of Prussia ; and that the acquisition of Thorn and Dantzick, which were guaranteed to Poland by us, was the object with that ambitious monarch.

Mr. Sheridan in particular, in a happy vein of irony, ridiculed the silence of ministry, the doctrine of implicit confidence, the devotion of our court to the views of Prussia, and particularly the delusions of the minister with respect to the finances. He asked whether the right honourable gentleman recollected the very different prospects to which we had been directed to turn our eyes in this year ? Did he recollect that this was the promised millennium ? that halcyon year,

in which we were not only to have an income equal to our expenditure, but a clear million a year surplus to pay towards the diminution of the national debt, and a permanent peace establishment! Mr. Sheridan contrasted this with the actual state of the moment, the immediate prospect of another war, and the certainty of additional taxes. In speaking of our conduct respecting Holland in 1787, on which praise had been lavished from every quarter, he declared that, if the question were put to him, whether, as a single measure, he rejoiced at it? he should without hesitation answer that he did not; because he never could rejoice at seeing the stock of liberty diminished; and by our interference, that noble republic was again reduced to the miserable state of vassalage under which she had so long groaned. He admitted, however, that the probability which then existed of that country becoming a province of France, excused an interference which would have been otherwise inexcusable. Mr. Sheridan concluded with condemning, in pointed terms, the system of our treaty with Prussia. It was a system, he said, of ambition, of vain-glory, and of intrigue; and fastened upon us a concern (above all others most pernicious) with the Germanic league.

Mr. Grey's resolutions were negatived by a majority of 80.

The question was agitated a third time on the 15th of April, on two motions being made by Mr. Baker; the first expressing it as the duty of the house, before they proceed to lay additional burthens on their constituents, to enquire into the justice and necessity of the objects; the second stating, that no information had been given to the house on the present occasion. After so full an

investigation, however, as the subject had previously undergone, it is obvious that scarcely any thing new could be advanced; it is therefore sufficient to say that Mr. Baker's motions were both negatived by a majority of 92.

The last time in which, during the session, this question was agitated in the commons, was on the 25th of May, when an address to his majesty was moved by Mr. T. Grenville, in a very able speech, which, after having treated the subject so largely, it is unnecessary to report. On two or three constitutional points, however, Mr. Grenville was peculiarly clear and pointed. He said, no man was more strenuously disposed to maintain the royal prerogatives than he always was—The right of making war and peace was one of these prerogatives—As however it was, perhaps, above all others, the most dangerous to exercise, it was precisely that prerogative which, even at the most despotic periods of our history, was most meddled with; and the reason was plain, because the means of making war was never to be obtained but by the consent of the commons. Agreeably to this sentiment, he pointed out several instances, one so early as the reign of Henry III. when the parliament refused to pay his sister's portion, because that alliance was made without their advice. In the reign of Edward III. that prince was obliged to call sixteen parliaments, for the direct purpose of submitting his treaties of war and peace, &c. to their advice. Similar precedents he quoted from almost all the succeeding reigns.

Another circumstance, against which Mr. Grenville entered a very forcible protest, was *general votes of credit*. If a precise sum had been voted, he observed, the house would have

have been better enabled to judge whether that sum was such as they could have justified themselves to their constituents in voting. The expence, which they had pledged themselves to support might be either very great or very little. He remarked, that it was true that a general vote of credit passed in March 1717; but in April it became the subject of a very warm and important debate—it being held unparliamentary to grant any supply before some estimate was laid before the house—and the question was only carried by a majority of 153 to 149. In 1734 this bad practice is mentioned with great blame and reproach by the very able author of *Precedents of Parliament*. In the year 1739, and afterwards in 1757, a better practice took place, and has obtained ever since, confining the credit to a precise and specific sum.

Mr. Grenville mentioned the report of the king of Prussia's designs upon Dantzick and Thorn; a cession which we could not countenance without a manifest breach of several sacred and important treaties.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Grenville, allowed that the house had an undoubted right to interpose with its advice to the crown; but observed, that was not the question at present, but whether it was expedient or politic to make use of that right while an important negotiation was still pending.

Mr. Pitt denied utterly the imputation of a design in ministry to procure any acquisition to Prussia by this armament; and with respect to the vote of credit, he attempted to shew, that it put it less in the power of ministry to abuse the confidence of parliament, than if it had been a vote of credit for a million, the usual vote on these occasions. Had that been the vote, ministers would

have had the million, besides all that could be spared out of the supply of ways and means, at their command; whereas, from the nature of the vote which they had passed, they had now nothing more than what could be spared from the supply of ways and means.

The house divided on Mr. Grenville's proposed address, ayes 114; noes 208.

The question concerning the policy and expediency of the armament against Russia was agitated several times in the house of lords, and in several forms. The first debate was on the motion for an address in reply to his majesty's message on the 29th of March; but the arguments are so completely anticipated in our account of what passed in the commons, that it would answer no purpose to detail them.

On the first of April the subject was again brought before the house, by a motion of earl Fitzwilliam, the substance of which was, to assert to the public that we were bound by no article of the Prussian treaty to take any part in the war between Russia and the Porte. In this debate much diplomatic knowledge was displayed by lord Stormont, the duke of Leeds, and others. It was contended on the one hand, that if the Prussian treaty was to be considered as either the remote or the immediate cause of the present armament, it was to all intents and purposes an *offensive* treaty. The treaty itself was severely censured, as calculated only to serve the ambitious purposes of that insatiable court, and to answer no good end to Great Britain. On the other hand it was alleged, that the Prussian treaty was entirely out of the question on this occasion; that it was altogether a question of expediency; that the extension of the Russian power

power threatened to be fatal to Poland and the northern states, and was formidable to all Europe. Lord Fitzwilliam's motion was negatived by a considerable majority.

It was not till the 9th of May that the topic was renewed, when the state of the negotiation appeared to warrant opposition in bringing forward a motion grounded on the importance of the Russian trade. In opposition to their arguments on the occasion, however, it was stated by lord Grenville, "that the trade was infinitely more advantageous to Russia than to us; and if British commerce had been carried to any extent in Russia, it was not on account of any exclusive privileges we possessed, but for this reason—because the Russian consumers found themselves better supplied from Great Britain than from any other market; and, on the other hand, the Russian merchant found a better market for his commodities in Great Britain than elsewhere."

Lord Rawdon observed, that on a former day it had been stated, that Great Britain was under no specific engagement to the king of Prussia to enter on this war, but that expediency had dictated the measure. If, instead of that ground which had been stated by his majesty's ministers, they had stated, that a *secret treaty* had been entered into with Prussia, he should have commended them for their present conduct in standing to their engagements.

The marquis of Lansdowne corroborated much of what had fallen from lord Rawdon, and remarked, that it had been the policy of former times to try at all hazards to keep Dantzick out of the hands of Prussia; and we were now endeavouring to put Prussia in possession of that place, and thereby render

our trade with Poland entirely dependent on the will of the king of Prussia.

On the other hand it was contended by lord Mulgrave and others, "That it was a well-known fact that Russia, ever since she had emerged from barbarism, about 200 years ago, had been pursuing one regular scheme of ambition to extend her conquests far and wide."—The motion was negatived by 96 against 29.

A feeble attempt was made in the house of lords, towards the close of the session, to prevent the prorogation of parliament till the Russian dispute should be terminated; but it was negatived without a division. In a former chapter we have briefly stated in what manner and upon what terms the peace was concluded between Russia and the Porte. As the war was certainly unpopular in England, it is probable that our ministry thought it prudent to abate of their demands. As a concession to popular opinion, every friend to liberty will rejoice in the circumstance; but the politician, who looks deep into the designs of courts, and the probable cause of events, will hesitate before he absolutely condemns administration for their interference on that occasion.

Disapproving, as we unreservedly do, of the *Prussian* alliance, we cannot help thinking that every statesman who wishes well to the peace, prosperity, and liberties of Europe will look with a jealous eye on the proceedings of Russia. The rage for universal dominion is a rage which will in general only possess the mind of a barbarian; but the evidence of history assures us that it is as natural to man in a certain state of society, as it is contrary to his feelings in a state of high cultivation and luxurious enjoyment. Europe

Europe has more than once been overwhelmed by hordes of savages from the frozen regions of the north; nor is it entirely visionary to say, that it is at least within the bounds of possibility, that, while the civilized states of Europe may be internally agitated by the difficult process of meliorating and correcting their forms of government, they may fall a prey to a savage despot, whose resources are inexhaustible, and whose ambition, avarice and cruelty are relentless. But should nothing like this be the case; should there be no reason to apprehend the forcible subversion of the free and civilized states of Europe; it is a matter of some moment that a power, with a temper and disposition such as we have described, should be able, on any occasional caprice, to plunge all Europe into the calamities of war. The arrangements too which such a power may establish with respect to other nations, will probably on some occasion be found materially to affect the commerce and the other external interests of this country. If therefore, in conjunction with such a force as that of Prussia, Great Britain had expended a few millions in diminishing the enormous power of that for-

midable empire, the treasure would perhaps have been less fruitlessly expended than in most of the wars in which this nation has lately engaged.

As, in the course of the preceding session, a considerable difference of opinion had existed relative to the supposed state of the national finances, the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 8th of April, moved for the appointment of a select committee to enquire into the state of the public income and expenditure. To this he added, that the number of the said committee be nine, and that they be chosen by ballot. On the Monday following the committee was chosen; and, with a great degree of diligence and attention, they produced a very accurate report sufficiently early in the session to meet the opening of the minister's budget on the 18th of May.

In stating the articles of expenditure, and of ways and means for the current year, Mr. Pitt desired to keep them entirely separate from the expenses of the armament in the dispute with Spain, which had been already provided for. This being the case, the other annual expenses of the nation stood as follows:

|                                 |           |              |
|---------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Navy                            | - - - - - | £. 2,131,000 |
| Army                            | - - - - - | 1,853,000    |
| Ordnance                        | - - - - - | 443,000      |
| Deficiency of land and malt tax | - - - - - | 400,000      |
| Deficiency of grants            | - - - - - | 207,000      |
| Miscellaneous services          | - - - - - | 694,000      |
| Sum total of the supplies       | - - - - - | £. 5,728,000 |

The ways and means for raising that supply were, as follows:

|                      |           |              |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Land and malt        | - - - - - | £. 2,750,000 |
| Surplus of last year | - - - - - | 303,221      |
| Lottery              | - - - - - | 306,250      |

Surplus of the permanent taxes, deducting the interest of the public debt and the civil list

2,110,000  
Carried over 5,469,471  
Out-

|                                                                                 |              |                    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
|                                                                                 | Brought over | 5,469,471          |
| Outstanding balance of accounts                                                 |              | 154,000            |
| Probable increase of receipts on tobacco, land-tax, arrears, hemp duty, &c.     |              | 120,000            |
|                                                                                 |              | <hr/>              |
| From which deduct $\frac{1}{2}$ of a year's annuity due to the duke of Clarence |              | 5,743,471<br>9,009 |
|                                                                                 |              | <hr/>              |
| Total of ways and means                                                         |              | 5,734,471          |

Mr. Pitt declined going into a general discussion of the state of the finances, since it had been so ably and accurately stated in the report of the select committee, which, he said, he hoped every gentleman would attentively examine; and he flattered himself that no one could examine it, without receiving a great degree of satisfaction.

Mr. Sheridan intimated, that it was his intention to name the first vacant day for the discussion of the report of the committee; and therefore should not enter into a detail of his objections at present. There were, he said, certain omissions on both sides of the account; but on the whole he would then barely remark, that the report coincided with every word he had ever troubled the house with upon that subject.

In pursuance of this conversation, on the 23d of May Mr. Sheridan gave notice, that on Tuesday the 31st he should bring forward some resolutions on the report of the committee of finance, and that the manner in which he should do it was, by moving for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take the same into consideration. It was, however, Friday the 3d of June before Mr. Sheridan was able to come forward with his resolutions, which he prefaced with a speech of some length. He complained in general terms of the little attention which the house seem-

ed to pay to objects of finance, as revenue bills, he remarked; were almost considered as out of the cognizance of the house of commons, and to be left entirely to the lords of the treasury. He had never been able to get even one tax-bill published. He remarked it as a subject worthy of attention, that a committee should be appointed in 1791 to review the report of 1786; and that this committee should report a state of articles of revenue and expenditure, so different from that of the committee of 1786. The committee of 1786 confidently asserted, that 14,400,000*l.* was perfectly sufficient for a permanent peace establishment; whereas in 1791 they had not commenced their peace establishment, and were totally and entirely without any prospect of commencing it. The committee of 1791 had given a new estimate, adding the sum of half a million to the permanent establishment. It was surprising, he said, that in proportion as the enemies of Great Britain vanished, the country had increased its taxes and expences! and in proportion as France had disappeared as a national enemy, the right honourable gentleman conceived it to be a necessary part of his duty to find out new enemies to replace the old, and to increase our establishments. Before Christmas he had taken the liberty of declaring, that the average of the receipt of the whole national income did not amount to the sum



from which it was stated in the report of the finance committee of 1786. He had been contradicted in this assertion, though the report of the committee did distinctly bear him out in it. Mr. Sheridan next proceeded to compare the report of 1786 with the report of 1791, in order to shew that the expenditure exceeded the revenue. He said, so long as they raised money by a lottery, he could never believe the country to be in a flourishing state.

Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving the following 40 resolutions, the object of which was to prove, that the permanent addition of 434,000*l.* to the peace establishment, as stated by the finance committee, ought not to receive the countenance of the house.—That by the report of the committee our annual income exceeded our expenditure by only 61,108*l.*; a balance wholly inadequate to provide for those extraordinary expenses which were actually foreseen and admitted by the committee;—and that with respect to the sum appropriated to the gradual liquidation of the national debt, the fact was, that while an annuity of 1,110,000*l.* had been redeemed by the commissioners in behalf of the public, in the form of repurchasing the debt, an annuity of four times that amount was entailed on the public by the increased establishment.

“ I. Resolved, That it appears that the select committee of 1786 proceeded upon a supposition that the annual and permanent taxes then subsisting, were likely to produce annually the sum of 15,397,471*l.*”

“ II. Resolved, That the select committee of 1786 state, that a farther considerable increase in the then subsisting taxes beyond their estimate might be expected, ‘ if the due col-

lection thereof could be secured by measures adequate to the purpose,’ and ‘ such as would probably afford an ample provision for any deficiencies which might, at any time, be found in certain extraordinary resources,’ before enumerated by the said select committee.

“ III. Resolved, That it appears by the report of the select committee of 1791, that the produce of the said taxes from the 5th of January 1786 to the 5th of January 1787, amounted only to the sum of 14,405,702*l.* being 991,769*l.* less in each year than the sum estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes upon an average of two years (viz. 1786 and 1787) amounted only to 14,864,834*l.* being 532,637*l.* less in each year than the sum estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes upon an average of three years (viz. 1786, 1787, and 1788) amounted only to 15,037,263*l.* being 360,208*l.* less in each year than the committee estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes upon an average of four years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789) amounted only to 15,222,708*l.* being 174,763*l.* less in each year than the committee estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes upon an average of five years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790) has amounted to 15,448,479*l.* being and exceeding 51,008*l.* beyond the estimate of the said select committee.

“ IV. Resolved, That in this calculation the select committee of 1791 have not adverted to all the additional impositions which ought to have been deducted from their estimate.

“ V. Resolved, That the total net produce of the public income, upon an average of the last five years

years, viz. from 6th of January 1786 to 5th of January 1791 (both inclusive), has amounted annually to the sum of 15,618,775l.

"VI. Resolved, That the average expenditure during the same period, including the sums paid to the American loyalists, and on account of other temporary miscellaneous services, and the sums issued to the commissioners for discharging the national debt, and adding the estimated expence of the militia for the years 1789 and 1790; but exclusive of the expence of the armament of 1790, and of any addition to the navy debt since 1786, has amounted annually to the sum of 16,855,109l.

"VII. Resolved, That the average excess of expenditure, beyond the average income, during the above period, has amounted annually to 1,236,334l.

"VIII. Resolved, That the total produce of the public income, upon an average of the last three years, viz. from 6th January 1788 to 5th January 1791 (both inclusive), has amounted annually to the sum of 16,030,286l.

"IX. Resolved, That the average expenditure, during the same period, including the sums paid to the American loyalists, and on account of other temporary miscellaneous services, and the sums issued to the commissioners for discharging the national debt, and adding the estimated expence of the militia for the years 1789 and 1790; but exclusive of the expence of the armament in 1790, and of any addition to the navy debt since 1786, has amounted annually to the sum of 16,978,073l.

"X. Resolved, That the average excess of expenditure, beyond the average income during the above period, has amounted annually to 947,787l.

"XI. Resolved, That the expence of the armament in the year 1790, separately provided for, and not included in the above account, has amounted to a sum exceeding 3,000,000l.

"XII. Resolved, That it appears that the addition to the navy debt, since the 31st of December 1785, is estimated by the select committee at 457,950l. and that by an account delivered to the house since the report of the committee, this debt appears to have been farther increased.

"XIII. Resolved, That the total amount of the exceeding expenditure in the five years before stated, exclusive of this addition to the navy debt, and of the expence of the armament in 1790, amounts to the sum of 6,181,670l.

"XIV. Resolved, That the extraordinary resources, by which this deficiency has been supplied during the above period, have amounted to the sum of 6,191,105l. and have arisen from the following articles, viz.

|                                                                    |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| From repaid duties                                                 | £.        |
| paid in by the East India company                                  | 322,500   |
| From arrears of land-tax granted prior to 1786                     | 151,467   |
| Ditto malt                                                         | 14,895    |
| From sums remaining in the exchequer on the 5th of January 1786    | 1,172,119 |
| From the imprest moneys and moneys repaid                          | 820,165   |
| From money repaid on account of advance for foreign secret service | 34,000    |
| From sale of French prizes                                         | 3,000     |
| From army savings, and Chelsea pensioners                          | 1,091,147 |
| From profit on the annual lottery                                  | 1,212,692 |
|                                                                    | Raised    |

|                       |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| Raised by way of ton- |             |
| tine — —              | 1,002,140   |
| Ditto, by granting    |             |
| short annuities —     | 187,000     |
|                       | <hr/>       |
|                       | £.6,191,105 |

" XV. Resolved, That from the nature of the articles which have composed these extraordinary aids, no similar assistance can be expected in future, excepting from the article of a lottery, should the legislature continue to think it right to avail itself of that expedient.

" XVI. Resolved, That the select committee appointed in 1786, to examine and state the accounts relating to the public income and expenditure, and to report what might be expected to be the annual amount of the said income and expenditure in future, stated the expected future expenditure upon a permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid by the commissioners, at the sum of 15,478,181l.

" XVII. Resolved, That the select committee appointed in the present year 1791, to examine into the amount of the public income and expenditure during the last five years, and also to report to the house what may be expected to be the annual amount in future, stated the expected expenditure upon a permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid to the commissioners, at the sum of 15,969,178l. a sum exceeding the permanent peace establishment, as stated by the committee of 1786, by 490,997l.

" XVIII. Resolved, That in the report of the select committee in 1786, the accounts are stated to have been prepared on a calculation of a permanent peace establishment

taking place towards the end of the year 1790.

" XIX. Resolved, That the select committee of 1791 state no time when their estimate of a permanent peace establishment may be expected to commence.

" XX. Resolved, That the expense of the present year, according to the services already voted, and exclusive of any extra expense for the present armament, will amount to the sum of 16,833,920l. or more, exceeding the permanent peace establishment of the select committee of 1786 by the sum of 1,355,739l. and the enlarged estimate of the committee of 1791 by the sum of 864,742l.

" XXI. Resolved, That the select committee of 1786 calculated the amount of the permanent peace establishment, under the five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, at 3,912,274l. viz.

|                            |           |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Navy — —                   | 1,800,000 |
| Army — —                   | 1,600,000 |
| Ordnance — —               | 348,000   |
| Militia — —                | 91,000    |
| Miscellaneous services — — | 74,274    |

---

£.3,913,274

" XXII. Resolved, That the select committee of 1791 calculate the amount of the permanent peace establishment, under the same five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, at 4,347,569l. viz.

|                            |           |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Navy — —                   | 2,000,000 |
| Army — —                   | 1,748,842 |
| Ordnance — —               | 375,000   |
| Militia — —                | 95,311    |
| Miscellaneous services — — | 128,416   |

---

£.4,347,569

exceeding

exceeding in these five articles the estimate of 1786 by the sum of 434,295*l*.

“XXIII. Resolved, That the select committee of 1791 do not appear to have thought it within their province, to enquire into, or state any ground or necessity for such increase.

“XXIV. Resolved, That the sums voted for the service of the present year, under the above heads, but including no provision for the present armament, are as follow;

|                                                                                                  |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
|                                                                                                  | <i>£</i> . |
| Navy — — —                                                                                       | 2,131,000  |
| Army — — —                                                                                       | 1,853,000  |
| Ordinance — —                                                                                    | 443,000    |
| Militia — — —                                                                                    | 95,311     |
| Miscellaneous services,<br>including sums to the<br>American loyalists and<br>other allowances — | 690,000    |

*£*. 5,212,311

exceeding the estimate of 1786, by the sum of 1,299,037*l*, and the estimate of 1791, by 864,742*l*. but deducting the sum of 306,000*l*. of the sum voted to the loyalists, as being to be defrayed by the profits of the lottery, then exceeding the estimate of 1786 by the sum of 993,037*l*. and the estimate of 1791 by the sum of 558,472*l*.

“XXV. Resolved, That the select committee, estimating upon an average of the three last years, and adverting to the additional week's receipt in 1790, have calculated the future probable annual income at the sum of 16,030,286*l*. exclusive of the profits on a lottery.

“XXVI. Resolved, That the receipt of each of the two last years appears to have considerably exceeded that sum.

“XXVII. Resolved, That in the receipt of the latter year, the great

increase appears to have arisen under the head of Excise, and that in the articles of spirits, and spirit licences alone, the exceeding in the receipt of the year 1790, over the receipt of the year 1786, amounts to the sum of 599,355*l*.

“XXIX. Resolved, That for these and other considerations, it appears to have been highly proper in the select committee to calculate upon an average of *three* years at least, the future expected income; at the same time this committee admits, that on a review of the whole of the accounts, the future income may reasonably be expected to amount to the sum estimated by the select committee.

“XXX. Resolved, That upon this estimate it appears, that our future income is calculated as likely to exceed our expenditure to the amount of 61,108*l*. per annum.

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| Income — —    | 16,030,286 |
| Expenditure — | 15,969,178 |

Balance *£*. 61,108

“XXXI. Resolved, That this balance is wholly inadequate to provide for those extraordinary expences which are actually foreseen and admitted by the select committee; for though the select committee state that they do not conceive that it falls within their province, to consider what other extraordinary expences not included in any estimate before them may occur in the course of years, yet they farther state, ‘that the only article of this nature which has been brought distinctly under their view, is the amount of the money remaining due upon the principal and interest of the American and East Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by instalments.’ And it farther appears, that this article, so distinctly

distinctly brought to the view of the select committee, is stated by them to have amounted, on the 10th of October 1790, to 1,546,062*l.* exclusive of the interest payable on such part of it as remains undischarged, and exclusive also of farther annual payments and pensions to American loyalists, amounting to 54,211*l.* per annum.

“XXXII. Resolved, That besides this article so stated by the committee, it appears from the ordinance estimate, inserted in their Appendix, that the estimate of the future annual expence of that office is ‘exclusive of such sums as are contained in the estimate of the board of land and sea officers, for additional works, for security of his majesty’s dock-yards, and of any other fortifications, or other new works to be carried on in the West Indies, North America, or elsewhere.’

“XXXIII. Resolved, That to meet these heavy articles of inevitable extra expence, or the expence attending the present armament, as for any future exceeding, under the head ‘of Miscellanies,’ beyond the sum estimated, the select committee refer us to no extra resource that can be relied on, but that of a lottery.

“XXXIV. Resolved, That admitting the future income to meet the estimated expenditure, or even so to increase, as with the aid of a lottery to satisfy the above certain extra demands in the course of the five years next ensuing, yet will the public income remain wholly unequal to afford the smallest aid to any new and unforeseen demand that may arise, either for any armament, or any other unforeseen contingency within that period, or to spare the smallest surplus towards the reduction of the unfunded debt, already

increased to a degree, and continued at an amount wholly unprecedented, in the time of peace, in the annals of this country.

“XXXV. Resolved, That the experience of the three last years, in the course of which the unexpected and heavy expence of two armaments has been incurred and satisfied, while a third remains to be provided for, would render it highly improvident in this committee, not to advert to the probability of similar events recurring.

“XXXVI. Resolved, that the sum stated by the select committee, to have been actually applied to the discharge of the public debt, amounts to 4,750,000*l.* from which it is admitted that there should be deducted the tontine million, the increase on the navy debt, and other articles of debt contracted, to the amount of 1,602,589*l.* leaving a balance of 3,147,411*l.*

“XXXVII. Resolved, That in the account of the debt contracted, no allowance is made for such part of the old navy debt as now bears interest, and which must be considered as additional debt, nor are the short annuities granted in 1789 admitted, although the instalment repaid, instead of being paid over to the commissioners for reducing the national debt, was applied to the services of last year.

“XXXVIII. Resolved, That the annual interest of the capital stock, stated to have been purchased by the commissioners for reducing the national debt up to the 1st of February 1791, amounts to the sum of 203,170*l.* from which is to be deducted the increased annual charge for the interest of the tontine loan, viz. 42,262*l.* leaving the sum in favour of the commissioners 160,908*l.* and if from this sum a farther reduction is made for the increase of interest

interest on the navy debt, stated since the report of the select committee to amount to 49,888*l.* that sum will be reduced to 111,020*l.*

"XXXIX. Resolved, That the permanent addition to the peace establishment, stated by the select committee of 1791, as to remain on the five articles before enumerated, amounts to 434,295*l.* So that while an annuity to the amount of 111,020*l.* has been redeemed by the commissioners in behalf of the public, in the form of re-purchasing debt, an annuity of four times that amount is proposed to be entailed on the nation, in the form of increased establishment.

"XL. Resolved, That upon a due consideration of all these circumstances and accounts, this committee feel it to be their indispensable duty to declare, that the great increase proposed to the permanent peace establishment in the report of the select committee of 1791, ought not to be considered as receiving countenance or approbation from the house of commons, until the causes of the same shall be fully explained, and the necessity of them made manifest."

Mr. Pitt professed himself willing to go into the detail of every part of the subject at any future day. In the mean time, he read some propositions to the committee, founded on the facts contained in the report, and stated according to the view of those who considered it as he did. The object of these, the reader will perceive, is to establish the point, that the annual revenue of the nation has exceeded the amount expected by the committee of 1786, that it was progressively increasing, and might be reasonably expected to amount to 16,030,000*l.* The propositions were as follow:

"I. That the average produce,

during the last five years, of the taxes imposed previous to the year 1786, has exceeded the amount expected by the committee appointed in the year 1786 to examine the public income and expenditure.

"II. That no complete account can yet be given of the produce of the land and malt taxes for the last five years.

"That the net produce of the land tax appears liable to no material variation from year to year, and may be stated at 1,972,000*l.* that the net produce of the malt-tax in the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, appears to have been upon an average 597,171*l.*

"III. That the total amount of the interest and charges of the public debt and of the sums issued for the reduction thereof, of the charges on the aggregate or consolidated fund, and of the sums granted for the supplies, during the last five years, except the sum of 207,000*l.* which remained to be provided for in the present year under the head of deficiency of grants, has been defrayed by the produce within the said five years of the permanent taxes, by the annual aids on land and malt, and by the sums arising from extraordinary resources, with the addition of a loan of one million raised by tontine, and of 187,000*l.* raised by short annuities.

"IV. That over and above the sums granted for the supplies, there appears to have been an increase of the navy debt within the said period, which is stated at 457,950*l.* and an arrear incurred in the ordnance, under the head of unprovided, to the amount of 61,909*l.* and that the deficiency of grants of the year 1790 exceeds that of the year 1785 by the sum of 80,590*l.*

"V. That during the said five years the sum of 5,424,592*l.* including

cluding 674,592*l.* arising from annuities expired or unclaimed, and from dividends or stock bought, has been applied to the reduction of the national debt, and that the annual interest on the stock bought, and the present amount of the annuities expired or unclaimed, appears to be 254,804*l.* in addition to the million annually charged on the consolidated fund.

"VI. That the amount of the future annual expenditure, according to the estimates laid before the committee appointed in the present session, together with the sum of one million to be issued annually towards the reduction of the national debt, is stated at 1,596,900*l.* which is exclusive of the sum of 12,000*l.* since charged on the consolidated fund, for the payment of an annuity to his royal highness the duke of Clarence.

"VII. That the future annual income may be expected to amount to 16,030,000*l.* estimating the land-tax at 1,972,000*l.* the malt duty at 586,000*l.* and the permanent taxes on the average of the last three years at 13,472,000*l.* that during the said years the revenue appears to have been progressively increasing, and amounted in the last year (exclusive of 193,000*l.* arising from the produce of a fifty-third-weekly payment) to the sum of 16,437,000*l.*"

On the Monday following, June 6, Mr. Sheridan rose for the purpose chiefly of controverting the first proposition of Mr. Pitt. The other resolutions, he observed, merely stated, that all the expenditure of the last five years had been defrayed either by the ordinary or extraordinary income, or by certain sums which had been borrowed, which no doubt was exactly the method by which the expenditure in all parts

of the world must be defrayed. Mr. Sheridan said, that the predictions of the committee of 1786 had completely failed. He thought it his duty to shew that the average of two, three, and four years had fallen greatly short of the sum estimated; and that the extraordinary resources of last year had been very great, and had enabled them to say, that on the average of the last five years the income did exceed the expenditure by about 51,000*l.*—There was another fact worthy of observation. The finance committee of 1786, with great confidence, had laid down a peace establishment to commence at the end of the year 1790; the committee of 1791 had added between 4 and 500,000*l.* to that peace establishment, without alleging a single reason for so great an increase. Mr. Sheridan declared, that if the committee would but give him his last resolution, he was ready to give up all the rest.

Mr. Pitt objected to the compromise proposed by Mr. Sheridan; for, so far from feeling any disposition to accede to the last resolution, he was extremely ready and desirous to discuss all the rest. In defence of his own resolutions, he observed that they proved one great point, viz. that all the expenditure of the nation within the last five years had been defrayed by the produce of the permanent taxes, the land and malt tax, &c. with the addition only of one million raised by tontine, and 187,000*l.* raised by short annuities. As to the proportion of the income and expenditure, the question simply was, whether in the course of the five years in question the revenue and expenditure had exceeded each other, and in what degree. With respect to the difference between the two committees concerning the peace establishment, he said, all that could

could be inferred was, that the committee of 1791 had seen several particulars of expence which had escaped that of 1786; nor was this to be wondered at, as the committee of 1786 was the first committee ever appointed in this country to ascertain the whole expences of the peace establishment.

The committee made no further progress in Mr. Sheridan's resolutions, than to pass the four first with amendments by the chancellor of the exchequer, and a fifth which Mr. Pitt himself proposed; and the session was brought to a conclusion before any further progress could be made in them.

The review of the finances of India was opened by Mr. Dundas on the 24th of May; and from the papers which he produced, it appeared that the actual revenues for the year 1789-90 were as follow:

|                                                       |              |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Bengal                                                | £. 5,620,656 |           |
| Madras                                                | 1,255,808    |           |
| Bombay                                                | 167,319      |           |
| <hr/>                                                 |              |           |
| Total revenues                                        |              | 7,043,783 |
| Actual charges.                                       |              |           |
| Bengal                                                | £. 3,120,149 |           |
| Madras                                                | 1,739,015    |           |
| Bombay                                                | 557,110      |           |
| <hr/>                                                 |              |           |
|                                                       |              | 5,416,274 |
|                                                       |              | <hr/>     |
|                                                       |              | 1,627,509 |
| Expences of Bencoolen<br>and Pinang                   | —            | 43,944    |
| <hr/>                                                 |              |           |
| Net revenues                                          | £. 1,583,565 |           |
| Add the amount of import<br>sales and of certificates | 263,940      |           |
| <hr/>                                                 |              |           |
|                                                       |              | 1,847,505 |
| Deduct interest on debt                               | 438,426      |           |
| <hr/>                                                 |              |           |
| Surplus revenue                                       | £. 1,409,079 |           |

By another paper it appeared that the increase of debt in India

for the year 1789-90 amounted to 775,502 l.

Mr. Dundas observed, that he had been accustomed on former occasions to enter into some considerations how far the general state of affairs in India was likely to be permanent. The committee could certainly not expect from him any discussion of that kind at present, because such an attempt during a depending war would be very idle and useless. Several gentlemen had attempted to make calculations with respect to the expences of the war: one gentleman had stated them at three millions, another at four, others at six, and even at twelve millions. He was not absurd enough to enter into a contest with these calculators: all wars were in their nature uncertain. For his own part, he saw nothing gloomy in the prospect, and he did not doubt but the day was nearer at hand, *when the resources of India would furnish assistance to this country, than when this country would be obliged to lend her aid and support to India.*

Mr. Fox remarked, that a system of evasion had characterised every sentence of the right honourable gentleman's speech that day, in no one part of which he had made a clear unequivocal declaration but in the conclusion. As to the expences of the war, though no person would presume to form a precise calculation, yet the right honourable gentleman could not be ignorant of the common news of the world, which stated, that in the estimation of those at Madras, the expence was six lacks of pagodas, or 250,000 l. sterling a month, which would be at the rate of three millions a year. As to the finances of India, Mr. Fox requested the committee to recollect, that the *India debt now amounts to sixteen millions sterling*, to which we have to add 800,000 l. in the estimate before



fore us. Mr. Fox said he would be happy to close with the right honourable gentleman, and to bargain with him to give up all the advantage and assistance which the most sanguine friends of the India company could expect it would produce to this country, provided it were well guaranteed that the East India company would never again require farther assistance from us.

An unsuccessful effort was made this session by sir Gilbert Elliot, to procure for the members of the church of Scotland an exemption from the *test act*. The general arguments employed in favour of the application were much the same as we stated in our preceding volume on Mr. Fox's motion for a repeal of that act; and it was added, that by the treaty of union the subjects of both countries were to have a free communication of right throughout the whole united empire. To this it was replied, That it was certainly known to the Scotch, previous to the treaty of union, that the test act existed, as appears by their own debates on the subject. This being the case, being fully aware of it, and voluntarily agreeing to it, any attempt to get rid of it at present was a kind of chicane which would never be countenanced in private conduct. The motion was rejected by a majority of 87.

A motion was also made on the 27th of May by Mr. Sheridan, "That the several petitions, &c. presented in the last session relative to the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland be referred to a committee." After some debate however, at the desire of Mr. Dundas, it was agreed that the matter of the petitions and other papers on that subject should be taken into consideration early in the succeeding session.

1791.

This busy session of parliament concluded on the 10th of June, as usual, by a speech from the throne; in which his majesty expressed his satisfaction at the circumstance, that a mode had been adopted for defraying the expences of last year without any permanent addition to the public burdens, and also at the provision which had been made for the government of Canada. He intimated his regret at not being able to acquaint them with the result of the negotiation for peace between Russia and the Porte, thanked the commons for the supplies, and prorogued the parliament to the 16th of August.

Soon after the rising of the parliament, the nation was disgraced by a series of outrages and violences, as unprovoked and wanton as have ever darkened the annals of a civilized people, and which, for the space of four days, spread terror and alarm through the large opulent town of Birmingham, and the adjacent country,

We have already had too much occasion to notice the difference of sentiment which prevailed among the higher orders of society in this country concerning the French revolution, and the heat and ill temper which that discussion appeared unnecessarily to provoke.—The same cause of discord was found to pervade the inferior classes, and considerable pains were taken by certain journalists to excite the passions and prejudices of the populace against the assertors of Gallic liberty. On the other hand, a considerable body of the whig party in Great Britain rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring nation, and flattered themselves that they saw in the establishment of the French constitution, not only the annihilation of despotism in that country, but the

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commencement of a new system of politics in Europe, the basis of which was peace, happiness, and mutual concord.

In most of the larger towns in Great Britain, associations were formed for the celebration of that event by anniversary dinners on the 14th of July: but the opposite party were not indifferent spectators of these proceedings.—The populace were inflamed by the most injurious insinuations conveyed in newspapers and pamphlets: the friends of the French revolution were (certainly falsely as to the majority) stigmatized as determined republicans; and the act of joining in a convivial meeting on the odious 14th of July was represented as an attempt to overturn the British constitution in church and state.

Notwithstanding the pains which had been taken to depreciate these associations, the meeting in London consisted of not less than 1,500 respectable gentlemen, many of them literary characters of high reputation.—As, however, rumours had been spread to the disadvantage of the meeting, and the populace appeared to collect in a tumultuous manner round the Crown and Anchor tavern, where the meeting was held, the company dispersed at an early hour.

At Birmingham the causes of discord were more numerous than even in London. According to Dr. Priestley's statement, a violent animosity had subsisted for years between the high church party and the dissenters of that place; the cause of which the doctor candidly attributes to the circumstance of the latter being possessed of all the principal civil power, and constantly nominating to the civil offices. The religious controversies which took

place between Dr. Priestley and some of the clergy of Birmingham greatly contributed to increase this animosity; and on the application for the repeal of the test act some serious disturbances were even apprehended.

In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the ignorant part of the inhabitants should confound the cause of the French revolution with that of the dissenters, especially since the majority of that persuasion have from the revolution in 1688 been firmly attached to the whig system, and since Dr. Priestley, whom the populace considered as at the head of the dissenters there, had distinguished himself by opposing the celebrated pamphlet of Mr. Burke. From the publication indeed of the doctor's pamphlet on that subject, it is said that the profane habit of drinking "damnation and confusion to the presbyterians," at the convivial entertainments in the town was visibly increased.

A festive meeting in commemoration of the French revolution was projected at Birmingham on Thursday the 14th of July; and on the preceding Monday six copies of a most inflammatory and seditious handbill, proposing the French revolution as a model to the English, and exciting them to rebellion, were left by some person unknown in a public house. As the contents of this handbill were pretty generally circulated, they caused some ferment in the town: the magistrates thought it proper to offer a reward of 100 guineas for discovering the author, printer or publisher of the obnoxious paper; and the friends of the meeting intended for the 14th, thought it necessary at the same time to publish an advertisement explicitly denying the sentiments and doctrines of the seditious handbill, and disavowing

showing all connexion with its author or publishers.

The views and intentions of the meeting having, however, been much misrepresented, the majority of the gentlemen who projected it thought it advisable to relinquish the scheme; accordingly notice was given to that effect; but at the instance of Mr. Ruffel, as it is said, the intention was revived, and the company met at the appointed time to the number of between eighty and ninety. The ingenious Mr. Keir, well known for his great attainments in chemistry and other branches of philosophy, and a member of the established church, was placed in the chair.

The gentlemen had scarcely met before the house was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd, who testified their disapprobation by hisses and groans, and by the shout of "church and king," which became the watch word on this occasion. At five o'clock the company dispersed; and soon afterwards the windows in the front of the hotel were demolished, notwithstanding the appearance and interference of the magistrates. The mob insisted further on searching the house; and four or five of their own body entered and examined the apartments, but found none of the guests remaining.

Dr. Priestley did not attend the festival, but dined at home at Fair-hill with a friend from London. After supper they were alarmed with the intelligence that the mob were assembled at the new dissenting meeting-house (Dr. Priestley's), and were threatening both the doctor and his house. The rioters soon set the meeting on fire, and nothing remained that could be consumed.

The old meeting-house shared al-

most a similar fate; but it was considered, from its situation, as dangerous to be set on fire: it was therefore completely emptied of its pulpit, pews, &c. which were burned in the adjoining burying-ground, and the building itself nearly levelled to the ground.

About half past nine o'clock at night, Mr. Ryland, one of Dr. Priestley's congregation, came with a chaise to Fair-hill, and informed the family that they must lose no time in effecting their escape. With nothing more than the clothes which they had on, the doctor and his family got into the chaise, and proceeded a mile further to Mr. Ruffel's; but here they were informed that the mob had nearly destroyed Dr. Priestley's house, and would immediately proceed to that in which they then were. They therefore got into the chaise a second time, and drove to Mr. Hawke's, half a mile further from the town. From this station they could distinctly hear every shout of the mob, and the blows of the instruments which were employed to break down the doors. The whole of the doctor's library, his valuable philosophical apparatus, his manuscripts and papers, were destroyed by the mob. It has been said indeed, but we trust without foundation, that some of the latter were rescued from the rioters, and unhappily fell into the hands of persons who had not a sufficient sense of honour to induce them to restore them. Dr. Priestley, before he left the house, had the precaution to put out the fires; the mob therefore were not able to burn the shell of the house; they attempted in vain to draw fire enough from his great electrical machine, and it is asserted that they even offered two guineas for a lighted candle.

The day broke on the succeeding morning, only to discover the ruins which this infatuated multitude had made, and to enable them to continue their depredations. Early in the morning they were met by a party of gentlemen, who persuaded them to follow them into the Bull-ring, and prevailed on several of them to desist, and even assist in their endeavours to preserve tranquillity. About noon, however, a fresh party demolished the elegant mansion of Mr. Ryland, formerly Mr. Baskerville's, at Easy-hill.—Here, as they found a profusion of liquor, a dreadful scene of intoxication ensued; and several of the wretched rioters perished in the cellars by suffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six terribly bruised were dug out of the ruins, and committed to the hospital; ten dead bodies were found; and one man remained alive in one of the vaults till the Monday following, when he worked his way out with but little injury.

It was in vain that the magistrates swore in an additional number of constables; a severe conflict ensued between them and the mob; several persons were severely wounded, and the civil power at length was forced to retire.

Bordesley-hall, the country residence of John Taylor, Esq. an eminent banker, was soon after assailed. The greater part of the furniture was plundered and carried away, and the house and out-offices set on fire. Every effort was made by captain Carver to save this elegant mansion.—Some of the plate and valuables were ransomed; but on captain Carver's offering them his purse with 100 guineas to save the house, they exclaimed with one voice, "No bribery!" and it was with difficulty

he escaped with his life. Several farm-houses also belonging to Mr. Taylor were burned.

On the night of Friday, the house of Mr. Hutton (the ingenious historian of Birmingham) was completely stripped. His books and papers were all destroyed. Fire was several times brought by women; but some of the mob, apprehensive of a general conflagration in the town, had the virtue to prevent its being applied. From this place they proceeded to Mr. Hutton's country-house at Washwood-heath, which they presently reduced to ashes.

On the Saturday morning they made an attack on Mr. G. Humphrey's elegant house at Sparkbrook. They were at first repulsed, and one man was killed. In a second attack they were more successful, and stripped the house of the whole of its furniture.

Mr. Ruffel's house at Showell-green was entirely consumed, as well as Mosely-hill, the residence of lady dowager Carhampton, but the property of Mr. Taylor; also Mr. Harwood's, and that of Mr. Hobson, a dissenting minister. Notice was given to lady Carhampton on the preceding day to remove her effects, as no part of their vengeance was directed against her, with which notice she prudently complied. The house of Mr. T. Hawkes of Mosely-wake-green was on the same day stripped entirely of the furniture.

The following morning the rioters proceeded to Kingswood, seven miles distant. In their way they committed several outrages, and extorted money and liquor from different persons. At Kingswood they burned the dissenting meeting-house, and the house of the minister; and a little after the house, &c. of Mr. Cox, farmer,

farmer, at Woodstock, and threatened to extirpate the dissenters from the whole country. Their authority and power were, however, not destined to be of long duration. The town of Birmingham was relieved from their depredations on the Sunday night, by the arrival of three troops of the fifteenth of light dragoons. The town was illuminated, and all was acclamation and joy; and the following morning they were reinforced by three troops of the eleventh regiment of dragoons, under colonel de Lancey. During this time the mob was parading about the country, but its movements were too rapid and uncertain to direct any successful attack against it. On the Tuesday some reports were received of parties of rioters being seen near Hagley, Halesowen, &c. and towards evening certain intelligence was received that they were attacking Mr. Male's house at Belle-vue. A party of light dragoons was immediately dispatched in pursuit of them; but their numbers having been greatly diminished by desertion and other different causes, the rioters were overpowered by the people before the arrival of the soldiers, and ten of them confined at Halesowen.

The Wednesday was employed by the light horse in scouring the country for ten miles round Birmingham, and on the evening of that day public tranquillity appeared to be completely restored. In the course of these transactions one remarkable circumstance was observed, which still remains to be accounted for; and this was, that in the heat of the riots there were certain persons among the mob, conspicuous equally for their appearance and their activity, who directed the rioters, and were sometimes termed their leaders: these persons

evidently were not of the lowest class; but what is most singular is, that they were not known to a single person in Birmingham or its neighbourhood. The proper Birmingham mob were often persuaded to desist from their attempts, till they were joined by these men, who both instigated them to proceed, and directed them in the shortest and most effectual manner.

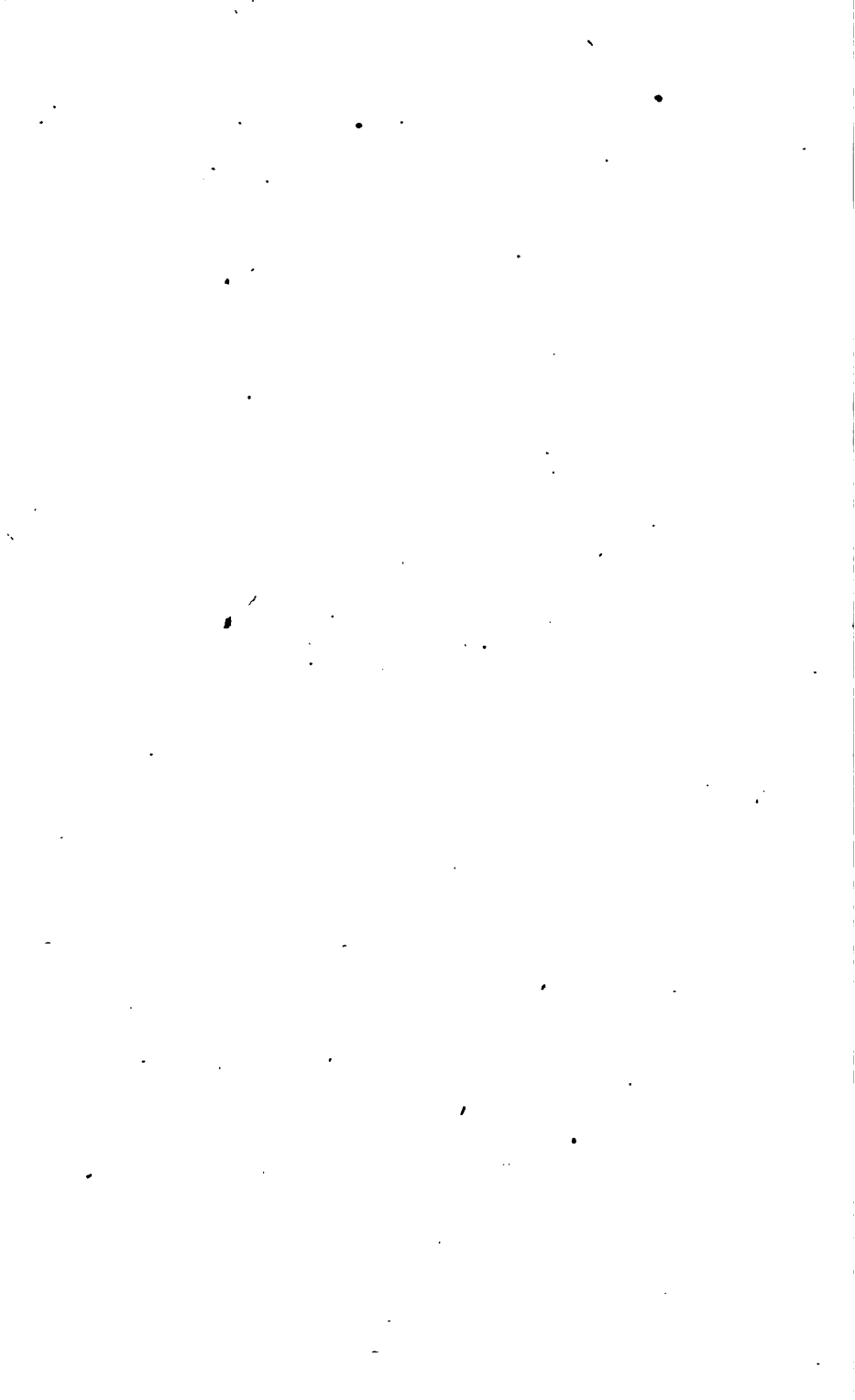
Of the unfortunate and insatuated prisoners who were taken in the act of rioting, five were tried at Worcester, and one was found guilty and executed. At Warwick twelve were tried, but only four received sentence of death, viz. Francis Field, for setting fire to Mr. Taylor's house; John Green and Bartholomew Fisher, for demolishing the house of Dr. Priestley; and William Hands, for destroying the house of John Ryland, Esq. Upon an application from the magistrates, and some other respectable inhabitants, Fisher was afterwards relieved.

For the honour of our country, we indulge the earnest hope that the disgraceful scenes which were acted at Birmingham in 1791 will never be revived; but that while the continent of Europe is unhappily drenched in human blood, this island will remain as conspicuous for its harmony, order, and tranquillity, as for its constitutional freedom and national prosperity. Dreadful indeed are the prospects which the blind rage of democracy on the one hand, and the insatiable ambition of tyrants on the other, open to our view. In consequence of this state of things, we cannot help foreseeing, we cannot help regretting, that our task for the succeeding year, instead of the pleasing employment of commenting upon the progress of civilization, and the successive improvements

ments which the enjoyment of peace naturally suggests, will probably be only to narrate the crimes and register the calamities of mankind. Of such a conflict it would be useless further to anticipate the horrors; yet the friend of rational liberty cannot look forward to the scene without the distressful apprehension,

that all that is excellent in human nature, all that is estimable in society, may possibly be involved in the common ruin; and indeed whatever may be the final result, the effusion of blood and the destruction of happiness which must necessarily ensue, are evils which cannot be sufficiently deplored.







P R I N C I P A L  
O C C U R R E N C E S

In the Year 1791.

1791.

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## PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1791.

### JANUARY.

1. **B**ETWEEN ten and eleven on Tuesday night, the 28th ult. Mr. Burgess, farmer, at Bawburgh, near Norwich, was alarmed by the cry of 'Fire!' On going to his door he had the melancholy prospect of his hay-ricks, stables, cow-house, pigstye, cartshed, and barns, all on fire at the same time, and the flames raging with such rapidity as excluded all hopes of saving any part of his property. The hay and buildings were all consumed, with a number of calves, pigs, and poultry, a cart, waggon, and six very capital horses, valued at 30*l*. each. The distance of the outbuildings from each other, and they being all on fire at the same time, made it clear that the premises had been maliciously set on fire. Mary Adams, who had lived with Mr. Burgess many years, but whom about three weeks previous to this unfortunate affair, he had discharged, having been heard often to declare at her lodgings in Norwich, that she would be revenged on Mr. Burgess the first opportunity, was suspected of being the incendiary. Several persons,

therefore, went in pursuit of her, and overtook her in company with another woman, before she reached Norwich. They were both taken before John Paterfon and Robert Harvey, esqrs. when it appeared, that the companion was induced to go to the premises of Mr. Burgess, not knowing of the wicked intent of the other prisoner. When she saw the place on fire, she asked the incendiary what she had been doing? She replied, 'Nothing that would hurt her;' adding, 'I am in my glory, nor should I care if I were in the middle of the flames with a shift of pitch on, as I have got my mind.'

5. Samuel Hinchliffe was tried at the Westminster sessions, for fraudulently obtaining from Henry Cowley, servant to Daniel Delany, esq. two shillings, under pretence of its being for the carriage of a parcel from Norwich, the prisoner at the same time knowing that the carriage was paid.

Henry Cowley said, that the prisoner brought to his master's house a parcel directed to Daniel Delany, esq. He told the witness he had brought it from the White-Horse, Fetter-lane, and demanded three  
(A 2) shillings

shilling for the carriage and portage. The witness observed that the carriage should have been paid, and looking at the direction, he discovered part of it torn off, and three shillings wrote over it. This created a suspicion, and he several times advised the prisoner not to take the two shillings for the carriage, as he was persuaded it was paid. The prisoner, however, took the two shillings for the carriage, and one shilling for the portage. The witness the next day went to the White Horse, Fetter-lane, and found that the parcel was not brought from that inn. He then made application to the Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane, when he found that the parcel had come by the Norwich coach to this inn, and that the carriage had been paid in the country.

A clerk at the Swan with Two Necks said, the prisoner was an assistant porter employed to deliver parcels. Upon examining the way-book he found that the carriage of the parcel had been paid, and that the prisoner had only accounted for one shilling for the portage.

The jury found him guilty.

Mr. Mainwaring observed, that this was a case of great importance to the public, who were daily suffering under similar impositions. As it was very difficult to detect these sorts of frauds, it was necessary that an example should be made of those offenders against whom the charge was brought home. Mr. Delany, by instituting this prosecution, merited the thanks of the public.

The prisoner was sentenced to three months imprisonment, and to be publicly whipped from the Admiralty to Charing-cross, and thence to Bridge-street, Parliament-street.

*Glowesler, Jan. 10.* Mr. Daniel

Cox, of this city, from whom a brown mare was lately stolen, in his very persevering endeavours to recover her, has received certain information of a systematic barter carried on between the horse-stealers in the country, and the smugglers on the coast. The former receive contraband articles in exchange for horses; and the smugglers, by conveying the horses to France, Holland, and Flanders, escape detection, and make a very profitable trade.

14. On the last day of the late year there was so thick a fog at Amsterdam, that the people could not see their way along the streets, and ran against each other, even though they had lights in their hands. The accidents it has occasioned are very numerous, but the most lamentable is, the number of people who have perished from falling in the canals, where they were drowned before assistance could be given them, though their cries were distinctly heard. The number of persons who have perished in this way is already known to amount to 230.

17. At the sessions at the Old Bailey, lord Dungarvan, son of the earl of Cork, was tried on the charge of robbing Elizabeth Wheldon of three guineas and a half. The circumstances stated by the prosecutrix in support of this extraordinary charge, were, that, being seated in one of the front boxes of Covent-garden theatre, a gentleman (lord D.) addressed her, and asked leave to accompany her home, to which she consented; that, on quitting the theatre, a linkman called a coach, which drew up at the end of the Piazza, when his lordship got in, and she followed; that he put one of his hands near her pocket, and the other round her waist; that

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afterward, perceiving him fumbling about his waistcoat-pocket, she began to suspect he had robbed her; that, on feeling for her money, she perceived her loss, which was not till she was nearly half way home; that, on her arrival at her house in Rathbone-place, she charged him with having robbed her; that on his quitting the coach, he offered her a guinea, but she refusing to accept it, he endeavoured to make his escape, from which he desisted, on her calling out 'stop thief;' that she then collared him, and gave him in the custody of the watchman, who conveyed him to the watch-house.

On her cross-examination it appeared she was a prostitute, who, in the last two years, had assumed several different names, and lived in various places and capacities; and a great variety of circumstances came out, all tending to destroy the credibility of her evidence. The evidence for the prosecution being closed, lord Duggarvan read the following defence:

'My lord, and gentlemen of the jury,

'Whatever shame I ought to take, and do take, for the indiscretion which led me into the company of the person who has made, and endeavoured to support, by perjury, an attack upon my life and honour, I cannot suffer myself for a moment to suppose, that any credit can be given to so strange and improbable an accusation. I am charged by the unconfirmed oath of a common prostitute, with an offence, which nothing but the lowest and worst habits of life and connections, the most abject baseness of mind, and contempt of character, urged by the most extreme necessity, could possibly prompt any man to commit. My situation hap-

pily is the reverse of this. I am not, nor have been in any distress of circumstances, or want of credit. I am conscious that my conduct in life has ever been just and honourable; and that no action of mine has disgraced my own station, or reflected any discredit upon those to whom I have the honour of being allied. It will however better become me to refer you, gentlemen of the jury, to the testimony of the witnesses who will be called to speak of my conduct and character, than to desire you to receive your information from my own report. Deeply as my mind feels and resents the unmerited disgrace of the imputations attempted to be thrown upon me, I submit cheerfully to a trial by the laws of my country: I know that those laws will not suffer criminals of any rank to elude their justice; but I also know, and it is now my consolation and security to know, that the punishments they inflict can only fall upon the guilty head; and that innocence is safe, protected by the wisdom and integrity of an English judge and jury. I have only to add my most solemn denial to the charge; to request your attention to such evidence as the learned gentlemen with whose counsel I am assisted, shall think proper to lay before you; and to declare my entire confidence in the verdict of a jury of my country, for the vindication of my honour, and the protection of my life, against an attack commenced with a view to extort money from me, and continued by malice and wickedness.'

From the evidence of the linkman, it appeared, that if the prosecutrix really had lost any money, it must have been previous to her getting into the coach; but, from the deposition of the coachman, it was evident, that his lordship only giv-

ing her a guinea, and refusing to go into her house, she had trumped up this charge. Her deposition before justice Reid, and that before the court, were likewise grossly contradictory; so that the jury, without calling any of the noble witnesses that were ready to speak to his lordship's character, honourably acquitted him; and the judge thus addressed his lordship:

‘My lord Dungarvan, it is but justice to you to say, that it is impossible you can go away from this bar, with the smallest imputation on your character. Of your imprudence in this business you seem to be already very sensible.’

At this sessions also came on a remarkable trial for bigamy: John Hornby Moreland was indicted for feloniously marrying Mary Symmonds on the 25th of September last, he being before married to Anne Chapman, now living. The evidence in support of the charge was perfectly satisfactory; but Mr. Garrow, counsel for the prisoner, took two exceptions upon a point of law to the evidence of the two marriages, both upon the same grounds—namely, that both marriages being by licence, the female being under age, and no consent of either parents or guardians appearing, they were informal, and of course void by the 26 Geo. II. This objection, with respect to the prior marriage, was not held by the court to be valid, inasmuch as the proof of the want of consent lay upon the defendant. With respect to the latter marriage, it was admitted, because the father of Mary Symmonds, had he been consulted, would have disapproved of it. In consequence of this, the prisoner was acquitted; but was remanded to prison, to take his trial, at another place, for the prior marriage, he

having a wife living at the time of that marriage.

William Smith was tried for being concerned with others in assaulting Henry Sharp on the highway, by threatening to charge him with having attempted to commit a detestable crime, and thereby extorting from and robbing him of two guineas, half-a-guinea, and 16s. 6d. When Mr. baron Perryn summed up the evidence on the trial of Smith, he observed to the jury, that the judges had deliberated on the subject of the offence stated in the indictment, and were unanimously of opinion, that if any money was obtained of any man for the purpose of dropping, concealing, or discontinuing any charge against him that affected his moral character, such conduct came within the definition of taking money by force, and was therefore a highway robbery.

*Whiteball, Jan. 22.* It appears by the advices from India, brought by the Houghton, one of the company's ships, that major general Meadows had taken the command of the Army which had been collected in the Carnatic, and had marched into the dominions of Tippoo Sultan; and that Caroor, Duraporam, and Coimbatour had been taken by him without resistance. Major Maitland, who is arrived in the Houghton, also brings an account of the surrender of Dindigul.

The letters from the government of Bengal contain the information, that treaties of alliance had been finally concluded by that government with the Mahrattas, and the Nizam; and that lord Cornwallis had received from the comte de Conway, governor-general of the French possessions to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, the most unequivocal assurances of perfect neutrality.

26. The attorney-general prayed the judgment of the court of king's bench upon John Luxford, formerly printer of a newspaper called the *Herald*, for a libel reflecting upon the conduct of administration pending the late disputes between this country and the cabinet of Spain. It charged administration with provoking an unjust war with Spain, and with an intention to employ the late armaments against the French nation:—The prisoner was sentenced to a year's imprisonment in the king's bench, and to stand once in the pillory at Charing-cross; at the expiration of his imprisonment to find security for his good behaviour, himself in 100*l.* and two sureties in 50*l.* each.

28. The case of the city of London against the corporation of Lynn, came on to be argued in the court of king's bench. It was a writ of error from the court of common pleas where a trial at bar was had on a *de essendo quietum de thelonio* (of being quit of toll) brought by the city of London, to assert the right of their citizens being exempted from a toll on corn, demanded by the corporation of Lynn. A verdict had been given for the city, and the errors were assigned on the informality of the declaration. After much argument by serjeant Le Blanc, for Lynn, and serjeant Adair, for London, the court reversed the judgment; on the ground that the declaration did not state that the city of London had received such an injury on which an action could be maintained, the corporation of Lynn having demanded, but not having received, or distrained, for the toll in question.

2. Lord Kenyon delivered the opinion of the court of king's bench, on the case of captain Topham, convicted in July last, of a

libel on the late earl Cowper. See *Vol. XI. p. (25)*. He observed, that two motions had been made by the defendant's counsel; the one for a new trial, and the other in arrest of judgment. The principal ground which the counsel had asked for a new trial was, that the questions which the learned judge who tried the indictment had left to the jury, were not the only questions which ought to have been submitted to their consideration; for that he ought to have directed them to consider, whether the libel was published with the spirit of a biographer, or with a malicious intention to calumniate, and to wound the peace of the living, through the medium of the dead?

With respect to this ground, the court were clearly of opinion, that it was not necessary to put that question. Of this opinion was lord Mansfield, in the case of the king *versus* Woodfall for a libel. It was then laid down to be the law, that when the fact committed is in its own nature unlawful, the proofs of innocence of intention lay with the defendant; and if he failed in that proof, the law would presume the fact committed was the effect of a criminal mind. There was no ground, therefore, for a new trial:

With respect to the motion in arrest of judgment, it certainly was a case of some novelty. The two questions for consideration upon this motion were, 1<sup>st</sup>, “Whether there could be a libel upon the dead?” And 2<sup>d</sup>, “Whether the indictment against the defendant ought not to have charged him with an intention to calumniate, to bring into disgrace, and thereby stir up the living to a breach of the peace, instead of alleging the fact, to be merely a libel upon the dead?” After deliberating upon the first question, the court were

of opinion, that there might be a libel upon the dead, and there were several adjudged cases in support of this doctrine. Lord Coke had said, that defamation of the dead was indictable, because it tended to stir up the minds of the living to a breach of the peace, by provoking the friends of the deceased to acts of violence, in order to take off the stigma and disgrace thrown upon them.

Serjeant Hawkins observed, that the chief cause why the law punishes a libeller upon the dead was, because the public peace was thereby broken.

A prosecution was instituted for a libel upon the memory of William the Third, and the judges considered it as a publication intended to asperse the Revolution, and, of consequence, to inflame the minds of the people, and thereby disturb public tranquillity. So likewise was a prosecution against the printer of a paper, for a libel upon the memory of a baronet, who had been a member of parliament, charging him with having obtained the honours of the Bath by vile and scandalous means; with being an enemy to his country; and with improper conduct as a member of the house of commons.

It was far from the intention of the court to intimate, that a man ought not to be a biographer. To deprive any person of the power of writing the lives, and presenting to the public the transactions of deceased people, were to shut out a very useful and valuable part of history. This would destroy a strong stimulus to great and noble actions, by concealing the example of good men, and take away those necessary lessons of caution against vice which the history of the bad affords; but, if a writer of any period after the decease of a person, instead of giving a fair history of the character he professes to portray

evidently writes with a malicious intention to calumniate, he is certainly in the eye of the law a libeller, and liable to be indicted. But as the principle of punishing a libeller upon deceased persons was the tendency such libels had to a breach of the public peace, so the indictment ought not to charge the defendant with having merely published a libel upon the late earl Cowper, but it should have stated, that it was done with an intention to libel and bring into reproach, &c. the living. The court had compared the indictment in question with the legal form in which they ought to be drawn for libels of this sort, and inasmuch as it was merely confined to the memory of a dead man, it was defective, and, therefore, the judgment ought to be arrested.

The judgment was arrested accordingly.

## F E B R U A R Y.

2. Yesterday was argued, in the court of king's bench, a cause, Brown against Halliday, in which the simple question was, whether the drawer of a promissory note was by the statute 3 and 4 Anne, c. 9, intitled to the three days grace in the payment of it, in the same manner as it was admitted the acceptor of a foreign or inland bill of exchange is, by the custom of merchants, clearly entitled; when the court determined it in the affirmative.

3. Yesterday afternoon there was the highest flood-tide that has been known for several years. Above Westminster-bridge it overflowed the banks of the river on both sides.

In Palace-yard it was near two feet deep; it also ran into Westminster-hall, so as to prevent people passing



passing for two hours. Boats came through the passage of Old Palace-yard from the Thames, and rowed up to Westminster-hall gate. The inhabitants in Milbank-street were obliged to pass to and from their houses in boats. The two Scotland Yards, and Privy Gardens, Whitehall, were entirely under water, and many parts rendered impassable for two hours. People were obliged, in those places, to be taken from their houses on men's backs, and several poor people who keep small shops near the barracks in Scotland-Yard, had four feet water in their shops, and their beds floating in their rooms.

Westminster-hall has suffered much; the water ran in at the great door for upward of an hour, and was up to the second stair leading to the court of king's bench.

The damage done in the warehouses on the wharfs, on both sides the river, is immense: they were overflowed almost without exception. The ground-floor of the Albion mill was covered, and a great quantity of flour wetted. The water overflowed the custom-house quay, Tower-wharf, Bankside, Queenhithe, great part of Tooley-street, Wapping, High-street, Thames-street, &c. and filled all the adjoining cellars; and most of the gardens and fields between Black-friars road and Westminster-bridge were overflowed.

4. Yesterday the case of Lefty and Mills was determined by the court of king's bench. The question was, 'whether a bill of exchange is liable to a protest if not paid within *banking hours*.' The court determined that it cannot be protested till *the day after the day* on which it is due.—They also said that bills payable at so many days *after sight* are not subject to a protest at all, under the act of William III.

and that in no case ought more than 6d. to be paid for protesting, pursuant to that act.

7. On Saturday, in the court of king's bench, Batholomew Quain, who was convicted at the last assizes for the Isle of Ely, for the murder of his wife, was brought from the king's bench prison, and placed at the bar, when Mr. Plumtree, counsel for the crown, stated, that the jury, under the direction of the judge, had found a special verdict in order to take the opinion of the court of king's bench upon the following question; viz. 'Whether the facts found by the jury amounted to murder, or only to manslaughter.' The circumstances of the case were these:—The prisoner and his wife came out of a house together. They appeared to have been quarrelling. The prisoner had one of his children in his arms. His wife sat herself upon the ground, and then rose and walked. The prisoner followed her, and gave her two or three kicks; upon which she shrieked out, and ran away; he pursued, and kicked her again; in consequence of which she fell upon the ground: he then retired a few paces, returned to her again, and, while she lay on the ground gave her several more kicks; then she got up, when he kicked her down again; the deceased then said, 'You have killed me.' A woman, hearing her shrieks, remonstrated with the prisoner against his conduct; upon which he said he would serve her the same. The deceased then arose, struggled, fell down, and died. The prisoner, upon finding she was dead, expressed great sorrow. It appeared that her spleen had burst, and the indictment stated, that of this she died, and that it was occasioned by the kicks and blows given her by the prisoner. The whole lasted near half an hour.

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After some arguments, the court declared, that the facts proved amounted to murder. There appeared to be no provocation on the part of the deceased, and no man had a right even to 'indict chastisement without a just provocation. It was not necessary to prove express malice to constitute murder. If one person provoked another to chastise him, it must be done with moderation, and with a proper instrument, otherwise the law would infer malice. The judges were unanimously of opinion, that a murder was never more clearly proved. Mr. justice Asturst pronounced sentence of death.—The court of king's bench have not, for a great number of years before, pronounced sentence of death.

This day the prisoner was executed, accordingly, on Kennington Common.

8. Four persons were lately convicted, before the high court of judicary, at Edinburgh, of having seized by force, carried off, and retained in captivity, on the 27th of June last, William Walls, residing in Lochmaben, and counsellor of the said borough, who was entitled to vote in the election of the delegates from the said borough, which took place on the 8th of July, 1780, with a view to defeat the freedom of the said election; that they had carried him to different places in the country; from Lochmaben to Carlisle, thence to London, and lastly to Leatherhead in Surrey, where he was rescued by Mr. Williamson, messenger, and, by a warrant from the high court of judicary, brought back to Dumfries. They received sentence as follows: John Lindsay to be imprisoned in the Cannongate gaol for three months, to pay a fine of 50*l.* sterling, and to be afterward banished Scotland for seven years; John Lockerby, Peter Forest, and James Thornburn, to be confined in

the Tolbooth of Edinburgh till Wednesday the 23d instant; on that day to be whipped through the streets of that city, and then banished Scotland for seven years.

11. James Harris, a pilot, was sentenced to be imprisoned twelve months in the king's bench prison, for a breach of quarantine.

12. Mr. Wray, upwards of fifty years clerk in the banking-house of Messrs. Hoare, in Fleet-street, died lately, and left the following very extraordinary clause in his will: "I give and bequeath to the right hon. William Pitt, if living at the time of my decease (and whether in his majesty's service or not), in trust, five hundred pounds capital stock in any of the three per cent. funds I may die possessed of, to be applied toward reducing the national debt, according to his most laudable plan. If I should survive the said William Pitt, then I bequeath the said sum of five hundred pounds to the master of the rolls for the time being, to be by him applied to the same laudable purpose of reducing the national debt. And this I do, in full persuasion that many considerate testators will think of posterity, and deign to follow my humble example."

15. Yesterday came on, before the house of lords, the hearing of an important appeal, respecting bills of exchange with fictitious indorsements.

An action had been brought by the defendants in error, Messrs. Minnet and Fector, as indorsees of a bill of exchange, against the plaintiffs in error, Gibson and Johnson, as the acceptors thereof.

This instrument was in the words and figures following:

Manchester, Feb. 10, 1788.

£ 721 5*s.*

Three months after date, pay to Mr. John White, or order, seven hun-

hundred twenty-one pounds five shillings, value received, with or without advice.

LIVESY, HARGRAVE, and Co.

To Messrs. Gibson and Johnson,  
Bankers, London.

The cause was tried before lord Kenyon and a special jury, at Guildhall, London. in trinity term 1789.

Mr. Bearcroft, counsel for the holders of the bill, Minet and Fector, contended, at the trial, that this instrument was to be considered as a bill payable to bearer, that his clients had discounted it for a man of the name of Stephen Barber, who was an agent of Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. the drawers, and that consequently they were entitled to recover.

Mr. Erskine, for the defendants, contended, that the plaintiffs could not recover, through a forgery, when they know of that forgery, or might have known of it.

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiffs, to the amount of the bill.

In the Michaelmasterm following, Mr. Erskine moved for a new trial, and also in arrest of judgment.

Lord Kenyon ordered that two rules should come on together, the one for a new trial, and the other in arrest of judgment.

This business came on again on Monday, Nov. 17, and after Mr. Erskine had displayed great abilities in support of his two rules, it was agreed by the counsel on both sides, to take a special verdict. And as there was no dispute about the facts, they thought it unnecessary to go back to a jury to ascertain them.

The facts stated in the special verdict were, 'That Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. at the time of making the said instrument, well knew that no such person as John White, in the said instrument mentioned, existed; that a certain indorsement in writing was made by the said Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. upon the said instru-

ment, purporting to be the indorsement of John White named therein, and to be subscribed with his hand and name; and that the said indorsement purported to require the said sum of money, in the said instrument contained, to be paid to the said Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. or their order. The said instrument being so indorsed, they, the said Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. afterward, by a certain indorsement in writing, made upon the said instrument, and subscribed with the hand and name of one Absalom Goodrich, by procuration of the said Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. appointed the said sum of money, in the said instrument contained, to be paid to the said Minet and Fector, and delivered the same so indorsed, as well with the name of the said John White as with the name of the said Absalom Goodrich to the said Minet and Fector, for a full and valuable consideration in money, paid by the said Minet and Fector, the present holders of the bill, to the said Livesy, Hargrave, and Co.'

The special verdict farther stated, 'That the said instrument was presented to Gibson and Johnson for their acceptance thereof; and that the said Gibson and Johnson accepted the same, well knowing that no such person as John White, in the said instrument named, existed; and that the name of John White, so indorsed, was not the hand-writing of any person of that name.'

The special verdict farther stated, 'That the said Gibson and Johnson, at the time of accepting the said instrument, had not, nor had they at any time since, any money, goods, or effects whatever, of the said Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. or of the said Minet and Fector, in their hands.

This special verdict came on to be argued in the court of king's bench, and the court gave judgment for the defendants in error.

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The judgment of the court was given only on the 5th count of the declaration, which stated the bill as payable to bearer.

Upon this judgment, the affair was brought into the house of lords; and, after the case had been argued before their lordships, the lord chancellor proposed three questions to the judges.

The first was, whether the matter found by the special verdict, as far as it relates to the act done by the defendants, Gibson and Johnson, imported an utterance of the bill, knowing it to be forged?

The second was, whether the matter contained in the special verdict was sufficient to support the fifth count of the declaration, which stated the bill as payable to bearer?

And thirdly, whether the matter in the special verdict could sustain any other count in the declaration?

On Thursday the 3d inst. the judges met in the house of peers to deliver their opinion.

The chief baron and Mr. justice Heath delivered their sentiments on that occasion.

As to the first question, whether this instrument implicated the parties in the crime of forgery, they were of opinion, that it did not, because the special verdict had not stated that the instrument was made with an intent to defraud.

As to the second and third question they were of opinion, that the matter in the special verdict was not sufficient, either to sustain the fifth or any other count in the declaration; and that therefore the plaintiffs were not entitled to recover. If they had a right to recover, they must derive title to this bill though John White, which was impossible, as no such person existed. They were of opinion, therefore, that the judgment of the court of king's bench ought to be reversed.

Barons Thompson, Perryn, and Hotham, and Mr. justice Gould, next delivered their sentiments.

As to the first question, they concurred in opinion with the other two judges, that since the special verdict had disclosed no fraud, they were not at liberty to presume it. It must be found by a jury.

As to the second question, whether the matter in the special verdict could sustain the fifth count of the declaration, they were of opinion that it could, and that the judgment of the court of king's bench ought to be affirmed.

They were likewise of opinion, that the matter in the special verdict was sufficient to sustain the first count in the declaration which described this instrument as a bill payable to order.

The lord chancellor observed that four of the judges had given it as their opinion, that the matter in the special verdict was sufficient to support both the first and fifth counts of the declaration; that is, they were of opinion, that this written instrument might be considered, either as a bill payable to order, or as a bill payable to bearer. He conceived this was impossible. There was an essential difference between these two different species of bills; and if this instrument were a bill payable to order, it could not be a bill payable to bearer, and *vice versa*. It would be proper, therefore, that the four learned judges should make an election; and for that purpose he moved, that the further consideration of this business should be postponed to a future day.

Yesterday, the same subject was resumed.

Lord Kenyon was the first who delivered his opinion. He observed, that as the special verdict had found, that no such person as John White existed, the plaintiffs could not

not deduce a title to this bill conformable to the very words of it. But miserable indeed would be the situation of many persons, if there were any positive rule of law, which said that no instrument could operate at all, except it operated in the very terms in which it was drawn. It had been said, that nothing could have any effect that was founded in forgery. He conceived, that very far back in the law of England, bills, founded in forgery, had an effect; and there were several late cases which had fully recognized this doctrine. In a word, he was still of the same opinion as formerly, that this instrument might be fairly considered as a bill payable to bearer.

The lord chancellor said, that the plaintiffs making this instrument payable to their own order, at the same time that they wrote the name of John White upon it, in order to accelerate its circulation, must be deemed fraud. Some of them, had hinted, that if forgery had been stated on the special verdict, that might have altered the case; but since nothing of this last appeared on the face of the special verdict, it was not to be inferred. His lordship said, he took it to be for the safety of mankind that the forms of law should be properly observed, and that nothing should be assumed beyond what was expressly found by the special verdict. Though the evidence were ever so cogent, a court of law could not draw the conclusion. It must be done by a jury. The jury had found it was not made with an intent to defraud. This was a melancholy case, with respect to the parties. For whatever became of this bill, it must come in the very next bill to be decided whether this was or was not a forgery? Whether the putting the name of John White on this bill was done by the drawer, or by any

other holder? And whether a man who put on a bill of exchange a name that was forged, was not within the statute? This was a fact which he could have wished had been stated, and therefore it must be found. It must be known whether it was possible for those who called themselves merchants, to put on bills names that were fictitious.

His lordship next considered whether this were a good bill, on the fifth count. He thought it a considerable stretch to make this instrument payable to bearer. He had reduced the question fairly to this ground, was it the avowed policy of law that the contents of a bill of exchange should be proved by any thing but by the words of the bill? He contended, that no bill could have a sense introduced upon it but agreeably to the words of the bill: and the having deviated from this rule was the cause of his having found fault with the present judgment. Upon the face of a bill a holder knew what he was to expect, according to his lordship's rule; but if it were put in this way, that this instrument was payable to bearer, no man knew what might happen. The court of king's bench had given a judgment, not only contrary to every notion which the plaintiffs had, but contrary also to every expectation which they had when they took the bill. It was by mere accident they came at last to find, that it was a bill payable to bearer. This was *præter spem et voluntatem eorum*.

Lord Loughborough said, that the chancellor had very properly put to the judges a question, antecedent to the discussion of the questions on the merits, to wit, whether the matter found by this special verdict imported an utterance of the bill by the parties knowing it to be forged? The answer that had been given to this question was, that from the mat-

ter found in the special verdict this was impossible. The general opinion of the judges was, that there was no forgery in the bill. The ground on which they gave this opinion was incontestible. The writing the name of John White was not done with an intent to defraud any particular person; and it appeared to his lordship, that the matter found in the special verdict was sufficient to support the opinion of the judges.

He next observed, that it was found by the special verdict, that this bill was indorsed by the drawers. He contended that from this moment it was no longer payable to the order of White. Therefore he was of opinion, that this instrument, in its proper and legal operation, and in the real state of the transaction between the parties, was a bill payable to bearer; that Gibson and Johnson, by accepting this bill, undertook to pay it to whomsoever should produce it to them with the indorsement of Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. and who had paid them, Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. a valuable consideration for it. He next answered an objection taken by the chief baron, that the plaintiffs could not recover, because they could not derive title through John White. But he was of opinion, that as this fictitious name was put on the bill with the knowledge and privity of all the parties, it was to be considered as nothing, and the holders of the bill had an action against Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. in the same manner as if the name of White had not appeared on the bill. In fine, he was decidedly of opinion, that the judgment of the court of king's bench ought to be affirmed.

Lord Bathurst said, he was staggered by the argument of the chief baron, but now he was perfectly satisfied, that the judgment of the

court of king's bench ought to be affirmed.

The lord chancellor then put the question, 'that this judgment be reversed?' when, without a division, the non-contents had it. And of course the judgment of the court of king's bench is affirmed, which entitles the holders of these bills to the amount of upwards of one million sterling, to recover.

16. Lord Grenville has returned an answer to Mons. de la Luzerne, the French ambassador, respecting the application made by the French court for the liberation of lord George Gordon, from his confinement in Newgate; stating, that it was not thought convenient or proper for the king to exert the royal prerogative in that case specified; and the ambassador, in consequence, wrote to lord George, informing him of the ill success.

21. John Ryall, convicted of exhibiting to public view and sale an obscene and libellous print, was placed at the inner bar, at the Old Bailey, when the attorney-general prayed the judgment of the court, in a speech, in which he expatiated upon the destructive tendency of the crime of which the prisoner stood convicted. He said the society of gentlemen, who stood forth to bring offenders of this description to punishment, merited the thanks of the public. It was impossible to be guilty of an offence pregnant with more alarming evils to the community. The men who exhibited libels of this description were the most cowardly assassins of juvenile virtue, because they were not directed to cold reason, but to those passions which the best of men found it difficult to resist. Convinced, therefore, of the absolute necessity of suppressing all obscene prints, he would never compromise these offences in his chambers, by accepting of any kind of atonement  
or

or apology, but the sentence of punishment, by way of example, should be as public as the crime. At the same time, he would say, on behalf of the prisoner, that he had made an affidavit of a surrender, not only of the print in question, but of all other books and prints of a similar nature. This would, no doubt, be taken into consideration as a circumstance of mitigation.

The recorder said, if prints like the present, were to be exhibited at the windows of public shops with impunity, it would be in vain for parents, with anxious solicitude, to watch the the morals of their children: their passions, inflamed by these nefarious publications, would defeat the most laudable endeavours. The print in question was not only scandalously obscene, but had a tendency to exhibit to public ridicule the greatest characters, and to expose a sacred profession to unmerited reproach.

The recorder then desired to return the thanks of the court and the public to the society of gentlemen who had been active in bringing to punishment the authors and publishers of those obscene prints. It was well, he said, for the prisoner, that he had surrendered up, upon oath, all other prints of this description in his possession. If he had not done this, a part of his punishment would have been to stand in the pillory; and had this sentence been executed, in all probability it would have been beyond the power of the sheriffs, with all their exertions, to save his life.

The recorder then sentenced him to pay a fine of six shillings and eightpence, and to be imprisoned in Newgate, for twelve months; at the expiration of his imprisonment to find security for his good behaviour for

three years, himself in 100*l.* and two sureties in 100*l.* each.

*Dublin, Feb. 17.* This day was tried in the court of exchequer, before the lord chief baron, an action brought by John Travers, esq. against Dennis M<sup>c</sup>Carthy, for criminal conversation with the hon. Grace Travers (formerly Lysaght) the wife of the plaintiff. A *fiat* was some time ago granted by the learned judge, who tried this action, whereon M<sup>c</sup>Carthy was taken into custody. The damages laid in the declaration were 500*l.* It appeared that the defendant was postillion to the plaintiff, and frequent acts of criminal intercourse were proved. The judge felt the offence to be of the most aggravated nature, as did the jury, who gave a verdict for the whole of the damages in the declaration.

*Gloucester, Feb. 21.* By the officer who brought home the dispatches from Botany-bay we learn, that Richard Pugh and Elizabeth Morgan, two convicts sent from our county prison with the first fleet, and who married before they embarked, have behaved in so exemplary a manner, that they are esteemed among the most useful and industrious of the convicts. They are stationed at Norfolk Island. Pugh has discovered great ingenuity in covering houses with shingles.

The native inhabitants of the country, having caught the small-pox from the English, have died in great numbers. A little girl, named Abaroo, almost eleven years of age, was brought into the colony with several others, who were in a terrible state from this disorder. They all died except this girl, and a boy who was under the care of the surgeon-general. The governor desired the clergyman to take the girl into his family, and bring her up as a ser-

a servant. She had been with him, when the officer sailed, eleven months; and she had so far improved in speaking English, that she could understand almost every thing she was bidden to do. Her master has taught her a short prayer or two, which she repeats to him morning and evening; and if he ever happens to forget to hear her, she never fails to remind him of it. He has also taught her the letters, and she began to make some progress in reading.

22. Yesterday, in the court of king's bench, captain Perry, printer of 'The Argus,' was found guilty of publishing a libel on administration, charging them with keeping back from the public the intelligence of the declaration and counter-declaration respecting the late dispute with Spain, for the purpose of stock-jobbing, &c.

Mr. Walter, printer of 'The Times,' was found guilty, on the same day, of a libel against a Mr. King, charging him with swindling a house in Pall-mall out of 1800*l*. The person alluded to swore, that no such transaction had taken place; but that Mr. King, who had bought goods of him, to a great amount, had very honourably paid for them. It further appeared, that it had been declared, that the offensive paragraph was handsomely paid for, and that on the same terms only, any contradiction of it could be inserted.

23. By letters from New-York, in the Sandwich packet, dated Jan. 4th, it appears that the American detachment sent against the Ohio Indians, was at first successful. The Indian army fled from pass to pass, ten or twelve of their towns were burned, and the inhabitants were driven into the country belonging to other tribes. On their return, they were surrounded, in a very disadvantageous situation, by several large bodies of Indians, from whom they suffered a defeat.

Head Quarters, Fort Washington,  
November 4, 1790.

Return of the killed and wounded upon the expedition against the Miami towns, under the command of brigadier general Harmar:

Killed and wounded of the federal troops—One major, one lieutenant, 73 rank and file killed, three wounded.

Killed and wounded of the militia—One major, three captains, two lieutenants, four ensigns, 98 rank and file, killed; two lieutenants, one ensign, 25 rank and file, wounded.

Total killed, 183; wounded, 32.

Philadelphia, Dec. 3. The loaf sugar made from the Maple sugar, and now exposed to sale, has been pronounced by impartial judges to be equal to any loaf-sugar of the same quality that ever was made from the West India sugar cane. We hear that a large boiling-house for the purpose of refining the Maple sugar will be erected during the present winter on the Susquehannah, near Cooper's Town, under the direction of William Cooper, esq. the father of the late noble and successful enterprise for supplying the United States with American sugar.

27. A new method of bleaching appears to prove very successful. In consequence of the premiums offered by the board of trustees at Edinburgh, two pieces of cotton were completely bleached in five hours; one piece of linen in forty hours and a half, and another in forty-eight hours and a half, all completely whitened without exposure to the sun and air. The judges have declared the colour to be as perfect as can be given to goods of the same quality, and that the strength and texture were not injured or weakened. Several other experiments are making both in Ireland and Scotland, with respect to this important discovery.



wright, at Leeds, has invented a machine for the threshing of corn, that is said to answer every purpose of hand-labour, at an adequate price; it is worked by two horses to serve it, and the same number to keep it in motion, and shake off the straw.

A loom has been invented in Ireland to weave cotton and linen, by which two webs can be woven at the same time by one weaver, with more ease and expedition, and (as it is reported) with more perfection than one web can be woven in a common loom. A committee of the Irish house of commons have made a report highly in its favour.

### M A R C H.

2. A trial came on before lord Kenyon, on the prosecution of Mr. Crowther, attorney, against Mr. Godfrey, another attorney, for a libel. The publication and innuendoes being proved, Mr. Godfrey entered on his defence, which he began to read from a very large pile of papers; but as some part of it appeared not relevant to the subject, the court interposed, and he proceeded to state the evidence by which he intended to prove the assertion he had made in the pamphlet true; but the court informing him, that as this was an indictment, and not an action, the truth of the libel was no justification, he acknowledged that he had no other defence. The jury considered of their verdict from three o'clock in the afternoon till half past eleven at night, and then found the defendant guilty of publishing only. Eleven of the jurymen were of opinion that it was a libel; but one gentleman, Mr. Josiah Dornford, said, that he could not in his conscience find a man guilty of a libel, when it had not been stated in the indictment to

be false. The verdict was mentioned the next morning to lord Kenyon, when he came to Guildhall. His lordship said, he was very sorry he was not present when the verdict was given. It was incomplete, and did not decide the business.

3. Yesterday morning, soon after six o'clock a dreadful fire broke out in the Albion-mills, on the Surry side of Blackfriars-bridge, which raged with such fury, that in about half an hour the whole of that extensive edifice, together with a vast quantity of flour and grain, was reduced to ashes; the corner wing, occupied as the house and offices of the superintendant, only escaping the calamity, from the thickness of the party-wall. It was low water at the time the fire was discovered, and before the engines were collected, their assistance was ineffectual; for the flames burst out in so many different directions, and with such intolerable heat, that it was impossible to approach on any side till the roof and interior part of the building, tumbling in, completed the general conflagration in a column of fire, so awfully grand as to illuminate for a while the whole horizon. The wind being easterly, the flames were blown across Albion Place, the houses on the west side of which were considerably scorched, and the inhabitants greatly alarmed. In the narrow lane adjoining the mills, four or five houses were destroyed, and some others much injured. Fortunately no lives have been lost.

6. A cause was tried this week, in the court of king's bench, in which Mr. Atwood, a taylor, was plaintiff, and a young gentleman defendant. It appeared that the plaintiff had furnished the defendant with clothes, and that his bill amounted to the sum of 114l. for clothes in the course of seven months! That, at this time,

the defendant was under age, and clerk to an attorney ! The defendant paid into court 50*l*. and for the remainder took issue on the unreasonableness of the bill. — A minor, or his guardian paying for him, is in law, accountable only for necessities. To this young gentleman, for this length of time, under these circumstances, it did not appear that ten coats, fourteen waistcoats, and eighteen pair of breeches (for these were the articles specified) were to be all considered as necessities. Lord Kenyon observed, that this was the most imprudent action he ever saw. To give it countenance in a court of justice, would be to deliver the youth of the middle class in this country to a condition in which they would be ruined, before they could look about them. — The jury agreeing entirely with his lordship in this case, were of opinion that the 50*l*. paid into court on the part of the defendant, was quite enough for all the clothes that could be necessary, in the course of seven months, for an attorney's clerk under age; and, therefore, immediately gave their verdict for the defendant.

*Dublin, March 5.* In consequence of the annual masquerade, at the new rooms in Rutland-Square, on Tuesday night, the police attended, armed as usual with firelocks and fixed bayonets. About ten at night an amazing crowd assembled, to gratify their curiosity, when the insolence of the police soldiery excited a most alarming riot. After a regular battle, which lasted for near an hour, the populace became victorious, and five of the police were slain in the contest; three others, who were taken to the hospital, died the next day, and in a short time it is supposed that the whole police guard would have been cut off, had it not been for the humane and spirited per-

sonal interference of lord Charlemont and Mr. Tandy, who prevailed on the mob to disperse.

8. The nabob of Arcot has filed a bill in our court of chancery against the India company, calling them to account for his revenues for these ten years last, during part of which time the company held possession of his territories in the Carnatic, and have since, under pretence of a debt due to them, seized his dominions. The bill is filed by his highness's law agents Messrs. Wallis and Troward. This is a proceeding altogether new in this country.

*Falmouth March 8.* Last night a desperate engagement took place off the Lizard between the Sprightly revenue cutter and a smuggling vessel belonging to Guernsey. The smuggler beat off the Sprightly with the loss of three men killed and five wounded.

10. His majesty having on Tuesday granted a free pardon to Mr. Walter, printer of a morning paper called *The Times*, he was yesterday liberated from his confinement in Newgate. See *Vol. X. p. (25.) and, Vol. XI. p. (6).*

12. The amount of the Cornwall tin exported by the East India company to China within the first thirteen months after the recommendation of the prince of Wales, is two thousand tons, valued at 120,000*l*.

*Aberdeen, March 10.* A duel was this day fought on the hill of Tynbaggen, near this city, between capt. John Grant, of the late North Fencible regiment, and Mr. John Dingwall, junior, *bosser*, in Aberdeen. They exchanged three shots each, and the last from capt. Grant wounded Mr. Dingwall in the thigh. He was helped into his chaise, where a surgeon was in waiting, and his wound is not thought dangerous. The quarrel originated from Mr. Dingwall's

Dingwall's having paid his addresses to Miss Grant, daughter to the captain, and afterwards drawn back. By the law of Scotland, no damages can be claimed for breach of a promise of marriage.

17. A general court of directors was held at the bank of England, when a dividend after the rate of 7 per cent. per annum, was directed to be declared.

Canterbury, March 15. As some labourers were digging to lay the foundations of three new houses behind the charity-school, Margate, about two feet below the surface they found the remains of several bodies, which were interred in graves hewn out of the solid chalk. From a medal found in one of the graves, it is supposed they have lain there upwards of 1500 years. It has on it an emperor's head, crowned with a radial crown; and from the legend, though every letter is not distinguishable, there remains no doubt of its being one of Pupienus's, who reigned in the year 237. On the reverse is the whole length figure of a man, bearing a lance in his right hand, in a running attitude; a very bold relieve; the inscription is not legible. At the same time were found the remains of a sword and scabbard, though much decayed. The bones, when found, were very entire; but, on being exposed to the air, soon crumbled into dust.

Dublin, March 22. This day in the house of commons a grand committee of courts of justice sat, when Mr. Ponsonby, after an exordium, in which he stated the danger of invading the personal liberty of the subject, moved, 'That it is the opinion of this committee, that the chief justice of the king's bench, in ordering a *capias ad respondendum* to issue against John Magee, at the suit of

Richard Daly, marked for 400*l.* directing the sheriffs to take excessive bail from the defendant, had acted illegally.'—The attorney-general declared he should move an amendment to include the three other judges in the resolution, and then negative it; which was accordingly done by 125 to 65.

25. A proclamation issued for encouraging seamen and landmen to enter on board his majesty's ships of war, viz. three pounds for every able seaman, forty shillings for every ordinary seaman, and twenty shillings for every able landman; press warrants sent likewise to all the sea-ports.

31. The following centenaries have died in the course of this year, viz.

At Dumfries, in Virginia, aged 104, Mrs. Henrietta Martiel, a native of Hanover. She had ten children, two of whom are still living; 25 grand-children, and 43 great-grand-children, one of whom died the same day that the former was interred.—At Rochdale, Frances Corfsly, widow, in her 100th year, Mrs. Ann Taylor, of Hopstone, Shropshire, aged 103 years. She retained her faculties to the last.—Ann Green, a pauper, of the township of Sprotbrough, aged 113 years.—In St. Luke's workhouse, Bridget Hayer, aged 102 years.

## A P R I L.

1. Last week came on to be tried at the assizes at Exeter, by a special jury, an action brought by Mr. George Hole, of Bideford, against lieutenant Henry Festing, or a trespass in the dwelling-house of the plaintiff in May last, by entering, with a press-gang he then commanded, the house of the plaintiff, and committing great outrages therein. The plaintiff, at the request of his

(B 2)

counsel,

counsel, omitted giving evidence as to any outrage committed in the house, and confined himself only to the entry, as being a question of great importance to the rights and liberties of the subject. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages forty shillings.

2. Mr. Alexander Bruce, late merchant in Edinburgh, last week received a gold medal from the empress of Russia, as an acknowledgment of the advantages derived from his treatise respecting the plague.

5. The dispatches from the Cape of Good Hope for government, which had been forwarded with the utmost expedition, and which were under the care of Mr. Rattray, were unfortunately lost, and never heard of since.

The men who were saved remained on a large rock, with the sea every moment washing over them, from twelve o'clock at night till eight in the morning.

Mr. Rattray had the dispatches with him on the rock, but was obliged to let the papers go, to preserve his life.

6. At the quarter-sessions, for Westminster, a chimney sweeper, named Gay, was tried, on the prosecution of the parish of Covent-Garden, for cruelty to his apprentice. It appeared, that the boy was bound apprentice to the defendant by the parish of St. Martin, in January 1790. Before he had served two months, the defendant tied his hands and legs with a cord, and fixed him to a staple; after which he stripped him almost naked, and beat him violently with rods and a thong whip. This treatment was several times repeated; and in consequence of it the boy lost the use of his right arm. At one time, he beat him with a stick; and tore his ears in

a cruel manner. The only reason usually alledged by the defendant for his severity was, that the boy did not do work enough in the mornings. The defendant called several witnesses, who gave him a good character, and said the boy was obstinate and incorrigible. The jury found him guilty, and the court sentenced him to six months imprisonment, and directed the apprentice to be discharged.

16. Yesterday two men were convicted at the Old Bailey, viz. Edward Pritchard, for the murder of Martha his wife, by beating her on the head, and divers parts of her body, with a stick; and Charles Taylor, for the murder of Winifred his wife, by cutting her in the belly, arms, thighs, and other parts of her body, with a razor. Both of them received judgment to be hanged on Monday, and afterward to be anatomised.

18. Edward Pritchard and Charles Taylor, for the murder of their wives, were executed according to their sentence.

22. On Sunday the 17th inst. during divine service, a fire broke out at Burbage, Wilts, which consumed a farmhouse, barn, stable, carthouse, and nine tenements inhabited by poor people. The flames were so rapid that the whole buildings were destroyed before the engines from Tottenham Park, the seat of the earl of Aylesbury, arrived. By this dreadful accident 54 persons are driven from their homes, and reduced to great distress. Two houses only were insured. The fire was occasioned by a woman carelessly putting burning ashes among some straw, which immediately caught fire, and communicated to the thatch buildings.

23. Advices received from the East Indies, dated Sept. 21, 1790, say, that a detachment of the British army, under

der col. Floyd, had been attacked on the 10th of that month, near the river Bowam, by a large body of Tippoo Sultan's army, whom he repulsed repeatedly; that it was judged expedient, however, to retreat to the main army, under general Meadows, in effecting which, the slaughter among the gun-bullocks was so great, that he had been obliged to leave part of his artillery behind him; but that, on the 16th, he was joined by general Meadows, at Vellady. This brave detachment had passed three days without eating; and their loss was 2 Europeans killed and 86 wounded; 14 natives killed, and 104 wounded. Among the officers killed were lieutenant-colonel Deane, of the Bengal artillery; captain Hartley, and lieutenant Armstrong of the 3<sup>d</sup> regiment. Captain Thompson and Lieut. Vallancey were wounded.

### M A Y.

1. The duke of York sailed this evening from Dover, and, after a pleasant passage of four hours to Calais, proceeded on his route to Berlin.

2. On Thursday the university of Glasgow conferred the honorary degree of doctor in laws on William Wilberforce, esq. as a mark of the esteem which that university entertained of his character and abilities, and of their high approbation of his exertions for the abolition of the African slave trade.

6. Yesterday, John Seaton, esq. treasurer of the West Riding of the county of York, gave in the following statement of the woollen manufactory for that district from the 25th of March 1790, to the 25th of March 1791, viz. narrow cloth, 154,373 pieces, 4,797, 594 yards; increased 13,966 pieces, 215,472 yards. Broad cloth, 187,569 pieces, 5,815,079

yards; increased 14,981 pieces, 663,102 yards.

An immediate remedy for the bite of a mad dog is said to have been accidentally discovered at Venice, by administering vinegar. It was effectually tried on two or three subjects, who drank several pints. A remedy so simple and useful cannot be too universally known.

7. William Morton Pitt, esq. having lately vacated his seat in Parliament for the county of Dorset, with a view to afford his constituents an opportunity of investigating the principles of his conduct in a late contract with government, was yesterday unanimously re-elected.

9. On Friday, was held a general meeting of the royal academicians at Somerset-Place, for the electing of two painters, two sculptors, and two architects, to form a committee, for the purpose of determining on the propriety of subjects and situations, of monuments to the memory of illustrious characters, to be erected in St. Paul's cathedral, when mess. West, Hamilton, Nollekins, Banks, Dance, and sir William Chambers, were elected, who, with the president of the Royal Academy, are invested by the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and the dean and chapter, with the sole power of adjudging the situations. The two first to be erected Mr. Bacon has the honour of executing; Mr. Howard's, and Dr. Samuel Johnson's.

14. Advices received from the East Indies, by the Princess Royal Indiaman, dated Jan. 9, 1791, say, that on the 17th of December, general Abercomby had forced a detachment of Tippoo Sultan, amounting to 5000 men, to surrender; that he had taken the fortresses of Cannanore, Biliapatam, and Nurrarow; that by these successes, he had taken

34 stand of colours, 68 pieces of cannon, and near 5000 stand of arms, beside ammunition, military stores, and grain; and that lieutenant-colonel Hartley had taken possession of Firickabad, after having dispersed the corps opposed to him at Firerugarry.

*Dublin, May 16.* Wednesday last the brig *Two Sisters*, of Bourdeaux, capt. Renoult, arrived below Waterford, with a cargo of wines, &c. On coming to her birth in the river she hoisted the new national flag, and fired 13 guns, which were answered by every vessel that carried any swivels, except one Londoner, who tho' provided with eight four-pounders, took no manner of notice. The new flag is exceedingly elegant, being an alternate mixture of blue, red, and white, in three compartments, interspersed with gold fleurs de lis, on a ground of rich white satin. At the top is a crown incircled by a wreath, round which are the words, *la Nation, la Loi, le Roi*, the nation, the law, and the king. This is the first ship, carrying the new colours of France, that has arrived at any Irish port since the revolution.

*Portsmouth May 19.* This day, a court-martial was held, *pro forma*, on board the *Royal William*, for the trial of lieutenant Riou, for the loss of the *Guardian* man of war, when he was honourably acquitted.

26. After a litigation of eight years, the claimants on the goods seized by lord Rodney and general Vaughan, at St. Eustatius, in the year 1782, were paid the full amount of their several claims, pursuant to a final decision of the lords of the privy-council. The whole came to a very considerable sum.

27. Yesterday, the attorney-general moved the court of exchequer, in the long depending cause between the crown and Mr. Atkinson, respecting his transactions with the

victualling board; when the points arising from the laboured investigation of twelve days into its merits were recapitulated. The court had given their opinions on the former occasion, that Mr. Atkinson had executed his contract much to the benefit of the public; and if there were any ground to call upon him to refund his commission upon a part of his supplies, it arose from the universal practice of the trade, which was not in that respect agreeable to law. The three points reserved for the attorney-general's consideration, whether he would go into any account upon them, were discussed; two were doubtful, and of little consequence, and upon these no account was tho'ght proper. The third involved the question, whether Mr. Atkinson acted as to those supplies as a merchant or as a factor? It was contended by the attorney-general, that Mr. Atkinson acted as a merchant; but upon its appearing to his satisfaction, and the court entirely concurred with him, that upon that footing Mr. Atkinson had claims which would balance any demand, the cause was, to the honour and credit of Mr. Atkinson, thereupon immediately and finally concluded in his favour.

28. Yesterday, a case of great importance to money-lenders and officers in the army, was determined in the court of King's Bench.—The plaintiff, an officer on half-pay, was furnished with money by a person, to whom he gave an absolute assignment of his half-pay, which assignment was notified, as had been usual, for a long course of years, upon these occasions, at the office of the paymasters of the army. When two half years pay became due, the plaintiff, notwithstanding this assignment, made a demand of his half-pay from the paymasters general, who refused

to pay it, on account of the assignment having been registered in the office in the usual course; and, upon this refusal, the plaintiff brought an action on the case, against the present paymasters general, to recover it.

This action was tried before lord Kenyon at the sittings of last Hilary term, and a verdict found for the plaintiff, with liberty for the defendant's counsel to move the court for a new trial, on the point of law, whether an officer's half-pay is or is not assignable.

The court were clearly of opinion, that an officer's half-pay being a choice in action, was not assignable at law, and that it being allowed by the public for the purpose of maintaining gentlemen in the army and navy, till the necessities of the state required their services, neither equity, good conscience, or policy, would permit them to sell, or to assign it. The rule for a new trial was therefore discharged.

30. Letters have been received in town from New South Wales, which contain the most favourable accounts of that colony. The arrival of the Scarborough, Surprise, Justinian, Lady-juliana, and Neptune transports, in the months of July and August, entirely relieved the colony from that distress it laboured under, when lieutenant King left it; and enabled governor Phillip to carry into execution those plans he had before concerted for preventing in future any inconvenience arising from a scarcity of provisions. The number of additional hands he at the same time received, enabled him to cut several small canals, for the purpose of watering the grounds, which he had cleared to a great extent, and had rendered, by proper cultivation, so fertile, that the little corn, &c. which he could afford to sow, had succeed-

ed beyond his most sanguine expectations. The natives, by kind treatment, had been rendered perfectly docile, and had, in a great measure, been incorporated with the colony.

31. Last night there was an alarming insurrection in the King's Bench prison; an attempt being made by the greater part of the prisoners to escape. Much mischief was done to the inner part of the prison, and the outer gate would have been forced, had not a body of horse and foot arrived to restore order, which they happily effected, without any bloodshed, before 11 o'clock.

The following are some of the particulars of the riot:—The prisoners having dined together at a weekly club, were a little elevated by liquor, and assembling in the yard, began to murmur at the delay of Mr. Gray's bill respecting debtors. Some of them even threatened to effect their enlargement immediately, and they deputed major Pitcairn to wait on the marshal, and request that colonel Harrington, who has been eight months closely confined for having attempted to escape, might be as much at liberty as themselves; but instead of their desire being complied with, major Pitcairn was detained in custody.

This circumstance added to their discontent, and they became more clamorous and desperate; when the marshal, with some assistance, went among them, and seized two or three of the ringleaders, but was so roughly handled that he was obliged to retreat. The violence of the prisoners increasing, the marshal and all his officers armed, and going into the area between the two gates, they fired two guns into the air with a design of terrifying the malecontents, who endeavoured to provoke them, and threw a shower of brickbats over the wall, by which they fractured one man's skull

very dangerously, wounded several others, and obliged the whole to retire to the top of the keeper's house, where they could see what was doing, without risking their personal safety.

Mr. Bowes went among the crowd and harangued them, but as he advised peace and good order, he was so ill received that he found it prudent to desist; and the marshal seeing the danger thicken, and that a general assault at the gates might probably be made, sent a messenger to justice Hyde, who communicating the intelligence to lord Amherst, two troops of horse were dispatched, and in about an hour afterward they were followed by a party of the foot-guards, who went within the walls, and drew up before the prison, when every remonstrance and persuasion being used to pacify the rioters, at length the majority of the prisoners retreated to their rooms, and the riot was quelled before eleven o'clock. A guard of twelve foot soldiers within, and about twenty horse without the prison, were left, however, all night,

## J U N E

This day, the attorney-general applied to the court of King's Bench, and obtained an absolute rule for the immediate removal of several of the rioters at the King's-Bench prison, the principals to Newgate, and the abettors to the New Gaol. He stated, that the soldiery were yet obliged to keep guard there night and day.

Yesterday, the lord-mayor nominated the following gentlemen to serve the office of sheriff for the city of London and county of Middlesex, viz. Parker Hatley, esq. skinner; Sir Walter Rawlinson, kn't. grocer; Charles De St. Leu, esq. skinner; Thomas Cope, esq. plaisterer; John

Maddison, esq. goldsmith; Edward Bowman, esq. plumber; Edward Warner, esq. needlemaker; Richard Twopenny, esq. skinner; and Benjamin Wood, esq. clothworker.

3. At the court of common council, the town-clerk laid a letter before the court, which he had received from Philip Stephens, esq. secretary to the lords of the admiralty; wherein their lordships state, that they are advised that freemen and liverymen of London are not exempted by law from being impressed.—The solicitor informed the court, that writs of habeas corpus had been issued, and that the two men who had been impressed (and in whose behalf the town-clerk had written to the secretary of the admiralty) were brought from on board the men of war to town, and that their case was to be argued in the court of common pleas.

6. This day, about eleven in the forenoon, a fire broke out at the iron foundry of Mr. Saunders, in Chambers-street, near Rosemary-lane. The flames were so rapid, they were almost instantaneously communicated to a timber yard, belonging to Mr. Mattocks, which was nearly consumed, together with seven houses in Chambers-street, beside the damaging of six others in Abell's-buildings. Happily no lives were lost, but a child of Mr. Mattocks' is missing. Owing to a scarcity of water at the commencement of the fire, the engines were supplied with beer from a large storehouse upon the premises. The damages are estimated at near 30,000l.

7. Yesterday the court of common-pleas was crowded, in consequence of the case of Joseph Randall and John French, two of the livery of London, being appointed to be argued. These men had been both impressed; but a habeas corpus being



ing granted, were, in obedience to this writ, brought into court.

Mr. serjeant Hill appeared as counsel on behalf of the admiralty. He said, that the question, which it was the wish both of the board of admiralty and the city of London to have decided, was, 'Whether a man, being a liveryman of London, but a seaman, and fit to serve the king, was exempted from being impressed? The learned serjeant said, that the admiralty were willing to have this important question tried by a jury upon an action to be brought by the city of London; or they would consent to have it put into such a shape as to be solemnly argued and determined by the court.

Lord Loughborough said, the question was of great public concern, and therefore every case that bore upon it ought to be examined. His lordship asked the counsel, what decision had been made upon the case of a waterman that had been impressed, who was a freeman of London. Mr. serjeant Adair remembered this case. It was argued before lord Mansfield, when that learned judge dwelt for some time upon the practice of impressing, which, he said, was a right at common law, founded upon public policy and acknowledged necessity. It was the opinion of lord Mansfield, that the waterman had not, by the affidavits then produced, proved a legal exemption; but the main question had never been decided.

Lord Loughborough was of opinion, that Randall and French should be discharged upon their own recognizances, to appear the second day of next term, when the question should be either argued before the court, or an issue directed to be tried by a jury.

The counsel on both sides consented, and the men were accordingly

discharged upon their own recognizances in 20l. each, to appear the second day of next term.

8. This day, at the sessions-house, Clerkenwell, William Seymour, the master of Stanes work-house, was tried for an assault on a pauper in March last, whom he had treated with circumstances of great barbarity; dragging the poor wretch, when dying, to a common, where he left him, by way of ridding the parish of him. He was, however, afterward brought back to the work-house, but died in his way thither. The court sentenced Seymour to twelve months imprisonment.

11. Advices received from the East Indies, by the Rodney India-man, say, that, on the 6th of November, earl Cornwallis embarked on board the Vestal frigate at Calcutta, and landed on the 13th of December, at Fort St. George; that his lordship had determined, instead of prosecuting the plan of the southern invasion, to penetrate into the Mysore country by the passes that lead from the centre of the Carnatic, and to commence his operations by the sieges of Oussore and Bangalore; that, in pursuance of this determination, he had directed general Medows to march his whole army from Trichinopoly to Tringmalé, and there to form it into two divisions, entering the enemy's country with one of them by the Changanapass, and marching with the other to meet his lordship at Amee. These advices add, that general Abercromby and colonel Hartley had, by their late brilliant successes, completely cleared the Malabar coast.

11. So great a change of weather seldom happens as has taken place since Monday se'nnight. On that day the glass stood at 75°, and people knew no place too cool to sit in; Sunday

Sunday and Monday last the glass was so low as 50°, and fires and great coats began to appear.

The hills in Kent and Suffex presented a spectacle on Sunday morning quite uncommon to the season of the year, their summits being covered with hoar-frost, and whitened with snow. Ice, of the thickness of a shilling, was seen in many places. The tender plants have been greatly hurt.

17. The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, have given a reward of twenty guineas to Mr. Lockett, of Domington, near Newbury, for making twenty-five yards of cloth from hop-stalks.

24. A common hall was held for the annual election of city officers; when Mr. alderman Anderson and Mr. alderman Combe were chosen sheriffs, and Mr. alderman Wilkes was re-elected chamberlain. Mr. Cowley attempted an opposition to Mr. Wilkes, on the ground, principally, that the offices of alderman and chamberlain were incompatible; but the livery would not hear him; while, on the contrary, they expressed the warmest approbation of Mr. Wilkes's declaration, 'that he would live and die an alderman of London.'

## J U L Y.

1. A prosecution was lately commenced in the general assembly of the church of Scotland, against Dr. M'Gill, for heresy; but the assembly dismissed the cause by a majority of 93 to 7.

2. The following is an account of the first trial for a libel in the United States of America. In February last, Edmund Freeman, printer of the Boston Herald, was tried before the supreme court of judicature, upon a charge of publishing a libel against

John Gardner, when, after a long, fair, and patient investigation, the defendant was honourably acquitted.

The lawyers for this prosecution endeavoured to establish the unconstitutional doctrines of truth being a libel, and that juries were not competent to judge of the intention; but these slavish dogmas were spurned at with due contempt, and the jury, exercising the rights of free-born subjects, considered the whole case, and pronounced their verdict upon the merits.

The American judges, upon this important question, sat in scarlet robes, and the court was filled and surrounded by thousands of citizens, who expressed their joy by every mark of approbation.

6. Mary Doran was brought up in the court of king's-bench, to receive sentence for setting her house on fire. She is to be imprisoned two years in Newgate, and afterward to find security for her good behaviour for five years; herself in 100*l.* and two sureties in 5*l.* each.

7. The fine imposed by lord Loughborough, on the county of Essex, was regularly estreated into the court of exchequer. A writ of certiorari was moved for by the county, to remove the record of the fine, with a view to try its legality. The attorney-general afterward moved to have this writ quashed, as having improvidently and unnecessarily issued; it not being a matter of justice but discretion, the county having a right to plead and go to issue on the estreat. This point has been solemnly argued; and yesterday the lord chief baron gave judgment that the writ should be quashed: the county are consequently left to plead to the estreat as they shall be advised; for which they obtained the leave of the court. See Vol. X. page (13), and Vol. XI. page (7) and (20).

11. On Saturday, Mr. Perry, proprietor of 'The Argus,' was sentenced to six months imprisonment, for a libel, charging John Walter and his son with having made a newspaper called The Times, the vehicle of fraud and oppression, by extorting money from individuals under false representations.

12. Mr. Perry was again brought up to the king's-bench to receive sentence for having published a libel on lady Fitzgibbon, the lady of the lord chancellor of Ireland, (charging her ladyship with criminal conversation with the earl of Westmorland) when the court imposed a fine of 200l. and to be imprisoned in the king's-bench six months, to commence from the expiration of his former imprisonment.

13. Yesterday, a duel was fought on Blackheath, between Mr. Graham, an eminent special pleader of Lincoln's-inn, and Mr. Julius, a student in the Temple; when the former fell by a shot, which passed almost through the lower part of the belly. He was brought to town in a post-chaise, and expired soon after. The quarrel originated in a dispute on a religious subject.

14. The second anniversary of the French revolution was celebrated in London, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, where about 900 gentlemen dined on the occasion. George Rous, esq. presided as chairman. An ode, written by Mr. Merry, was performed; M. Amand de Comedie, a French gentleman, delivered an animated address, in English; and, after a great many toasts had been drunk, Mr. Rous rose about eight o'clock, and said, 'That, considering the industry with which the intentions of the meeting had been misrepresented, it would best confute the assertions of their enemies, if, after the present temperate repast, every gentleman

were to retire home.' Mr. Rous then left the chair; and, after the health of the stewards and of the society at Nantz had been drunk, the company very peaceably separated. At nine o'clock not one of the company remained at the Crown and Anchor; but a mob, collected, no doubt, by the expectation so weakly, or criminally, promoted, that there would be a riot, appeared about the doors of the tavern, where indeed some persons had continued during the whole of the afternoon. At half past nine their numbers had greatly increased, and a few among them, probably pickpockets, or persons with worse intentions, began to call for lights. The rest accompanied them, as no transaction in London can want spectators, and the inhabitants of the eastern parts of the Strand and of the city placed lights in their windows. Then there came in the Strand, another mob of *peace makers*, demanding most *vehemently* that the lights should be put out, with which order the inhabitants reluctantly complied, not knowing which it was safe to obey. At eleven o'clock every thing was peaceable, and the persons in the streets were not so many as on a common illumination upon a birth-night. The windows of the London coffee-house, and of a silver-smith's house upon Ludgate-hill, with several others, were, however, broken, before the lights could be shewn. Great praise is due to the lord mayor, sir James Sanderford, and Mr. alderman Watton, for their spirited, yet temperate conduct on the first appearance of a disturbance.

21. The anniversary of the French revolution, on the 14th inst. which was celebrated without any disturbance, at Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Norwich, &c. was productive of fatal consequences at Birmingham; where, in consequence of an advertisement, the

the same day, near ninety gentlemen met, at the hotel in Temple-Lane, to commemorate this anniversary. It is previously to be observed, that six copies of a seditious hand-bill had been left early in the week, in a public house, by some person unknown: for discovery of the author, printer, or publisher of which, a reward of 100 guineas was offered by the magistrates; and which, having been very generally copied, caused a great ferment in the minds of the people. In consequence, on Thursday afternoon, a considerable number of persons gathered round the hotel, hissing at the gentlemen as they assembled; and, subsequent to their departure, two hours after, every window in the front was demolished, notwithstanding the personal interference of the magistrates.

The mob next attacked the New meeting-house (Dr. Priestley's), and, after trying in vain to tear up the seats, &c. they set it on fire, and nothing remains that could be consumed.

The old meeting-house was completely emptied of pulpit, pews, &c. which were burnt in the adjoining burying-ground, and afterward the building was levelled nearly with the ground; it being considered dangerous from its situation to set it on fire.

Dr. Priestley's house at Fair-hill, (a mile and a half from Birmingham) next met a similar fate; with the whole of his valuable library, and more valuable collection of apparatus for philosophical experiments. Here one of the rioters was killed by the falling of a cornice-stone.

On Friday morning the mob continued their depredations; for, there was no armed force, and the civil power was not sufficient to repress them. Armed with bludgeons, &c.

and vociferating "church and king!" they spread terror wherever they appeared.

About noon they attacked and demolished the elegant mansion of Mr. John Ryland, at Easy-hill; where many of the rioters, who were drunk, perished in the cellars, either by the flames, suffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six poor wretches, terribly bruised, were got out alive, and sent to the hospital, and ten dead bodies have since been dug out of the ruins; but a man, who had remained immured in one of the vaults from the preceding Friday, worked his way out on Monday, with little injury.

In the afternoon the magistrates attended and swore in some hundreds as additional constables, who, with mop-staves in their hands, marched to Mr. Ryland's to disperse the mob, who at first gave way, but rallying, after a stout conflict, in which many were severely wounded, the *posse comitatus* were obliged to retire.

The country residence of John Taylor, esq. Bordesley-hall, after the greatest part of its splendid furniture had been demolished or carried away, was set on fire, together with the out-offices, stables, ricks of hay, &c. Every exertion to preserve this elegant seat was made by captain Carver, but in vain. On offering them his purse with 100 guineas to save the house, he was hustled amid the crowd, with a cry of "No bribery!" and narrowly escaped their fury.

In the night of Friday, the house of Mr. Hutton, in High-street, was completely stripped; his large stock of paper, valuable library, and all his furniture destroyed or carried away. Fire was several times brought by a woman (women and boys were particularly active in all the depredations),

lations), but the majority of the populace, in tenderness to the town, would not suffer it to be applied.

From Mr. Hutton's they proceeded to his country house at Washwood-heath, three miles from town, which, with its offices, they reduced to ashes.

On Saturday, the rioters made an attack on Mr. Humphrey's elegant house at Spark-brook, but were repulsed, and one man killed. The mob, however, on a second attack, carried their point, and ransacked the house of all its furniture.

Mr. William Ruffel's house, at Shewell-green, experienced all the violence of fire and devastation.

The house of Mr. T. Hawkes, Moseley-wake Green, was stripped of its furniture.

Moseley-hall, the residence of the dowager countess of Carhampton, but the property of John Taylor, esq. Mr. Harwood's, and Mr. Hobson's, a dissenting minister, were all on fire at once.

Lady Carhampton, who is blind, had notice, the preceding day, to remove her effects, as their vengeance was not directed against her; the good old lady gave directions accordingly, and sir Robert and captain Lawley immediately attended on their noble relation, whom they accompanied in safety to Canwell, sir Robert's seat.

The whole of Saturday, business was at a stand, and the shops mostly shut up, notwithstanding the appearance of the magistrates, and several popular noblemen and gentlemen, for the reports were so various of the strength of the insurgents, and having no military, no force could be sent against them. In the afternoon and evening, small parties of three or five levied contribution, of meat, liquor, and money.

On Sunday the rioters bent their

course toward Kingwood, seven miles off, extorting money and liquors by the way. There the dissenting meeting-house, and the dwelling-house of their minister, were reduced to ashes; as were the premises of Mr. Cox, at Worstock, the same day.

At night, soon after ten, three troops of the 15th light dragoons arrived amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, whose hopes and fears had been depicted through the day in every countenance, as reports of the near approach of the soldiery were spread or contradicted. The town was immediately illuminated, and before morning every thing was tolerably quiet, but the rioters were still continuing their depredations in the country. They exhausted the cellars at each place, and received various sums of money to prevent their proceeding to further violence.

They were in great force at the time the troops arrived, which they no sooner had intimation of than they began to sink off in small parties; and the peasantry, taking courage, put the rest to flight in various directions.

So rapid were the light horse in their route for the relief of Birmingham, that they came there in one day from Nottingham, a distance of 56 miles.

On Monday, the town appeared in perfect security, but as much crowded as during the three preceding days, in viewing the military; the mob keeping at such a distance as to render all accounts of them dubious; at one time said to be at Alcester, the next hour at Bromsgrove, &c.

On Tuesday, there were flying rumours of depredations near Hagley, Hales-owen, &c. and in the evening certain information was received that a party of rioters were then attacking Mr. Male's, of Belle-vue. A few of the light dragoons immediately

ly went to his assistance; but the rioters had been previously overpowered by a body of people in that neighbourhood, and 10 of them were confined at Hales-owen.

On Wednesday morning, the country round, for 10 miles, was scoured by the light horse, but not one rioter to be met with, and all the manufactories were at work, as if no interruption had taken place. Three troops of the 1<sup>th</sup> light dragoons marched in this morning, and more troops were expected.

Among the articles consumed at Mr. Ryland's at Birmingham, was the body of the late Mr. Bakerville, who by will ordered he should be buried in his own house, and he was accordingly interred there. A stone closet was erected in it, where he was deposited in a standing posture. The house was afterward sold with this express condition, that it should remain there.

23. From a narrative published by Mr. William Russel, one of the sufferers by the riots, it appears, that in consequence of the seditious hand-bill the following advertisement was published in the Birmingham Chronicle of the 14th July, by the gentlemen who intended to commemorate the French revolution, who likewise sent hand-bills, with copies of this advertisement, all over Birmingham; both to prevent any bad effects from this seditious paper, and to rescue themselves from the calumny of being the authors of it.

"Birmingham commemoration of the French Revolution.

"Several hand-bills having been circulated in the town, which can only be intended to create distrust concerning the intention of the meeting, to disturb its harmony, and inflame the minds of the people, the gentlemen who proposed it, think it

necessary to declare their entire disapprobation of all such hand-bills, and their ignorance of the authors. —Sensible themselves of the advantages of a free government, they rejoice in the extension of liberty to their neighbours, at the same time avowing, in the most explicit manner, their attachment to the constitution of their own country, as vested in the three estates of the king, lords, and commons. — Surely, no free-born Englishman can refrain from exulting in this addition to the general mass of human happiness; it is the cause of humanity, it is the cause of the people.

"Birmingham, July, 13, 1791."

In the morning, however, after this was published, many rumours of the probability of a riot were brought to the friends of the meeting; and as there was too much reason to think that means had been used to promote one, they determined to postpone the intended dinner, and accordingly agreed to put it off, and prepare a hand-bill for that purpose, of which the following is a copy:

*Intended Commemoration of the French Revolution.*

"The friends of the intended festivity, finding that their views and intention, in consequence of being misconceived by some, and misrepresented by others, have created an alarm in the minds of the majority of the town, and it is thought, endangered its tranquillity, inform their neighbours that they value the peace of the town far beyond the gratification of a festival, and therefore have determined to give up their intentions of dining at the hotel upon this occasion; and they very gladly improve this renewed opportunity of declaring that they are to this hour entirely ignorant of the author,

thor, printer, or publisher, of the inflammatory hand-bill circulated on Monday."

This was sent to the printer; but before he had composed it, the master of the hotel, in consequence of having the dinner countermanded, represented, that he was sure there was no danger of any tumult, and recommended that the dinner might be had as was intended; only proposing that the gentlemen should take care to break up early, and then all danger would be avoided. This measure was then adopted, and orders given to the printer to suppress the hand-bill. Accordingly there was a meeting of eighty-one gentlemen, inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, at the great room in the hotel, where they dined and passed the afternoon with temperate festivity.

An ingenious artist of the town decorated the room upon this occasion with three elegant emblematic pieces of sculpture, mixed with painting, in a new style of composition. The central piece was a finely executed medallion of his majesty, encircled with a Glory, on each side of which was an alabaster obelisk; the one exhibiting Gallic Liberty breaking the bands of despotism, and the other representing British liberty in its present enjoyment.

James Keir, esq. of West Bromwich (a member of the church of England) was chairman: this gentleman likewise published a letter on the occasion, in which he asserts (in confutation of a false and malignant assertion in one of the morning prints, that a *treasonable* toast was the first that was given) that the first toast was 'The king and the constitution;' and one of the last, 'Peace and good will to mankind.'

24. The Neptune, Scarborough, and Surprise transports arrived at Botany-Bay the 29th of June, 1790,

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after a passage of exactly two months from the Cape of Good Hope. The convicts were very sickly, of whom 270 died on their passage, and 100 more after their arrival. The navy agent, Mr. Shepcott, died also on his passage; but of the New South Wales corps only one soldier died on the voyage, and one after they arrived. They found the colony in a distressed state, many sick and sickening for want of food, of which they were in deplorable need, having quite exhausted their stores, and nearly all the stock of animals intended for breeding. They were, however, happily relieved by the arrival of the ships.

27. A proclamation was published for apprehending the author, printer, or publisher, of the seditious paper, which excited so much disturbance at Birmingham.

Also another proclamation, offering a reward of 100l. with the royal pardon, as usual, for the discovery of the persons concerned in the late riots.

28. On Saturday came on, in the court of chancery, the hearing of the case of the nabob of Arcot against the India company, when the company's plea, that in quality of sovereigns they were not amenable, was set aside.

## A U G U S T.

3. The dissenters of Banbury have accommodated the members of the established church with the use of their meeting, since the taking down of the church; and divine service is performed there alternately every Sunday.

4. The following experiments were lately made, on board a ship in Portsmouth harbour, by Mr. Hill, carpenter of the Active, and inventor of a machine for drawing bolts out of

of the ship's sides, &c. 1st. He stopped a shot-hole on the outside of the ship, four feet under water, in the space of one minute, without assistance from any person out of the vessel. 2d. He stopped, in the same manner, a space in the ship's side, four feet under water, of four feet by four inches, in two minutes and a half. During the time of effectually curing both leaks, the ship made only ten inches water in the well. 3d. An experiment on the chain-pump with a new-constructed wheel of Mr. Hill's invention, which acts upon infinitely better principles than that at present in use, is much safer, less liable to be out of order, and will be a material saving to government, in chains and saucers.

5. Mr. Jefferson, the late American minister at the court of France, has communicated to an eminent house in the city a discovery, which, if sanctioned by experience, will be of the utmost importance. A person near Boston, who was a ship-builder, has solicited a patent from the United States for a mode of preserving ship-timber from being worm-eaten. During the thirty years he has been a bridge-builder, he has always soaked such timbers as were to be under water in oil, and has found this method to preserve them ever since he was in that employment.

6. An English Protestant church was opened at Dunkirk, for the public worship of Christians of all denominations. The number of Protestants at Dunkirk is very great; and the English are so numerous, that the church soon overflowed and many were obliged to return for want of room.

7. The act for regulating the limited number of negroes to be conveyed in the slave ships, in proportion to their tonnage, has been pro-

ductive of every good consequence intended by its benevolent framers; for the last Liverpool ship, that carried the largest freight, lost but one slave out of 515, which she exported from the coast of Africa to the West India Islands.

8. The United States of America, in order to alleviate the misery of slavery, have lately instituted several just and philanthropic laws in favour of that melancholy state of existence. They have, in particular, made the wilful murder of a slave, (which before was a misdemeanour liable to fine and imprisonment!) a capital offence.

12. The inhabitants of Birmingham, at a public meeting, voted an address of thanks to his majesty for his paternal care manifested for their security during the late riots. They also voted thanks and pieces of plate of 100 guineas value to their justices; also thanks to the earls of Aylesford and Plymouth, sir Robert Lawley, the hon. capt. Finch, and the several other gentlemen who exerted themselves to suppress the riots; thanks and elegant dress swords to capt. Polhill, cornets Hilton and Seymour; with 100l. to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 15th dragoons for their great vigilance.

*Whitehall, Aug. 16.* Ministerial notes have been delivered at St. Peterburgh by Mr. Whitworth, and Mr. Fawkener, and count Goltze, on the part of his majesty and of the king of Prussia, and by count Osterman on the part of the empress of Russia, relative to the terms of pacification between Russia and the Porte.

In these notes, the ministers of his majesty and the king of Prussia agree, on the part of their respective sovereigns, that their majesties will propose to the Porte to conclude a peace with Russia, on the terms of the cession



sion of the district of Oczakow, from the bog to the Dniester; her imperial majesty engaging not to disturb the free navigation of the latter river, but to favour and protect it, (to which condition the Porte is to be equally and reciprocally bound) and her imperial majesty being also to restore to the Porte at the conclusion of the peace, all other conquests whatever. The minister of her imperial majesty agrees, on the part of his sovereign, to make peace on these terms; and the ministers of his majesty and the king of Prussia agree, on the part of their respective sovereigns, that, if the Porte should decline to enter into negotiation on this basis, their majesties will leave the termination of the war to the course of those events to which it may lead. *London Gazette.*

18. Yesterday, a little before one o'clock, as his majesty was passing in his carriage through the Park to St. James's, a gentleman dressed in black, standing in the Green Park, close to the rails, within a few yards of Mr. Copley's pavilion, just as the carriage came opposite where he stood, was observed to pull a paper hastily from his pocket, which he stuck on the rail, addressed to the king, throw off his hat, discharge a pistol in his own bosom, and instantly fall. Though surrounded with people collected to see the king pass, the rash act was so suddenly perpetrated, that no one suspected his fatal purpose till he had accomplished it. He expired immediately. In his left hand was a letter, addressed "To the coroner who shall take an inquest on James Sutherland."—This unfortunate gentleman, James Sutherland, esq., had been suspended from his office of judge advocate of Minorca, on the second of August, 1780; for which, on the 23d of July 1783, he brought an action against general Murray, the governor, and obtained a verdict

with 1000*l.* damages. General Murray was indemnified by parliament; and the failure of some application to government having, at a subsequent period, reduced Mr. Sutherland to great distress, had greatly deranged his mind. He was very genteelly dressed; had only two penes and some letters in his pockets. The letters were carried to the secretary of state's office. One of them was addressed to the king. The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict lunacy.

*Bath, Aug. 17.* An action was tried at the assizes at Salisbury, brought by Mr. Phelps against the Hundred of Bradford, to recover the damage sustained by him from a riot on the 14th of May, by which his house and furniture were in part demolished, and a machine used in scribbling wool was taken from his workshops and burnt. The jury gave a verdict for the full damages.

On this occasion, judge Buller made the following observations: "The workmen have shown their disapprobation of the different improvements that have taken place in other manufactories as well as this; but deluded, infatuated people, how have they mistaken their own interest! I know myself the advantage which machines have been to the cotton manufactory in Lancashire; for there, where only 4000 people were employed, there are now 40,000; and were the gentlemen concerted in that business to give up their machines, it would occasion greater jealousies and discontents than were caused by their first introduction.

"This country has long been famous for making superfine cloth, in which it has excelled, and supplied not only this country, but all Europe, with the article; and if machines are not used to enable the manufacturer

to sell as cheap as other countries now do, they will be underfold, and find their goods returned on their hands; for that man who can afford to sell his commodity the cheapest, will have the greatest sale, and the most expeditiously increase his concern:—independent of this consequence, it is a public benefit.”

22. At the assizes at York, John Bennet was capitally convicted of setting fire to the house of Mr. Wilkinson, a magistrate, in the late riots at Sheffield.

*Whitehall, Aug. 23.* On Saturday last, one of his majesty's messengers arrived at the office of the right hon. Lord, Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, with dispatches from the right hon. sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B. his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, and plenipotentiary to the congress of Sistova, containing an account that a definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 4th instant, between the emperor and the Ottoman-Porte, under the joint mediation of his majesty, of the king of Prussia, and of the states-general of the United Provinces; and that a separate convention between his imperial majesty and the Ottoman Porte, for settling the limits between the two empires, was afterward signed on the same day. *London Gaz.*

*Birmingham, Aug. 25.* On Monday, Aug. 22, baron Perryn opened the proceedings at the assizes at Warwick, by an address to the grand jury, in which he observed, that in the calendar were the names of many persons charged with tumultuous riots, in open defiance of all law; by which the places of public worship, and the habitations and effects of a denomination of his majesty's subjects, who have long legally enjoyed toleration, have been destroyed, to the great terror and

injury of the individual sufferers, and to the alarm of the whole kingdom.

In stating what he thought the law on this subject, he thus proceeded: “Insurrections for real or imaginary grievances, of a public and general nature, and pulling down meeting-houses, inclosures, or such like, and to effect this purpose by force and numbers, are, by construction of law, considered high treason. Assemblies or multitudes met, from whatever purpose, though not of that general nature, and consequently not extending to high treason, are yet of the most dangerous tendency, and generally followed with the most mischievous consequences. Our history furnishes instances, where the person of the king, and the constitution of the kingdom, have been thrown into the utmost hazard by insurrections of this nature. If such insurrections are not prevented, or immediately suppressed, anarchy and confusion must follow; and the happiest constitution in the world, the best that a favoured nation was ever blessed with, must be in danger of being destroyed. In order to prevent these mischiefs, an act passed in the first year of George I. commonly called the Riot Act, which enacts, ‘that if twelve persons, or more, are unlawfully assembled to the disturbance of the peace, and any one justice of the peace, sheriff, under-sheriff, or mayor, shall command them by proclamation to disperse, if they contemn his orders, and continue together for one hour afterward, such contempt shall be felony without benefit of clergy.’ By a subsequent clause of this act, ‘it is provided, that if any persons, so riotously assembled, begin, even before proclamation, to pull down any church, chapel, meeting-house, dwelling-house, or out-house, they shall be felons without benefit of clergy.’

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"Gentlemen, I conceive it is upon this last clause that you will find the bills against the prisoners who stand charged with this offence.

"The wisdom of the legislature has enjoined, that tumultuous risings of this nature should be immediately suppressed. Every person in this kingdom is entitled to the benefit of the law: every person is obliged to obey, or suffer the penalties of the law. It is your duty to inquire, and true presentment make of the breaches of this statute, that the law may be carried into execution, for the safety of his majesty's subjects. Whatever were the motives to these breaches, they cannot be justified. When the most severe laws against the Roman catholics, which so long disgraced our statute-book, have been repealed; when every reasonable indulgence was given to tender consciences, which was consistent with the safety of the state; and when all intolerance seemed to be done away; it must be matter of great surprise, that such a season should be chosen for this violence; at a time too when the blessings of his majesty's reign are equally extended to all his subjects, without distinction of persons, and whose view has ever been to unite the hearts of all his subjects, and to render them as well affected to each other as they ought to be to such a sovereign."—The baron concluded, by expressing confidence, that the great trust reposed in them by the constitution would be discharged to their own honour, and in a manner that would contribute to the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

The trials commenced the next day, when Francis Field, alias Rodney, was indicted for setting fire to the house of John Taylor, esq. of Aston, near Birmingham, on the 15th of July last.

Mr. Newnham, the leading coun-

sel for the crown, opened the prosecution, by stating to the jury the dreadful riots which had taken place at and near Birmingham, in the middle of July. "These riots," said he, "were a reproach to any well regulated government; and though it was impossible, with the exertions of the magistrates, and the assistance of many of the well-disposed persons of Birmingham, to withstand such riots, yet they did as much as in them lay to prevent the dreadful consequences that ensued; but violence bore down the weak efforts of justice. These riots were carried to such an excess, that his majesty, the great father of his people, and the protector of the peace of the country, has thought fit to interfere, in order to preserve the property of his subjects, and by the lesson of wholesome prosecution, has, in the most solemn manner, taken this up as an act of government. —Although I may pity that unfortunate prisoner, who, in a frenzy of delusion, thought fit to set fire to and destroy one of the best houses in this county, belonging to a man in his public and private character as irreproachable as any in the kingdom; (a character given him by all his friends and neighbours) yet I must say, that he committed this excess without the smallest provocation, without the smallest reason,—being actuated by the frenzy of delusion.

"Gentlemen, government has nothing to do with the private opinions entertained by any one man, or set of men. Vicissitude of opinions produces sometimes the grossest insults upon government. We all recollect the dreadful consequences of the year 1780, when the capital was threatened with destruction, and was almost lighted from one end to the other, with the fires that were kindled by the frenzy of opinion. Gen-

lemen, the house of Mr. Taylor still smokes in its ruins: that prisoner stands charged with this. What opinion he may entertain, it does not concern me to enquire into, or you to know: but this I know, and this you will know and feel, that the only safe anchor of the constitution, is the law: *that* is the protector, the general protector of our property and of our lives; and without that sure anchor of protection and of hope, we should be all subject to the assumed affectation of opinion of a tumultuous rabble, in every part of his majesty's dominions."

Witnesses were then called, who clearly proved, that the prisoner was seen to feed the fire kindled in the house, huzzaaing all the time. He called no witnesses to his character; but Mr. Clarke and Mr. Willes his counsel, submitted to his lordship, that as there was no evidence to shew that the prisoner had set fire to this house, but only that he had thrown some goods into the fire that had been kindled by some other person, he could not be convicted on this indictment, which charged him with setting fire to it.

The judge said, that if a person brought a quantity of fire into a house, and another fed it, by adding fuel to it, he was as much the original burner as the person who first kindled it.—Then, in an excellent charge to the jury, he observed, that this indictment was founded on an act, 9 Geo. I. called the Black Act. He conceived the indictment would have been founded on the Riot Act, 1 Geo. I. c. 5. By the Black Act it was provided, that whoever should wilfully and maliciously set fire to any house, barn, or outhouse, should be a felon without benefit of clergy. Although the prisoner did not set this house on fire, yet, being there, and acting in the manner that had been described by the witnesses, he was as guilty of

burning down the houses, as the person who brought the first firebrand. The prisoner seemed to have been one of the most active. As to his being in liquor, that was no excuse at all, but rather an aggravation. Common reason and law, said, that a man who had been guilty of one crime, should not be excused because he had committed another.

The jury retired, and, after an hour's consideration, brought in their verdict, *Guilty*.

William Rice was next indicted, on the riot act, for beginning to demolish the house of William Hutton, esq. of Aston. Two of Mr. Hutton's servants deposed, that the prisoner said, that they would be damned, if the house did not come down, and accordingly he struck a kitchen window, and, assisted by another man, broke it to pieces; and that he saw him likewise destroying the bannisters of the stairs, and throwing them through the windows into the garden. On the other hand, two other witnesses gave evidence importing, that he could not be at Mr. Hutton's house at the time the mob were destroying it; and one, in particular, swore, that the prisoner was *against*, not *for* the mob. He and two other witnesses gave the prisoner the character of an honest, sober, and industrious man.

The judge, in his charge to the jury, directed their attention to the situation of the two witnesses for the prosecution, who stood at the door the whole time, and, of course, had an opportunity of observing what passed. As they were placed there by Mr. Hutton for that very purpose, to preserve their master's property, it was natural for them to observe every thing that was going on; and they described the prisoner to be one of the most active among the mob. In short, if the jury gave credit to their testimony, it brought the case home to the prisoner.

er. They would judge whether the evidence which had been adduced for the prisoner would make any alteration in the case. His lordship also summed up this evidence, and gave the prisoner the full benefit of it. The jury were judges what credit was to be given to the witnesses on each side. Their verdict was—*Not Guilty*.

Robert Whitehead was indicted for the same offence. Mr. Hutton's two servants swore to his activity in demolishing the house, and that he had snatched a gun from one of the witnesses, and knocked him down with the butt-end of it. This evidence was confirmed by two other witnesses; but was flatly contradicted by another, whose evidence went to prove, that the prisoner, so far from being a rioter, did every thing in his power to quell the riot; and four respectable witnesses swore that he had as good a character as any workman need to have.

The judge observed; that four men must be absolutely perjured, if the prisoner had not committed the acts of violence they had enumerated.

The jury brought in their verdict—*Not Guilty*.

On Wednesday, John Green, Bartholomew Fisher, and John Clifton, were indicted for beginning to demolish the house of Joseph Priestley, LL.D. at Aston.

Mr. Coke, M. P. for Nottingham, addressed the jury; and observed, that there never was an occasion in this country that called more seriously for their attention. There never was an occasion when government had acted more honourably; for they had undertaken, to the relief of the individual sufferers, the expence of these prosecutions. If juries acquitted, it was not the fault of government. He did not wish it to be understood as if any one had been improperly acquitted yesterday; he

only meant to say, that government had done their duty. If a man were to be persecuted because he held this or that religious, or this or that political opinion, he ought to leave this country: it did not deserve the name of his country. Dr. Priestley, both in his private and public character, was an honour to society, and held forth as bright an example of every virtue as any man in the country. But if a man's property were to be destroyed, and his life put in imminent danger, because he held certain political opinions, or because he preached certain doctrines, he ought to sell his country, and leave it immediately. He did not profess to agree with Dr. Priestley either in his religious or in his political opinions; but if he had been at Birmingham when the riots took place, he should have risked his life in the protection of his house; and the more so, because he differed in opinion from him. By persecution, the smallest sect in the country, so far from being crushed, would thrive; and as he was not a dissenter himself, but a church of England man, he lamented extremely, that this would tend to augment the number of dissenters. The dissenters were as respectable and as quiet subjects as any in the country; and unless the jury convicted, and convicted with great attention, those who had been clearly guilty, persecution would make the dissenters increase. It was manifest that they had been lately persecuted in the most infamous manner. "Gentlemen," he continued, "if you do not convict where the case calls for conviction, you are enemies to your country. Remember you are on your oaths to discharge your duty. I have told you, and you know the fact to be so, that doctor Priestley's house was pulled down, merely because he was a dissenter. You know that this is no reason at

all. Dr. Priestley's life is irreproachable; and I believe that he would not have escaped with his life, if he had remained half an hour longer. Look at these fellows, (the prisoners); if you do not convict on this occasion, another 4th of July will come, and there will be other riots, and doctor Priestley himself will be burned. Remember, another year is coming; and next year there may be as much reason for celebrating the French revolution as there was this year. I should not choose to be present at such meetings, and I disapprove of them as much as any man. But I am clearly of opinion, that the people of this country have a right to eat and drink as much as they please, to get drunk, and to drink bumper toasts. If you do not convict these vagabond fellows, doctor Priestley himself will be burned!

"Gentlemen, you have sons and grandsons, and the tables will be turned on you, and your sons and grandsons will be thrown into the fire in the next century. I call on you as Englishmen, and friends to the constitution, to attend to the evidence, and to do your duty. You stand in a very conspicuous situation. There are no twelve men in England, on whom the whole kingdom are looking with so much anxiety and expectation as on you. I have heard it said, that they (the jury) will not convict any one of them. I have heard in the streets"—

Mr. Clarke, one of the counsel for the prisoners, said, Mr. Coke had no right to state what he had heard in the streets.

The judge said, that Mr. Coke had opened the prosecution with great propriety.

The foreman of the jury thought this opening exceedingly improper,

and disgraceful to the jury, as it insinuated, that they had not faithfully discharged their duty; and another juror said, he felt himself in a very disagreeable situation. The foreman added, that he understood the nature of an oath as well as the learned counsel, and came there conscientiously to discharge his duty.

Mr. Coke said, that he had begun with observing, that he did not mean to insinuate that any prisoner had been improperly acquitted. He was only stating the reasons why the jury ought to give their attention to this business; that the eyes of the whole country were upon them. He was going to inform the jury that it was rumoured, (he durst say the report was unfounded) that they would not convict. His lordship had approved of what he had said. He again observed that government had done their duty in a manner that was much to their honour, and he trusted that the jury would also perform their duty.

When the evidence for the prosecution was closed, an argument took place between the counsel, on the construction of that clause in the riot act upon which this indictment was founded.

The counsel for the prisoners observed, that this indictment was, for beginning to pull down and demolish the house of Dr. Priestley; it was in evidence, that before any of the prisoners were there, the destruction of this house was begun; and if the prisoners were not concerned in the beginning of the destruction of it, they were not within the act, and could not be convicted.

On the other side, it was stated, that this act created two distinct offences, 1st, 'To demolish and pull down;

down;' and 2dly, 'Beginning to demolish and pull down.' The indictment was founded on the clause that enacted penalties against those who began to demolish. And if none could be convicted as a beginner to demolish, but those who actually did the first mischief, then this consequence must ensue—Suppose a man at the head of twenty thousand men, and he only began to pull down or demolish any building, and then the twenty thousand engaged in it, but did not complete the destruction of it, it was impossible that any of them could be punished but their general. This was so absurd, that it was unnecessary to enlarge upon it. A beginning to demolish must therefore mean a partial demolition. And suppose a man begins to demolish, and then another comes up and assists him, the second is as much a beginner to demolish as the first.

The judge said he should be happy if he could think that the objection could avail the prisoners. But he conceived, that if the construction that was now contended for was put on this act, it would be contrary to the intention of the legislature at the time it was made, and would only render it a dead letter.

After some witnesses in favour of the prisoners had been heard, the judge observed, that the evidence against Clifton was much slighter than against the other two prisoners. The excellent character given him by his master, who had known him many years, ought to make a deep impression on their minds. They would distinguish his case from that of the other prisoners.

The jury found Fisher and Green *guilty*, and acquitted Clifton.

John Stokes, alias John Payne, was then indicted for beginning to demolish the Old-Meeting, in Bir-

mingham. But the indictment, stating that this Meeting-house was in Old Meeting-house Lane, whereas it was registered (a form required by law) as in Philip Lane, the judge could not permit the trial to proceed.

William Shuker, the bellman of Birmingham, was indicted for beginning to demolish the house of John Ryland, esq. in that town. The evidence of the three first witnesses was very strong against him. But their testimony was impeached by several other witnesses. Others gave him a very excellent character, as an honest, inoffensive man, whose only fault was, that he loved a drop of liquor. The jury, therefore, in perfect concurrence with the opinion of the judge, brought in their verdict—*Not guilty*.

Joseph Careless was indicted for the same offence. Mr. Newnham, addressing the jury, observed, that these prosecutions were not carried on for the vindictive purposes of punishment, but merely for the sake of public justice, and to read this wholesome lesson to all his most gracious majesty's peaceable subjects;—"That the government of his majesty, and the peace of all his faithful subjects throughout his wide domains, is not to be interrupted by a lawless rabble, and tumultuous rioters; that his majesty and his ministers will stand forth as the assertors and protectors of the English law." "That", continued Mr. Newnham, "is the tenure, and the only tenure, by which you and I, and every man who hears me, hold every thing that is dear to us. It is by that security alone we live, and under which we enjoy our liberty. It is not at the capricious will of a tumultuous rabble that we are to hold either our opinions or our property. It is not because a law-

less rabble has attacked the town of Birmingham, that hitherto peaceable seat of commerce, that men are to sit quiet under the disturbance of their houses and families; nor are they to suffer because an irresistible mob chooses to take umbrage at this or that man, and to pull down his house, destroy his property, and reduce him to beggary.

"Gentlemen, this is one of those cases which the civil magistrates could not quell; it remained for the slow, but irresistible law of the country, which I desire to live under, and which I know every man that hears me reveres. The law, though it has leaden heels, has iron hands, and will sooner or later bring to punishment the persons concerned in these riots. I do not state to you the general confusion and the general destruction of the town of Birmingham; I do not state to you the interruption of that commerce, by which it has grown great and important in Europe; I do not state to you the precarious tenure by which every man, from the 14th to the 16th of July last, held his property, at the caprice of the mad assembly there collected; but I state this to you, that the prisoner at the bar stands here to acquit himself before you, the only constitutional tribunal of the country, and who are to decide whether he is or is not guilty of the offence with which he stands charged.

"Gentlemen, I do not put it to your feelings; I demand nothing but that justice which the law of England expects from juries. When once a jury departs from that, the law is vague and uncertain."

Two witnesses swore positively to the fact charged against the prisoner. But a third witness stated, that the prisoner had endeavoured to preserve some pigs on the premises.

The judge observed, that one witness had been called to shew that the prisoner did not come there to do any injury, but to preserve the property. But these pigs were not in the room where the bow window was, and which he endeavoured to demolish; and he thought that the whole conduct of the prisoner,—his saying, "come my lads, we will soon have it down," and his taking a stick and actually demolishing part of the house with his own hand (which had appeared in evidence) did not furnish a strong proof that he came for the purpose of suppressing the riot. The jury, however, were the sole judges. If they were of opinion, that this man was instrumental in the demolition of Mr. Ryland's house, and was really one of the mob, calling out "Church and king!" they would convict him; but if they were of a different opinion, they would find him not guilty.—The jury acquitted him.

William Hands, was indicted for the same offence; when Mr. Newnham thus addressed the jury:

"Gentlemen of the jury,

"I rise up, under the most serious impression, and with a great deal of feeling, but to stifle that feeling as far as it is consistent with my duty, and with the utmost deference, to state to you, under the correction of the court, that your only guide upon this occasion, is the solemn oath you have taken, and the evidence you will hear.

"Gentlemen, you have heard the charge against the prisoner, that he, in company with a riotous assembly of persons, came to the house of Mr. Ryland, in Birmingham; that they, and the prisoner, who was one that was active among them, without listening to any intreaties, began to pull down his house. Gentle-

men,



men, whatever feelings you may have about you, they had no feelings of humanity about them, but carried into execution the purpose of destruction for which they were assembled. If you think this opposition to the law, which is our protector; if you think this opposition to evidence can be shewn with impunity, and that you are under no obligation to call God to witness the truth of your verdict (I do not call upon you to protect your own property, because of that I will say nothing; but I call on you as a set of jurymen, to decide according to evidence); if you think this case, when proved, does not call upon you for judgment, I wish you to sleep quietly in your beds."

Two witnesses swore positively to the fact; and the jury brought in their verdict—*Guilty*.

James Watkins was indicted for the same offence; but only one witness appearing against him, he was acquitted. On leaving the bar, he quaintly said, "Your servant, gentlemen."

Daniel Rose, aged 16, was charged with beginning to pull down the dwelling house of John Taylor, esq. at Aston, when Mr. Newnham thus addressed the jury:

"Gentlemen of the jury,

"Though the prisoner at the bar stands charged with riots of the most dangerous nature, and destructive of that elegant mansion belonging to a person whose family has almost been the father of Birmingham; yet, when I look at him, and consider his youth, that he is not above sixteen, I compassionate that youth, and will not call evidence against him; in order to shew that government, on every proper occasion, is as much disposed to shew lenity, as any one of you of the jury. He was discharged of course,

Mr. Clarke, counsel for the prisoner, observed, that he thought it was but doing justice to Mr. Newnham to say, that he had conducted the prosecutions with the utmost candour, and with the greatest honour to government and himself.

Mr. Newnham said, examples must be made, though government had not the least inclination to seek after blood.

The business being finished about ten at night, the rioters who had been convicted were put to the bar, when the judge said, that the offence of which they had been found guilty was of such a nature, that none of them could expect the least mercy. "It is mercy to the public," he continued, "to make an example of persons who have been guilty of such crimes, in order to preserve the property of the industrious and innocent, and to prevent them from depredations by such persons as you are."

His lordship, after exhorting them to a proper employment of the short time they had to live, passed the awful sentence of the law.

On leaving the town, he ordered the four rioters, Francis Rodney, John Green, Bartholomew Fisher, and William Hands, with Edward Brown, for highway robbery, and William Millington, for horse-stealing, to be executed on the 8th of September, at the usual place of execution, near Warwick. See page (43.)

At the assizes for Worcestershire, Robert Cook was capitally convicted of setting fire to the house of William Russel, esq. of Showell's-green, and has since been executed.

26. Sir Robert Lawley, bart. and Sir George A. W. Shuckburgh, bart. attended by Mr. Taylor, of Birmingham, were introduced to the king at St. James's, when Sir Robert pre-

presented two addresses; the one from the inhabitants of the county of Warwick, and the other from the dissenters of Birmingham, thanking his majesty for the care which he and his ministers had shewn in protecting his loyal subjects of that town, at a time when the whole place was in the most alarming situation. Both addresses his majesty received most graciously.

*Whitehall, Aug. 30.* In consequence of the late edict of the Spanish government, respecting foreigners, the principal merchants and other British subjects residing in Alicant, were, on the 7th, required by the governor to declare, whether they chose to be considered and classed foreigners *Transjentes* or *Domiciliados*. On their preferring the latter class, they were ordered to leave Alicant within fifteen days, and were required to take an oath of implicit obedience to the laws of Spain during that period. Mess. Keith and Macdonald having declined complying with this order, they were confined in the castle of Alicant.

On the receipt of this intelligence at Madrid, count Florida Blanca immediately assured lord St. Helen's that he entirely disapproved of every part of the governor's conduct; that orders should immediately be sent for the release of mess. Keith and Macdonald, without a moment's delay; and that the governor should be called upon to prove any charge he might have made against them, and, on his failing to make it good, that those gentlemen should certainly receive due satisfaction. Count Florida Blanca added, that he had, the preceding evening, sent out circular orders on this subject, which would, he trusted, secure his majesty's subjects settled at Alicant from any further molestation.

Within a few hours after this conversation, count Florida Blanca sent lord St. Helen's the above-mentioned order for the release of mess. Keith and Macdonald, which his excellency immediately forwarded to Alicant.—*Lond. Gaz.*

## S E P T E M B E R.

*Windfor, Sept. 3.* This morning, soon after five, their majesties and their royal highnesses the princess royal, princess Augusta, and princess Elizabeth, set out for Weymouth. *Lond. Gaz.*

*Whitehall, Sept. 5.* Their majesties, and the three princesses, arrived safely at Weymouth, a little after six o'clock, on Saturday evening.

6. By the Hawke East Indiaman, advices were received, that earl Cornwallis had ascended the Ghauts, by the Moglee Pass, and encamped on the Table Land of Myfore, on the 21st of February. Three forts surrendered successively to him, in his way to Bangalore, before which fortress he encamped on the 5th of March; and, on the 7th, the Petah was carried by assault. The first batteries were opened against Bangalore on the 12th; the approaches were carried on, with unremitting assiduity, in the face of Tippoo's whole army; and, on the 21st, at night, the place was taken by storm. Our loss was very inconsiderable. After this important conquest, earl Cornwallis was uncertain whether he should be able to attempt the reduction of Seringapatam before the rains, or limit his views to Oussore, and an establishment in that part of the Myfore country.

7. Advices have been received by the Lord Thurlow East Indiaman, that the Panther, of two hundred tons,

tons, commanded by lieutenant M'Cluer, with the Endeavour, of sixty tons, had sailed from Bombay, on the 23d of Aug. 1790, and arrived safely at the Pelew Islands.

On their arrival, they observed two canoes, which made toward the shore instead of coming to the ships, as had been expected. These, they supposed, were going to give on account to Abba Thulle of their arrival; and in this conjecture they were not mistaken; for soon after, they saw a number of canoes coming off to them, in one of which was the good old king.

Immediately on his coming on board, he went up to the captain, taking him, from his dress, to be his former friend, captain Wilson, and immediately felt on his arm for the bone, (a mark of honour he conferred on captain Wilson), and enquired what was become of it. Finding his mistake in the person, and being informed that captain Wilson was alive and well in England, he expressed great satisfaction. Captain M'Cluer then gave him to understand the death of Lee Boo, and the disorder of which he died, for which event the good old man said that he had prepared his mind; that he had counted up to some score moons; but the time being past, he had despaired of ever seeing the English more, judging that they had either perished in their voyage to China, or did not intend to return again to visit his islands.

He was, however, perfectly confident in the goodness of the English, and that captain Wilson would take care of his son. In relating the death of Blanchard (the seaman who had been left there by his desire) he was full of grief, and could hardly utter himself, so much did he feel his loss.

Blanchard was mortally wounded

in an engagement with the people of Pellilew, and died soon after, as did the great and good friends of captain Wilson and his crew, Raa Kook and Arra Cooker. During the time of captain M'Cluer's stay at the islands, which was near a month, the utmost harmony and friendship prevailed, and the good old king liberally supplied them with fish and yams when the canoes came in, as he used to do to his former friends.

Captain M'Cluer has taken a son and a daughter of the king's with him, to China, and means to call at the islands again in his passage to Bombay. In his journal, the captain says, "having pitched my tent in a bay opposite to the ship, I found myself in a perfect paradise, and could have been happy to have continued here the remainder of my days."

Captain M'Cluer, when the Lord Thurlow left China, was preparing his course to Bougainville Strait, in order to trace the south coast of New Guinea, the passage between False Cape and Aroo islands, also westward between Timor and Wessel islands, and Timor and New Guinea.

10. It is a fact worthy notice, that no rum or spirits of any kind were used on board the ship Brothers, captain Josiah, in his late voyage from Philadelphia to Canton. His men were uncommonly healthy, and not a life was lost between his leaving the Delaware, and his return to it. The constant drink of his sailors was spruce-beer.

11. Francis Rodney and John Green were executed at Warwick on Saturday. Bartholomew Fisher has been pardoned, and William Hands reprieved.

Dublin, Sept. 6. On the 27th ult. was tryed at Castlebar, an action brought by sir Neal O'Donnel, bart. against

against William Bellingham Swan, esq. inspector-general of Armagh, and others, revenue officers, for breaking open the doors of his house in Newport Pratt, on the 17th of November last, and forcibly and illegally carrying away wines, the property of the plaintiff, and this at a time when the plaintiff and all his family were in Dublin.—The jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff with 1000*l.* damages and costs.

13. On Friday the magistrates of Glasgow, committed a young man to Bridewell for habitual drunkenness; and, on the application of a husband accusing his wife of a like conduct, a proof was taken, and the fact being clearly substantiated, she was committed to Bridewell for twelve months.

17. On Thursday, about five o'clock in the morning, James Hogworth, the post-boy, carrying the mail from Warrington to Manchester, was murdered about a mile from Warrington: the mail was found open, and the letters in the following bags were taken out and carried away, viz. the bags from Chester for Manchester and Rochdale, which contained the letters of the 10th from Ireland for those towns and places beyond; and the bags from Liverpool and Warrington for Rochdale.

21. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which commenced on the 14th, ended; when sentence of death was passed upon ten capital convicts. After this a pardon was then read to 15 capital convicts, (who had formerly been respited during pleasure) upon condition of their being transported for life to the eastern coast of New South Wales; and they were severally asked if they were willing to accept of his majesty's clemency upon those terms, which was readily accepted by them all, except Thomas Chafeland, who posi-

tively refused the same, whereupon he was ordered to be closely confined in a separate cell until his contumacy shall be reported to his majesty; and the others were ordered to be transported accordingly.

22. Lord Petre has presented a very handsome set of communion plate to the parish of St. Peter, at Thetford, in Norfolk, by the hands of W. Robert Mingay, esq. the mayor. It was delivered to a select vestry, who returned his lordship a handsome letter of thanks by the rev. H. C. Manning:

“My Lord,

“The mayor has this morning delivered to a vestry at St. Peter's church, your lordship's most liberal donation of a very elegant set of communion plate; a donation indeed so entirely unconnected with all local considerations, that it could originate alone in the purest and noblest motives. There needed not, however, this recent instance of munificence, to convince us of the generosity of a mind superior to all prejudice, or partial distinctions in the profession of one common faith; and alone attentive to the general and dignified decency of its rites and ceremonies, under every denomination of christianity. The parishioners have delegated to me the honour of returning your lordship their most grateful and sincere acknowledgments; and with extreme satisfaction is it, that I discharge, the trust reposed in me: presuming, at the same time, to testify the warmth of my feelings, on an occasion so peculiarly gratifying to your lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

Thetford,

Sept. 19. 1791. H. C. MANNING.

27. Advices received from the Havannah mention, that, on the 21st of June, there fell, at day-break, a very violent

violent rain in the island of Cuba; which continued till the next day, at half past two in the afternoon, with such force, as to cause the greatest flood ever known in that country.

The tobacco-mills belonging to the king of Spain, were intirely carried away by the waters, and the village, in which they stood, is no more. Two hundred and fifty-seven of the inhabitants perished in it.

In the spot where the mills stood, the water, and, as it is thought, a slight earthquake, opened the ground to the depth of forty-five feet, and, in one of the openings, a river appeared of the purest water. In the site of a house, occupied by the count Baretto, cavities were discovered more than sixty-feet deep, from one of which rose a thick smoke.

At the distance of four leagues from thence, the torrent was so great, that none of the inhabitants escaped, and all the upper part of the soil, in which corn, or fruits were growing, was carried away. The number of deaths, or the extent of the misfortune, could not be immediately ascertained; but the calculation was, that 3000 persons had perished, with cattle of various kinds, to the number of 11,700.

*Weymouth, Sept. 28.* His majesty in council was this day pleased to declare his consent to a contract of matrimony between his royal highness the duke of York and her royal highness the princess Frederique Charlotte Ulrique Catherine of Prussia, eldest daughter of his majesty the king of Prussia; which consent his majesty has also caused to be signified under the great seal.

*Birmingham, Sept. 30.* From some circumstances which appeared from the evidence against William Hands, upon his trial, some gentle-

men, who were led to apprehend that the whole truth respecting his conduct at Mr. Ryland's house, during the late riots, did not appear, and that the part he took there was to preserve, and not to destroy Mr. Ryland's property, humanely united in obtaining and presenting a petition to his majesty in his favour, upon which a respite for fourteen days was granted: previous to the expiration of which, Mr. justice Bond was sent down with another respite for seven days more, and to investigate the allegation stated in the petition in favour of the prisoner: and, on Sunday se'nnight, very satisfactory evidence was adduced before the magistrates of this town, Mr. justice Bond, sir Robert Lawley, bart. the high bailiff, and many of the most respectable gentlemen of this place, in support of the favourable circumstances stated on behalf of the prisoner, which were returned to the secretary of state by Mr. Bond; the result of which has been, the arrival of another respite on Saturday, during his majesty's pleasure, and on Tuesday, of a free pardon.

#### O. C. T. O. B. E. R.

1. Charles Alexander Cricket, esq. M. P. for Ipswich, and first partner in the Bank of Cricket, Menish, and Co. Chelmsford, is elected treasurer of a new institution, at that town, on Friday last, for the support of the widows and orphans of school-masters, when a number of gentlemen of that profession attended from different parts of the country. After the necessary regulations had been agreed upon, one guinea each was immediately subscribed by upward of fifty persons for the general uses of the charity.

3. A very

3. A very extraordinary and unhappy affair lately happened on board the Earl Fitzwilliam, one of the East Indiamen just arrived: a gentleman and his niece were passengers in the ship from Bengal, having part of the captain's cabin, or round-house, assigned to themselves for accommodation, and lived at the captain's table; the gentleman, a widower, about forty-five years of age, and his niece about thirty.

On Wednesday morning, the 28th ult. it was currently reported in the ship, that a passenger had, by looking through the key-hole of the door of their apartment on Tuesday afternoon, discovered them in an improper situation; that he had called another person to be witness of the same; that they alarmed the parties by knocking at the door, and retired. The affair being universally made known, a reserve took place at table, during dinner, between the gentlemen and the parties, and an explanation was so far gone into as to convince the latter that their guilt was public. They accordingly soon retired from table, and remained that day and Thursday in their apartment.

On Friday morning, upon a servant knocking at the door, and not being able to obtain admittance, a suspicion arose, and the gunner was desired to go over the ship's quarter, and look into their apartment, on which he discovered that they had destroyed themselves. The gentleman was found sitting in the quarter-gallery with a fuscée and a pistol, with the latter of which he had shot himself through the head; the lady was lying in the balcony, and a discharged pistol near her, with which she had shattered her head in a shocking manner. They had been dead for some time, and it was about seven in the morning when this part

of the melancholy business was publicly known in the ship. Their bodies were committed to the deep about noon.

5. Advices received from earl Cornwallis, by the Warren Hastings Indiaman, dated camp at Venkettingharry, April 21, 1791, that in the march from Velhout on the 5th of February, he had taken the forts of Colar and Ouscottah; that he had arrived before Bangalore on the 5th of March: that lieutenant-colonel Floyd having discovered the rear of Tippoo's line of march apparently in great confusion, had suffered himself to be tempted to attack them contrary to orders; that his success at first was great, but that the length and ardour of the pursuit having thrown his squadrons into confusion, they were charged by Tippoo's cavalry, and being out of all reach of support, were obliged to retire with precipitation, with the loss of above 200 men and 300 horses; colonel Floyd himself having received a severe wound in the face.

His lordship adds, that on the 21st he took Bangalore by storm, with a trifling loss; but that he had the misfortune to lose lieutenant-colonel Moorhouse, in the previous capture of the Pettah on the 7th; that upward of 100 pieces of ordnance (50 of which were brass) were taken, with a vast quantity of military stores; that Tippoo, though often near enough to cannonade his camp, had acted with such caution, that he had found it impracticable to bring him to an engagement; that to his repeated overtures of peace he had refused to listen but in concurrence with the allies; and that the success at Bangalore had tended to establish, in the general opinion of the natives, the superiority of the British arms, and, in particular, had made a great and favourable

vourable impression upon his allies.

Other advices mention, that, on the 5th of April, the fort of Durwar had surrendered to the English, in conjunction with the Mahrattas.

9. At the quarter sessions at Sudbury, lately, a prosecution for an assault was tried, and the jury could not agree in their verdict; they remained together from noon till midnight, and then, compelled by hunger, burst open the door of the room where they were locked up, and made off to their own houses. Next morning they re-assembled; but being then no longer considered as the same jury, they were dismissed by the court, who determined to apply to the attorney-general for his advice in this curious predicament.

*Glasgow, Oct. 12.* In consequence of very heavy rains, which we had for the two preceding days, the river Clyde yesterday, overflowed its banks, and rose to such a height as to lay all the lower part of this city several feet under water. The furniture and goods in the houses which the water reached have been very much damaged; and as the harvest is not yet quite got in in this country, great quantities of cut corn have been swept away by the flood from the lands overflowed by the river. The water rose so high as to reach the cells of the mad-house. The instantaneous effect which the dread of the water had upon the lunatics, was very remarkable—the whole of them, even the most furious, were rendered quiet and tractable, and allowed themselves, trembling like children, to be conducted to apartments on the upper story, where they remained calm and peaceable, as long as the courtyard remained covered by the water.

12. On Monday Mary Davis, a girl, only 13 years of age, was brought before the lord Mayor, upon a charge of having put some copperas into some cold tea, with intent to poison an infant child of Mr. Wheelright, her master. By the testimony of Mr. Wheelright and his wife, it appeared, that the prisoner was bound apprentice to him by the parish of Camberwell; soon after which her conduct betrayed a miserable depravity of mind. In the course of his business, Mr. Wheelright used copperas, which he kept in a bottle, and particularly cautioned the prisoner not to meddle with it; notwithstanding which she took an opportunity to put some of it into some cold tea, and gave it to her master's child, who has ever since been extremely ill. The prisoner, upon being closely taxed, confessed the fact, and said her intention was to kill two of her master's children. She was committed till the child recovers. Being brought up, on a subsequent day, and the child pronounced out of danger, she was sent to Bridewell, to receive the correction of the house.

*Windsor, Oct. 17.* Their majesties and the princes royal, princess Augusta, and princess Elizabeth, set out from Gloucester Lodge, Weymouth, on Saturday morning a little before six o'clock, and arrived here at six in the afternoon, in perfect health. *London Gazette.*

*Vienna, Sept. 7.* The ratifications of the treaty of peace, and of the convention between his imperial majesty and the Ottoman Porte, were exchanged on the 23d ult. at Sistoia, by the Austrian and Turkish plenipotentiaries, in due form. And on the 5th of his month, sir Robert Murray Keith, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary at the above

con-

congress, returned to this city.—  
*Lond. Gaz.*

24. On Saturday, at four in the morning, the watch at the Bank discovered a fire in that part of the buildings which is lately appropriated for ovens to burn the useless papers; a large beam which ran across the chimney took fire, and communicated to the carpenters' workshops, which in an hour were wholly destroyed. The fire was then got under, and no farther damage ensued. Several bank directors, attended. It may be necessary to add, that this fire in no way affected, or could affect, the repositories of the public accounts, &c. which are amply secured against the possibility of being injured by fire.

30. A young African prince is come over under the protection of Mr. Falconbridge, who was four or five years ago engaged in the slave-trade as surgeon of a Guineaman, but left that employ from revolt at the scenes it exhibits, of which he gave a description before the house of commons. The Sierra Leone company, finding this gentleman a man of great integrity and principle, made choice of him to promote their views in Africa, where they have purchased, of the king of Robana; the prince's father, a district of about 20 miles in extent, through which the river Sierra Leone passes; and gives it a name. Mr. Falconbridge was in such estimation with the king of Robana, that it was in vain the traders in slaves endeavoured to dissuade him from trusting his son to his care to visit a foreign country so remote as Britain. The slave-traders might naturally be expected to oppose his coming to England, as one of the objects of it is to promote a growing confidence between the two countries, by placing the prince under the protection of a company instituted for the pur-

pose of undermining the slave trade, by giving the African powers an example of the superior advantages of cultivating their own country to that of selling their people.

## N O V E M B E R.

1. Yesterday, the sessions at the Old Bailey ended, when sentence of death was passed on eighteen prisoners convicted of various crimes.

At this session, a young man was convicted of a misdemeanor, in writing and sending an obscene and scandalous letter to a lady of reputation and credit in the vicinity of Spitalfields, and received sentence for the same, to pay a fine of *rs.* and to be imprisoned three months in Newgate.

Thomas Chafeland, a capital convict, respited during his majesty's pleasure, who was last session pardoned on condition of his being transported to New South Wales for the term of his natural life, and having then refused to comply with the said condition, was ordered to remain, but having this session accepted the same, he was yesterday ordered to be transported accordingly.

*Warsaw, Oct. 1.* His majesty, the king of Poland, and his sisters have stood sponsors to the new-born child of M. d'Engestroom, the Swedish ambassador. History never before furnished us with an example of a king of Poland's standing godfather for a protestant.

2. This day, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city, went to St. James's, with an address to his majesty on the marriage of the duke and duchess of York.

3. Mr. Hippisley, as recorder of Sudbury, has given his opinion respecting the jury of that place who broke



broke out of the room where they were confined, without returning a verdict on the case with which they were charged. They are liable, in judgment, to attachment or indictment for the misdemeanor; he recommends, however, that the circumstance may be passed over. The trial must be *de novo*.

*Bristol, Nov. 7.* A monster has lately made his appearance here, charged with having wounded several females.

*Stockholm, Oct. 11.* A Mr. d'Aiken, a physician of Orebo, has invented a powder, which, being infused in water, will extinguish the most dreadful fires. A number of experiments have already been made with great success, and he is to repeat them, in presence of his majesty, at Drotningholm, where a number of houses have already been built for that purpose.

11. This day came on, in the court of king's-bench, a long depending cause on behalf of the seamen of the late commodore Johnstone's squadron, and the troops on board that squadron, under the command of general Medows. The question had been argued six times. It originated from a meditated attack upon the Cape of Good Hope in the late war, and the capture of a Dutch vessel in Saldanha Bay, which the lords and commissioners of appeal had determined to be 'good and lawful prize to the king,' and which the court of king's-bench affirmed.

14. Advices having been received from the earl of Effingham, governor of Jamaica, of a dreadful insurrection, at St. Domingo, of the French negroes, who had destroyed upward of 200 plantations, massacred many of the white people, and threatened the extirpation of the whole colony, the West India merchants of London, apprehensive of

the same spirit in the British islands, applied to Mr. Pitt, requesting that a reinforcement of troops might be sent to the West Indies. After several applications, answers, and consequent meetings on the subject, they received, on Saturday, the following letter from lord Grenville:

'To RICHARD NEAVE, Esq.

'Sir,

'I have the honour to inform you, that, in consideration of the late advices from the West-Indies, and the application of the planters and merchants, his majesty has been pleased, for the present, to give orders for sending one regiment of foot from Barbadoes to Jamaica.

I am, sir, your's, &c.

GRENVILLE.'

After some debates, the merchants, (although they were far from thinking this letter satisfactory) came to the following resolution:

"That the meeting must approve of any measures which his majesty may be pleased to direct for the security of the West India Islands, but cannot think it advisable to make a permanent detachment of force from the windward islands, the situation of them being such, as perhaps, to require an augmentation of troops."

This resolution was ordered to be presented to lord Grenville by the committee, with thanks for the communication contained in his lordship's letter.

16. A short time ago, a patent passed the great seal to Mr. Hare, brewer, of Lime-house, for his invention of an apparatus for effectually retaining and applying to use the essential oil of hops during the boiling of worts for beer, which was formerly lost in the air. By the same apparatus, water in a vessel of any size may be heated to boiling-

(D) heat,

heat, without the application of fire, quicker than it could be heated by actual fire.

19. On Tuesday a case of considerable importance to the public, came before the court of king's bench, upon a special verdict. The circumstances were these:—An action had been commenced against the defendant, Mr. Smith, as the publisher of a newspaper called *The World*, for inserting in it, on the 29th of January 1791, an advertisement, purporting to be proposals for the house of Shergold and Co. by way of scheme for the ensuing lottery; and another advertisement, to the like effect, for messrs. Margray and Co. against the form of the statute, and by which the defendant forfeited the sum of 100l.—that is to say, two penalties of 50l. each, specified by the act.

Upon this issue was taken by the parties, and the cause was tried before lord Kenyon.

The facts being proved, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff for 100l. the penalties incurred.

It was agreed at the trial, that the opinion of the court should be taken on this case, on the point of law arising out of it, namely, "Whether the publisher of a newspaper was liable to the payment of those penalties for the insertion of these illegal paragraphs or advertisements; or whether the penalties applied solely to those who had a beneficiary interest in those schemes?"

After counsel had been heard on both sides, the court said, that the defendant was unquestionably within the meaning of the act.—This was not the first case in which the doctrine was laid down, that printers and publishers of newspapers were responsible for the publication of those articles, whether in the shape of advertisements, or otherwise, from

which the public were injured. Public policy required, that the deluded multitude should not be ruined by inadvertent publications. By advertising those illegal schemes, the poison was widely diffused, and crowds of ignorant people resorted to the shops of plunder and destruction; this was a disgrace even to the government of the country. It was scarcely possible to raise a doubt as to the illegality of these schemes; they were directly repugnant to the words and intent of the statute.

Lord Kenyon said, it was necessary that the public should understand, that the distribution of any hand-bills, announcing these schemes, was equally contrary to the statute. The other judges concurred entirely with his lordship.

21. On Saturday, a long depending cause between the magistrates of Surry and the city of London, came on before the court of king's bench, upon a special verdict. Mr. Shepherd, who was appointed to argue the case on the part of the prosecution, stated the following facts:—A general meeting, in pursuance of the act 26th George the II. was held by the justices of Surry, on the 4th of September, for the purpose of granting licences to publicans; that the magistrates of London did not attend this meeting, but met on a subsequent day, and granted licences to certain publicans, who had been refused them by the justices of Surry. For this conduct the magistrates of London were indicted.

The question for the decision of the court was, "Whether the city of London had an exclusive jurisdiction to grant licences in the borough of Southwark, or possessed only a concurrent jurisdiction with the justices of Surry?"

After the case had been argued on

on both sides, the court declared, that the question before them was, whether the magistrates of London had acted with decorum? For no man could doubt but that it was indecorous to run a race in order to grant licences. The true question was, whether the city of London had an exclusive, or only a concurrent jurisdiction in the Borough? There was no doubt that they had not an exclusive, but only a concurrent jurisdiction, and therefore they had acted illegally; they could not be ignorant of the general meeting, at which they might have attended as co-ordinate magistrates. As to the formal objections, the city of London, should they be advised, might bring them in argument before the court; but there appeared no foundation for them.

This long-depending case is therefore determined against the city of London.

*Whitehall, Nov. 21.* On Friday noon, the duke and duchess of York landed at Dover, and, arrived the day following, between five and six in the afternoon, at York-house, in perfect health. *Land. Gaz.*

Her royal highness was presented, on Sunday afternoon, at the Queen's palace, by the prince of Wales. On going to kneel, her royal highness was affectionately prevented by his majesty, who saluted her, and then presented her to the queen and the six princesses. After this, their majesties, the duke and duchess of York, the duke of Clarence, and the six princesses, dined together.

23. Yesterday evening, at a quarter before eight, the duke of Clarence went to York-house, and was followed by the prince of Wales.

At ten minutes after eight, their majesties, accompanied by the princess royal, and princess Augusta, in one

coach, and the princesses Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia, and Amelia, attended by lady Charlotte Finch, in another, came to the great door of York-house, where they were received by the duke and duchess of York, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Clarence.

After reciprocal salutations in the great hall, their majesties, &c. were led to the lower apartment fronting the park, where tea and coffee, and other refreshments, were prepared.

At a quarter after ten, their majesties and the princesses returned to the queen's house, the prince of Wales, the duke and duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence attending their illustrious parents to their carriage.

After the departure of their majesties and the princesses, the prince of Wales and the duke of Clarence returned into the house, and supped with the duke and duchess of York.

24. At seven o'clock, yesterday evening, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the bishop of London, came to the queen's house. The archbishop attended by two pages and his train-bearer; and the lord chancellor in his full robes, with the great seal of England carried before him, and his train borne.

At half past eight o'clock, the prince of Wales, the duke and duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence, entered the queen's house, and were immediately conducted to her majesty's drawing-room.

The bishops and the chancellor were in a separate room for near three quarters of an hour, preparing the form of the register.

At nine o'clock, the bishops and the lord chancellor having intimated that they were ready, they were admitted into her majesty's drawing-room; upon which the procession, attended by the officers of the chapel

(D 2) royal,

royal, proceeded to the grand saloon. Books of the marriage ceremony were delivered to all the royal family by the archbishop of Canterbury.

At the request of the archbishop, a table was directed to be placed in the saloon, which was formed as an altar, and was narrow enough for the archbishop to reach across, and join the hands of the royal pair.

At half past nine, the ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishop of London: his majesty standing at one end of the altar, and her majesty at the other extremity; the duke and duchess of York in the centre; the archbishop opposite to them, and the lord chancellor standing behind him; the prince of Wales next to the duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence next to the duke of York. The princesses were seated on chairs at a distance from the altar, in the saloon.

As soon as the ceremony was finished, the duchess of York went to his majesty and attempted to kneel, which his majesty with some difficulty prevented; and, raising her in his arms, affectionately embraced her.

The certificate of the marriage was then signed by their majesties, the prince of Wales, the duke of Clarence, and lastly by the lord chancellor. After which, the bishops and the lord chancellor, retired, and immediately left the queen's house.

The royal family returned to the queen's drawing-room; and at a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the duke and duchess of York went to York-house; where they were accompanied by the prince of Wales and the duke of Clarence, an elegant supper having been provid-

ed by direction of the duke of York.

The prince of Wales gave the duchess away.

The duchess was dressed in white satin, with tassels, and fringe of gold, and a number of diamonds; in her head dress she wore feathers, and three brilliant pins presented to her by the king at the royal visit on Tuesday. The duke was in his regimentals—the prince was in a chocolate-coloured dressed suit, and the duke of Clarence in his full uniform.

*Copenhagen, Oct. 25.* In the month of June last, it was made known, that a dangerous shoal had been discovered in the Cattegat, between the island of Anholt and the town of Warberg in Sweden. The court of admiralty has now given orders to the keeper of the royal records of sea charts, that the said shoal (upon which is found only nineteen feet water, with a large stony or rocky bottom) shall be immediately engraved upon the plate of the survey of the Cattegat for 1790, and there laid down exactly agreeable to the report of his Danish majesty's officers, appointed this summer to survey these grounds.

It is further found, by the exact surveys lately made, that the island of Anholt and Anholt Reef are situated near one and one third of an English league more to the eastward, in the same latitude, than they are laid down in the aforesaid charts of 1790. This error will be corrected in the new charts.

It is also said, that the shoal in question lies E. N. E. from Anholt light house, and at about twenty English miles distance from it — *Lond. Gaz.*

25. Yesterday, was a splendid drawing-room at St. James's, on account

count of the presenting of the dukes of York at court. The duke and duchess went in the same coach, accompanied by lady Anne Fitzroy. Her royal highness was handed from the carriage by H. Bunbury, esq. by whom she was conducted to the private chamber, where she was met by lady Sydney, lady Mary Howe, and lady Caroline Waldegrave, who led her into the drawing-room, and presented her to their majesties and the princesses. The ceremony over, the nobility paid their respects to the illustrious stranger, and at half past three o'clock her highness returned to York-house. The duke did not leave the drawing-room till near five.

28. Yesterday, William Jolliffe, esq. M. P. for Petersfield, who had been convicted of printing and publishing a libel, pending a prosecution against him, reflecting upon the conduct of Mr. Fanshaw, the prosecutor, and tending to influence the minds of the jury; was sentenced to pay a fine of 100*l.* and to be imprisoned in the king's bench for six calendar months.

Mr. Jolliffe addressed the court, saying, that he apprised their lordships that he was a member of parliament, and that he should inform the house of commons of his being imprisoned.

To this lord Kenyon made this dignified answer, "Let him be committed in execution of his sentence."

The same day, Mr. Perry, proprietor of a morning paper called the Argus, was brought from the king's-bench prison into court, to receive judgment for a libel, reflecting upon his majesty's ministers.

The prisoner was sentenced to pay a fine of 100*l.* and to remain in prison, after the expiration of his for-

mer sentences of imprisonment, till the fine is paid.

On Saturday, came on to be argued, the question whether the sellers of Shergold's receipts were liable to be apprehended and committed as vagrants under the lottery act. The court determined, that the sellers of such receipts were vagrants within the true intent of the act.

*Northampton, Nov. 26.* The memorable Bow-bridge, which has long been visited by every curious stranger who has passed through Leicester, on account of its being the accidental monument over the grave of king Richard the Third's bones, fell on Saturday last, about eleven o'clock. Its foundation has been some time visibly decaying; and the late rains having swelled the waters which passed under it, probably took away its principal support on that end toward St. Austin's well, which occasioned its destruction.

30. This day, John Barnes Hart was taken from Newgate to Brentford, where he stood in the pillory from twelve till two, according to the sentence of the king's-bench, for having extorted money and defrauded several tradesmen, by pretending to compound penalties under the stamp act. The utmost care was taken to preserve the peace; and by great exertions of the sheriffs and officers, very little mischief happened.

## DECEMBER.

1. Yesterday, advices were received by the Leopard, of 50 guns, from the Presidency of Fort St. George, dated June 21, that, on the 15th of May, earl Cornwallis had defeated Tippoo Sultan, and driven him, with his whole army, under the  
(D 3) walls

walls of Seringapatam; but that the want of forage, provision, and the reduced state of the cattle, had rendered it necessary for the army to return immediately to Bangalore; and that his lordship, for want of bullocks, had been under the necessity of destroying the bating train: so that, for the present, he was obliged to give up all thoughts of attacking Seringapatam, before the setting in of the Monsoons.

These advices mention farther, that general Abercromby had marched from Periapatam, on the twenty-third of May, and was proceeding toward the head of the Ghaut, in his retreat, leaving behind him four iron eighteen pounders which his cattle could not remove.

2. This day, was tried at Westminster-hall, the action commenced by the city of London, against the sheriff of Surry, for infringing their privileges, by executing writs within the town and borough of Southwark; when, on a mere objection in point of form, to the pleadings, and upon the defendant's refusal to waive it, the city was obliged to submit to a nonsuit.

3. The late unfortunate Mr. Sutherland's widow and two daughters have received 500*l.* and a pension

of 100*l.* each, from the crown; and his son a gratuity of 1000*l.*

4. By an advertisement from the Bush tavern committee at Bristol, who offered a reward for apprehending the Monster, it appears, that a report which had been circulated, of his being known, and having with their connivance absconded, is without foundation. They declare,—that neither his rank, however, exalted; his station, however public; his property, however great; shall ever influence them to depart from their original pursuit; and that the reward of 100 guineas for his apprehension will be continued for three months.

24. On Wednesday morning, at half past eight, a fire broke out in a young lady's apartments, on the second floor in Richmond-house, Privy-gardens; which was occasioned by a spark having shot from the fire to the bed furniture, where the young lady lay asleep. The alarm being given, she was with difficulty conducted down stairs; the flames communicated to the roof, which soon after fell in, and by four o'clock the flames were got under, leaving the house reduced almost to a shell. The duke's valuable museum was saved.

# THE LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 14, 1790, to December 13, 1791.

|                         |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
|-------------------------|--------------|---------|--------|--------------|---------|-----------------------------------------|
| Christened              | Males 9394   | } 18496 | Buried | Males 9577   | } 18760 | Increased in the Burials this Year 722. |
|                         | Females 9102 |         |        | Females 9183 |         |                                         |
| Died under 1 Years 6256 |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| Between 2 and 5 1878    |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 5 and 10 589            |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 10 and 20 636           |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 20 and 30 - 1332        |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 30 and 40 - 1641        |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 40 and 50 - 1766        |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 50 and 60 - 1654        |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 60 and 70 - 1365        |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 70 and 80 - 940         |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 80 and 90 - 351         |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 90 and 100 - 50         |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 102 --                  |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 104 -- 2                |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 105 --                  |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |
| 107 --                  |              |         |        |              |         |                                         |

## BIRTHS in the Year 1791.

*January* 1. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkinson, esq. M. P. a daughter.

*Feb.* 1. Countess of Aylesford, a daughter.

6. Lady of sir Richard Carr Glyn, a son.

11. Lady of Samuel Thornton, esq. M. P. a daughter.

14. Lady Apsley, a son.

15. Lady Mary Palk, wife of Lawrence Palk, esq. M. P. a son.

— Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.

— Lady Deerpurth, a son.

16. Her Catholic majesty, a princess, baptised by the name of Maria Theresa Philippa, &c. &c. to the number of sixty names.

*March.* 24. Lady of William Adam, esq. M. P. a son.

*April.* 5. Lady Leslie, a daughter.

17. Marchioness of Salisbury, a son and heir.

— Lady Catharine Rodney, a daughter.

23. Sir James Tynley Long, bart. a daughter.

— At the Hague, Lady Auckland, a son.

24. Countess of Tankerville, a daughter.

*May.* 4. Countess of Cavan, a son.

15. Marchioness de Choiseul, a son. *See Vol. XI. page (52.)*

19. Lady of Reginald Pole Carew, esq. M. P. a daughter.

21. Lady of Dr. Cleaver, bishop of Chester, a daughter.

30. Lady of Geo. Finch Hatton, esq. a son and heir.

31. Lady of Gerard Noel Edwards, esq. M. P. a son.

*June.* 3. Duchess of Montrose, a daughter.

8. Lady of Richard Joseph Sullivan, esq. M. P. a son.

14. Lady Cathcart, a daughter.

26. Lady M. Stuart, a daughter. Lately, countess of Lincoln, a daughter.

*July* 4. Viscountess Bayham, a daughter.

25. Lady of sir William Foulis, a daughter.

28. Viscountess Valletort, a daughter.

*Aug.* 3. Lady Charlotte Lennox, a son and heir.

4. Lady of James Lowther, esq. M. P. a daughter.

5. Lady of sir Thomas Rumbold, bart. a daughter.

— Lady of the hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.

10. Lady of sir Gregory Page Turner, bart. a son.

12. Lady Elizabeth Howard, lady of Bernard Howard, esq. presumptive heir to the duke of Norfolk, a son and heir.

13. Lady of lord Brownlow, a son.

21. Duchess of Leinster, a son and heir.

*Sept.* 13. Duchess of Northumberland, a daughter.

15. Lady of Scrope Bernard, esq. M. P. a son.

22. Lady of the hon. colonel Fox, a son.

— Countess of Granard, a son.

29. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter.

*Oct.* 9. Countess of Lauderdale, a daughter.

12. Lady Saltoun, a son.

16. Hon. Mrs. Drummond, of Perth, a son.

27. Countess Spencer, a son.

*Nov.* 4. Lady Susannah Thorpe, a daughter.

6. Lady of sir John Sinclair, bart. a daughter.

13. Viscountess Stopford, a son and heir.

20. Countess of Harrington, a daughter.

21. Lady of sir William Wake, bart. a son and heir.

24. Viscountess Falmouth, a daughter.

27. Lady Balgonie, a son.

28. Lady of sir John Frederick, bart. a son.

*Dec. 1.* Lady of sir Cecil Bishopp, bart. a daughter.

Lately, countess Poulett, a son.

13. Lady of the hon. col. Rodney, a son.

14. Lady of viscount Gage, a son and heir.

20. Lady Comptan, a daughter.

28. Lady of the hon. Edw. Foley, a son and heir.

#### MARRIAGES in the Year 1791.

*Jan. 5.* Rt. hon. John Charles Villiers, to Miss Mary Forbes, daughter of the hon. admiral F.

6. Earl Fauconberg to Miss Chesyre, daughter of the late John C. esq. of Bennington, Herts.

18. Lord Ducie to Mrs. Child.

— Sir John Roger Palmer, bart. to Miss Altham.

24. Sir Henry Tempest, bart. to Miss S. Pritchard Lambert.

29. Viscount Stopford, to lady Mary Montagu Scott, daughter of the duke of Buccleugh.

*Feb. 16.* Henry Augustus Leicester, esq. brother to sir John Fleming Leicester, bart. to Miss Letitia Sophia Smyth, daughter of Nicholas Owen Smyth Owen, esq. of Condober, Salop.

— Rawson Hart Boddam, esq. late governor of Bombay, to Miss Tudor, of St. James's-street.

22. Benjamin Bond Hopkins, esq. M. P. to Miss Knight, sister of Robert Knight, esq. of Burrells, in Warwickshire.

24. Marcus Beresford, esq. son of

the right hon. John Beresford, to lady Frances Arabella Leeson.

Rev. Miles Beevor, son of sir Thomas Beevor, bart. to Miss Beevor, daughter of James Beevor, esq. of Norwich.

*March 2.* Francis John Browne, esq. M. P. for Dorset, to Miss Baring, daughter of John Baring, esq.

29. John Sutton, esq. captain in the navy, to Miss Hotham, daughter of baron Hotham.

30. William Richardson, esq. accountant-general to the East India company, to Elizabeth countess dowager of Winterton.

*April 4.* Lord Strathaven, to Miss Cope, sister to the duchess of Dorset.

16. Lord chief baron Eyre, to Miss Southwell.

25. Thomas Trywhitt Jones, esq. M. P. to Miss Harriet Williams, daughter of Edward Williams, esq. of Eaton, Shropshire.

— George James earl of Cholmondeley, to lady Georgiana Charlotte Bertie, daughter of Peregrine, third duke of Ancaster.

26. Viscount Fielding, son to the earl of Denbigh, to Miss Powys, daughter of Thomas Powys, esq. M. P. for Northamptonshire.

28. James earl of Cardigan, to lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, daughter of John third earl Waldegrave.

29. Lionel earl of Dysart, to Miss Lewis, sister of Henry Grefwold Lewis, esq.

*May 6.* Sir Sidney Stafford Northcote, bart. to Miss Baring, daughter of Charles Baring, esq.

6. Henry Charles, marquis of Worcester, to lady Charlotte Leveson Gower, daughter of the marquis of Stafford.

24. Rev. Edward Hay Drummond, brother to the earl of Kinross,



noul, to Miss Auriol, of Portugal-street, Grosvenor-square.

*June* 2. Francis Buller Yarde, esq. M. P. to Miss Halliday.

— Sir Thomas Cave, bart. to Lady Lucy Sherard.

4. Chambrey Brabazon Ponsonby, esq. to Lady Harriot Taylor.

12. Robert Knight, esq. of Barrils, Warwickshire, to the hon. Miss F. Dormer.

16. William Farrington, esq. of Shaw Hall, Lancashire, to Miss Wilbraham Bootle, daughter of Richard Wilbraham B. esq.

17. Sir James Foulis, bart. to Miss Dallas.

21. Thomas Smith, esq. of the Inner Temple, to the hon. Miss Mary Hely Hutchinson, daughter of lord Donoughmore.

27. William Robert Phillimore, esq. to the hon. Miss Sarah Henley Ongley, daughter of the late lord Ongley.

*July* 4. Philip lord Sherard, to Miss Eleanor Monckton, daughter of the hon. John Monckton.

11. Sir Nelson Rycroft, bart. to Miss Read, daughter of the late Henry Read, esq. of Crowood, Wilts.

13. John Chardin Musgrave, esq. eldest son of sir Philip Musgrave, bart. to Miss Filmer, daughter of the rev. Edward Filmer, rector of Crandale, Kent.

20. Lord William Beauclerk, to Miss Carter Thelwall.

12. Lord Le Despencer, to Miss Eliza Eliot, daughter of Samuel E. esq. of Antigua.

21. Sir George Wombwell, bart. to lady Anne Bellasyse, daughter of the earl of Fauconberg.

31. Hon. Richard Chetwynd, eldest son of viscount Chetwynd, to Miss Charlotte Cartwright, daughter of the late Thomas Cartwright, esq. of Aynho, Northamptonshire.

*August* 1. Charles Milne, esq. of Preston-hall, Kent, to Miss Harriot Dyke, daughter of sir John Dixon Dyke, bart.

4. Lord Henry Fitzgerald, to Miss Boyle, daughter of the late hon. captain Robert Boyle Walsingham.

9. John Trevalyan, esq. eldest son of sir John Trevalyan, bart. to Miss Maria Wilson, daughter of lieutenant-general sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, bart.

15. William Plumer, esq. M. P. to Miss Jane Hamilton, daughter to the late hon. and rev. Dr. George Hamilton.

17. Colonel Greville, to Miss Graham, sister to sir Bellingham Graham, bart.

19. Earl of Darnley, to Miss Elizabeth Brownlow, daughter of the right hon. William Brownlow.

24. Hugh Barlow, esq. M. P. for Pembroke, to Miss Crespigny, daughter of Philip Champion Crespigny, esq.

25. Captain Paget Bayly, brother to the earl of Uxbridge, to Miss Colepeper.

29. Rev. sir Richard Kaye, bart. dean of Lincoln, to Mrs. Mainwaring.

*Sept.* 6. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. to Miss Harte.

15. Marquis of Blandford, to lady Susan Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

29. The duke of York, to the princess royal of Prussia.

*Oct.* 1. The hereditary prince of Orange, to princess Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia.

1ately, lord Grantley, to Miss Midgley, daughter of the late Jonathan Midgley, esq. of Beverley.

12. Timothy Shelly, esq. M. P. to Miss Piffold, of West Grinstead.

13. Rev. William Sneyd, to Mrs. Emma Vernon, daughter of the late Thomas Vernon, esq. of Hambury, Wor-

Worcestershire and late wife of Henry Cecil, esq.

*Nov.* 30. Margrave of Anspach and Bareith, to Elizabeth lady Cra-ven.

4. George William Rickets, esq. of Bishop's Sutton, Hants, to Miss Letitia Mildmay, of Twyford.

12. Earl of Mount Cashell, to the hon. Miss King, daughter of lord Kingsborough.

*Dec.* 6. Sir George Armytage, bart. to Miss Mary Bowles, daughter of Oldfield Bowles, esq. of North Aston, Oxfordshire.

9. Captain J. Smith, of the royal navy, to viscountess dowager Dudley and Ward.

12. Col. Charles Gould, to the hon. Miss Dormer.

#### DEATHS in the Year 1791.

*Jan.* 6. Lady of sir William Young, Bart.

7. Lady Colquhoun, aunt to the countess of Sutherland.

18. Hon. Mr. Spencer, second son of earl Spencer.

20. Rev. George Carleton, cousin to lord Dorchester.

— Mary countess Verney.

25. George Augustus Selwyn, esq. M. P.

26. Rear admiral John Houlton.

29. Lucy Knightly, esq. late M. P. for Northamptonshire.

30. James earl of Glencairn,

*Feb.* 1. The lady of sir Charles Ross, bart.

5. Lady Mary St. John, lady of the hon. major Frederick St. John.

10. Erskine Douglas, M. D. brother of the late sir John Douglas, of Kilhead, bart.

11. Hon. Miss Leslie, daughter of lord Balgonie.

14. Mary lady Savile, wife of Charles Motton, M. D. and mother

of the late sir George Savile, bart. and of the countess dowager of Scarborough.

Lately, Lady of Rowland Burdon, esq. M. P.

28. Alicia countess dowager of Tankerville.

Lately, lady Jane Clifton, sister of the earl of Abingdon.

28. Master William John Bouverie, eldest son of the hon. William Henry Bouverie.

*March* 4. In childbed, Lady Mary Falk.

6. Sir Robert Carr, bart.

10. William earl of Strafford.

20. Lord Spencer Hamilton, uncle to the duke of Hamilton.

20. Lady Barclay, mother of sir James Barclay, bart. captain in the navy.

26. Edward Buller, esq. of Port Looc, brother to judge Buller.

Lady of sir William Wheler, bart.

30. Anne, dowager of Washington, fifth earl Ferrers.

31. Major-general sir Archibald Campbell, K. B.

*April* 1. Ralph earl Verney.

2. Monsieur (late count) de Mirabeau, a celebrated orator in the French National Assembly.

9. Henrietta viscountess St. Asaph.

Lately, lady of Margaret Stewart, daughter of Charles, fourth earl of Traquair.

12. Sir Harry Burrard, bart.

— Lady Charlotte Rich, daughter of Edward Rich, eighth earl of Warwick, and fifth earl of Holland, of that family.

20. John viscount Arbuthnot.

*May* 1. Sir William Parsons, bart. M. P. for King's County, Ireland.

Lately, at Florence, the hon. Louisa Beckford, relict of Peter Beckford, esq. and daughter of George lord Rivers.

2. Sir Samuel Bradstreet, bart. one of the judges of the court of kings-bench in Ireland.

3. Sir William Jones, bart. of Ramsbury Manor, Wiltshire.

7. Lady Dryden, relict of sir John D. bart.

10. Lieutenant-general Robert Watfon.

11. Lady Grosvenor.

— Sir John Mylne, bart. of Barn-ton, North Britain.

21. Jane, dowager of George second lord Carpenter, grandmother of the earl of Tyrconnel, and mother of the countess dowager of Egremont.

23. Sir Gerard Vanneck, bart. of Heveningham Hall, in Suffolk.

— Lady Egerton, relict of sir Thomas Egerton, bart. and mother of lord Grey de Wilton.

25. Lady Catharine Drummond.

26. Lady Emma Elizabeth Proby, daughter of the earl of Carysfort.

27. Dr. Thomas Thurlow, bishop of Durham.

— John viscount Kilmorey.

*June 1.* Hon. John Knox, brother to lord Wells.

17. Selina countess dowager of Huntingdon.

Lately, sir Frederick Haldimand, K. B. late governor of Canada.

— Mrs. Catharine Macauley Graham, sister to John Sawbridge, esq. and author of A History of England, &c.

20. Sir Francis Eliott, bart. of Stubbs.

23. Sir David Murray, bart.

25. Sir Lionel Lyde, bart.

26. Lady Anne Hamilton, relict of lord Anne Hamilton, son of James fourth duke of Hamilton.

— Anne countess dowager of Aberdeen.

28. Sir Edward Mandy Pryce, bart.

*July 2.* Lady of sir Thomas Champneys, bart.

6. James lord Down, son of the earl of Moray.

28. Randal marquis of Antrim.

30. Sir William Fitzherbert, bart.

*Aug. 2.* John Byron, esq. son of the late hon. admiral John Byron, and husband of the late Amelia baroness Coniers.

7. Benjamin Jennings, esq. husband to the viscountess dowager Dudley and Ward.

10. Sir William Thomas Ham-ham, bart.

13. Lady of Joseph Smith, esq. private secretary to Mr. Pitt.

16. The dowager baroness Massey.

17. Sir Francis Vincent, bart. resident for the court of London at Venice.

— Hon. Isabella Scott, widow of the late hon. John Scott, brother to the earl of Deloraine.

— Mrs. Anne Thurlow, relict of the late bishop of Durham.

22. The celebrated professor Michaelis, at Gottingen.

*Sept. 4.* Sir Brook Bridges, bart. Lately, sir George Cayley, bart.

5. Major-general Humphry Stevens.

13. Catharine marchioness of Abercorn.

14. M. de la Luzerne, the French ambassador.

— Honourable lieutenant-general George Lane Parker.

— Sir Francis Gerrard, bart.

— Margaret lady Dunfany.

15. Lady Elizabeth Hay, aunt to the earl of Kinnoul.

16. The victorious Russian general prince Potemkin.

25. Sir Herbert Mackworth, bart.

*Oct. 1.* George lord Haddo, by a fall from his horse.

2. William lord Craven.

— In Canada, sir William Erskine, bart.

6. Lieutenant-general John Mackenzie.

9. Elizabeth countess dowager of Glasgow.

10. Rear admiral Inglis.

— William-Hall viscount Gage.

13. Elizabeth countess dowager of Effingham, wife of general sir George Howard, K. B.

— Lady of Thomas earl of Effingham, governor of Jamaica.

15. Rear admiral John Harrison.

20. Lady Georgiana Beauclerk, daughter of the duke of St. Alban's.

— Honourable Thomas Henry Coventry, youngest son of lord Deerbury.

31. Rev. Charles Isaac Yorke, son of the bishop of Ely.

Lately, sir Blaxton Conyers, bart.

*Nov.* 1. Bamber Gascoyne, esq. receiver-general of the customs.

Lately, Mrs. Midgley, mother of lady Grantley.

8. Mrs. Harrison, relict of the late admiral John Harrison.

Lately, sir William Ogilvie, bart.

9. Thomas Bathurst, esq. nephew of the late earl Bathurst.

10. Sir Thon as Rumbold, bart.

12. Miss Jenkinson, sister to lord Hawkesbury.

12. Lady of sir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor of Gibraltar.

15. Sir William Fagg, bart.

10. Thomas earl of Effingham.

20. Sir Richard Aston, bart.

21. Lord Chetwynd.

— Lady of sir William Wake, bart.

Lately, rev. John Shirley Fermor, brother-in-law to viscount Conyngham.

23. Sir John Baptist Hicks, bart.

27. Sir Henry George Ravensworth Liddell, bart.

30. William Dutton Napper, esq. brother to lord Shireborne.

*Dec.* 1. Francis Cockayne Cust, esq. M. P.

4. Evan Lloyd Vaughan, esq. M. P. for Merionethshire.

5. George earl of Orford. Lately, Henry Flood, esq. the celebrated Irish orator.

8. Sir Robert Throckmorton, bart.

9. Sir Edward Winnington, bart.

11. Sir George Richardson, bart.

13. Hon. Mrs. Martin, sister to lord Fairfax.

18. Elizabeth Ormby Rowley, viscountess Langford, wife of the right hon. Hercules Langford Rowley.

19. Lady Mary Campbell, relict of Dougal Campbell, esq.

Mary lady Knollys, relict of sir Francis K. bart.

30. Hon. Charles Yorke, second son of the earl of Hardwicke.

— Hon. Charles Hope Weir, uncle to the earl of Hoptown.

## P R O M O T I O N S.

*Jan.* 5. John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, Harrie Innis, James Francis Perkins, and Maurice Wemyss, lieutenant-colonels of marines—Colonels in the army.

22. Sir Robert Chambers, knt. chief justice of the supreme court of judicature, at Fort William, in Bengal.

— William Dunkin, esq. one of the judges of that court.

21. Right hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert—Lord St. Helen's of Ireland.

28. Arthur viscount Gosford—Governor of the county of Armagh.

*Feb.* 5. James earl of Cardigan, verner of Windsor Castle.

12. Charles

12. Charles Warre Malet, esq. resident at Poonah in the East Indies,—a baronet.

— John Kennaway, esq. resident at Hydrabad in the East Indies,—a baronet.

21. Thomas Lighton, esq.—a baronet of Ireland.

*Mar.* 1. Right hon. Dudley Ryder and Thomas Steele, esq.—Paymaster-general of the forces.

5. Hon. Spencer Percival, clerk of the irons, and surveyor of the melting houses in the Tower.

— Rev. Charles Manners Sutton,—Dean of Peterborough.

9. Thomas Steele, esq.—a privy-counsellor.

16. William Dunkin, esq. one of the judges of the supreme court at Bengal, — a knight.

28. Lord Charles Henry Somerset—Gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

*April* 2. Right hon. Thomas Harley, lord lieutenant of Radnorshire.

9. Major-general Charles O'Hara colonel of the 74th regiment of foot.

— Stephen Lushington, esq. a baronet.

16. Barne Barne, esq.—Commissioner of the taxes.

21. George viscount Parker, comptroller of his majesty's household — a privy-counsellor.

25. Major-general David Dundas—Colonel of the 22d regiment of foot.

30. Right hon. Thomas Orde—Governor of the Isle of Wight, and of Carisbrook Castle

*May* 1. William Wyndham, lord Grenville, right hon. William Pitt, and Henry Dundas, lord Frederick Campbell, James duke of Montrose, and the right hon. Thomas Steele—Commissioners of the affairs for India.

*June* 8. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. a privy counsellor.

— Right hon. Henry Dundas,—one of the principal secretaries of state.

10. Right hon. William Pitt, hon. Edward James Eliot, Richard earl of Mornington, John Jefferies viscount Bayham, and Richard Hopkins, esq. — Commissioners of the treasury.

— Dr. Shute Barrington, bishop of Salisbury—Bishop of Durham.

11. Sir James Peachy, bart.—Master of his majesty's robes.

21. Walter James James, esq. of Langley-hall, Berks; lieutenant-general Sir William Erskine, knt. Henry Martin, esq. of Lockinge, Berks; Charles William Boughton Rouse, of Rouse Lench, Worcester-shire; Christopher Hawkins, esq. of Trewithen, Cornwall; John Call, esq. of Whiteford, Cornwall; George Jackson, esq. of Hartham House, Wilts; Ralph Woodford, esq. late envoy extraordinary at Copenhagen; Charles Pole, esq. of Wolverton, Hants; Robert Howell Vaughan, esq. of Nannau, Merionethshire; Rev. Dr. Charles Rich, (late Bostock) of Rose Hall, Suffolk; Charles Grave Hodson, esq. of Wanliff, Leicestershire; George Ivison Tapps, esq. of Hinton Admiral, Hants; George Chad, esq. Thursford, Norfolk; and Berney Brograve, esq. of Worsted House in the same county—Baronets.

5. John earl of Chatham, Charles George lord Arden, Samuel lord Hood, hon. John Thomas Townshend, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, and Charles Small Pybus, Esqs.—Lords of the admiralty.

27. Arthur earl of Donegal—Marquis of Donegal, of Ireland.

— Charles earl of Drogheda—marquis of Drogheda, of ditto.

— Thomas

— Thomas lord Welles—Viscount Northland, of ditto.

— Arthur lord Harborton—Viscount Harborton, of ditto.

28. Robert Boyd, esq.—a Justice of the King's bench in Ireland.

30. James Allan Park, esq.—Vice chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster.

*July* 2. Lord Hervey, envoy extraordinary at Florence—Minister plenipotentiary at that court.

12. Dr. John Douglas, bishop of Carlisle—Bishop of Salisbury.

— Major general Alured Clarke—Colonel of the 60th regiment of foot.

27. Joseph Hewitt, esq.—a justice of the court of king's-bench in Ireland.

30. George earl of Morton—Baron Douglas, of Lochleven.

*Aug.* 13. William Woodley, esq.—Governor of the Leeward Charibbee Islands.

20. Rev. Edward Venables Vernon, LL. D.—Bishop of Carlisle.

— Dr. James Cornwallis, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry—Dean of Windsor and Wolverhampton, and register of the order of the garter.

*Oct.* 22. Viscountess Sydney, lady of the bed chamber to the queen.

*Nov.* 1. Morton Eden, esq.—Envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

— Hon. William Eliot—Secretary of legation to the said court.

5. Hugh Eliot, esq.—Envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Dresden.

— David Gray, esq.—Secretary of legation at the said court.

19. Colonel Samuel Hulfe—Treasurer to the prince of Wales.

— J. Kemys Tynte, esq.—Master and comptroller of his household.

— Colonel Charles Leigh—Groom of his bedchamber.

— Hon. major George Hanger—equerry.

— Major J. Doyle—Secretary for the duchy of Cornwall.

— Captain J. W. Payne—his auditor and secretary.

— Rev. Robert Darley Waddilove, M. A.—Dean of Rippon.

26. Francis James Jackson, esq.—Secretary of legation to the court of Madrid.

29. Thomas Stepney, esq.—Groom of the bedchamber to the duchess of York.

— Honourable lieutenant colonel Charles Monson—Equerry to her royal highness.

— Lady Anne Fitzroy and lady Elizabeth Spencer—Ladies of her bedchamber.

*Dec.* 3. George Martin Leake, esq.—Chester herald.

— William Lindsay, esq.—Resident at Venice.

7. Lady Anne Radnor—Lord lieutenant of Berks.

— Captain John W. Payne—Keeper of the privy-seal, and principal secretary to the prince of Wales.

10. Hon. Arthur Paget—Secretary of legation at the court of Peterburgh.

— Rev. Isaac Milner, B. D.—Dean of Carlisle.

13. Lord Grenville—Ranger and keeper of St. James's and Hyde Parks.

16. Morton Eden, esq.—K. B.

24. David Hailes, esq.—Envoy extraordinary at Copenhagen.

— William Gardiner, esq.—Minister plenipotentiary at Vienna.

#### SHERIFFS appointed for 1791.

Timothy Hare, Earl, of Swallow-Field Place.

Bedfordshire, F. Pym, of Hasell-Hall, esqs.

Bucks, sir Robert Bateson Harvey, of Langley-Park, bart.

Cumberland,

Cumberland, Edmund Lamplugh  
Irtton, of Irtton.

Cheshire, Charles Watkin John  
Shakerley, of Somerford.

Cambridge and Huntingdon, George  
Thornhill, of Diddington, esq.

Cornwall, sir William Moleworth,  
of Pencarrow.

Dorset, sir Stephen Nash, of Lewis-  
ton, baronets.

Devonshire, Walter Palk, of Mar-  
leigh.

Dorsetshire, John Calcraft, of Remp-  
ston.

Derbyshire, John Broadhurst, of  
Foston.

Essex, Donald Cameron, of Great  
Ilford.

Gloucestershire, Michael Hicks  
Breach, of Williamstrip.

Herts, Mathew Raper, of Ashlyns  
Hall.

Herefordshire, Thomas Stallard  
Pennoyre, of the Moor.

Kent, James Crake Brockman, of  
Beechborough.

Leicestershire, John Frewen, of Cold  
Overton.

Lincolnshire, Robert Mitchell Ro-  
binson, of Hanthorpe.

Monmouthshire, William Harrison,  
of Ragland.

Northumberland, J. Wood, of Bead-  
nell.

Northamptonshire, sir William  
Wake, of Courteenhall, bart.

Norfolk, sir John Fenn, of East De-  
of ham, Knt.

Nottinghamshire, George de Ligne  
Gregory, of Lenton.

Oxfordshire, J. P. Auriel, of Wood-  
cot.

Ratlandshire, Thomas Woods, the  
younger, of Brook.

Salop, Thomas Pardoe, of Fairtree.  
Southampton, county of, Charles  
Pole, of Welverton.

Somerset, William Elton, of Win-  
ford.

Staffordshire, Moreton Walhouse,  
of Hatherton, esq.

Suffolk, sir William Rowley, of  
Stoke, bart.

Surry, Henry Byne of Carshalton.

Sussex, John Drew, of Chichester.

Warwickshire, Charles Palmer, of  
Ladbroke.

Worcestershire, Henry Wakeman,  
of Clalmes, esq.

Wilts John Awdry, of Norton, esq.

Yorkshire, sir George Armytage,  
of Kirklees, bart.

## W A L E S.

Carmarthen, George Griffith Wil-  
liams, of Llywynywermod, esq.

Pembroke, William Wheeler Bowen,  
of Lampston.

Cardigan, David Hughes, of Vey-  
nog.

Glamorgan, John Richards, of Car-  
diff.

Brecon, Walter Jeffreys, of Brecon,  
Radnor, Thomas Jones, of Penke-  
rigg.

Anglesea, Herbert Jones, of Llyn-  
non.

Carnarvonshire, Thomas Lloyd, of  
Hendre Fenws.

Merioneth, Griffith Roberts, of Bo-  
dynlyn.

Montgomery, John Moxon, of Vay-  
nor.

Denbighshire, Jones Jones, of Cesa-  
coch.

Flint, G. L. Wardle, of Hartfheath,  
esq.

## P U B L I C P A P E R S.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of  
Parliament June 10, 1791.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**I**N closing the present session of parliament, I cannot omit expressing my satisfaction in that zeal for the public interests with which you have applied yourselves to the consideration of the different objects which I recommended to your attention.

The measures which have been adopted for defraying the extraordinary expences of the last year, in such a manner as not to make any permanent addition to the public burthens, and the provisions which have been made for the good government and prosperity of my subjects in Canada, call for my particular acknowledgments.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the readiness with which you have granted the supplies necessary for the public service, and for the proof of your affectionate attachment, in enabling me to provide for a part of the charges of the younger branches of my family, out of the consolidated fund.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I am not yet enabled to inform

you of the result of the steps which I have taken with a view to the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte : it is my earnest wish, that this important object may be effectuated in such a manner as may contribute to the preservation and maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe. I feel, with the greatest satisfaction, the confidence which you have reposed in me ; and my constant endeavours will be directed to the pursuit of such measures as may appear to me best calculated to promote the interests and happiness of my people, which are inseparable from my own.

*Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland,  
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both  
Houses of Parliament, January,  
20.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have some pleasure in acquainting you, by the king's command, that the differences which had arisen between his majesty and the court of Spain have happily been brought to an amicable termination. Copies of the declarations exchanged between his majesty's ambassador and the minister of the Catholic king, and of the convention which has been since concluded, will be laid before you.

Had



Had the honour of his majesty's crown, and the protection of the rights and interest of the empire, involved this kingdom in the calamities of war, the zeal manifested by all his subjects, and by none more than his loyal people of Ireland; had left him no doubt of the most vigorous and effectual support. It is a source of peculiar satisfaction to his majesty, that those objects have been accomplished without any actual interruption of the blessings of peace.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you, fully relying upon your accustomed zeal to provide for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

I have also ordered an account of the extraordinary expences of government, which have been incurred during the negociation which Spain, to be laid before you; and I trust you will find that the confidence you reposed in me has not been misplaced.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your disposition to facilitate the business of commerce, and to consult the ease of the merchants, will induce you to consider, and if possible to accomplish, during this session, such regulations as may tend to simplify the collection of the various articles of the public revenue.

*The Speech of the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, May 5, 1791.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majesty having directed an

augmentation to be made of his naval forces, in order to add weight to his representations for the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte, has commanded me to communicate this circumstance to his parliament of Ireland, on whose zealous and affectionate attachment to the interests of his majesty's crown his majesty places the firmest reliance.

The unremitted application you have given to your parliamentary duties, enables me now to close the session, and to relieve you from any further attendance. And I have the king's direction to express his perfect satisfaction in the zeal and dispatch with which you have brought the public business to a conclusion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His majesty directs me to thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the maintenance of the establishments, and the honourable support of his government. They shall be faithfully applied to the purposes for which they were granted.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have observed, with peculiar satisfaction, the attention you have shewn to the interests of your country, by facilitating the business of the merchants in the payment of duties, by providing accommodations for the shipping and trade of the metropolis, and by extending the operation of national credit. The salutary provisions you have made to check the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, afford the strongest proof of your regard for the public welfare. Success in this desirable measure can alone be expected from your continued and well-directed efforts.

(E) I there-

I therefore trust, that in your respective counties, you will particularly apply yourselves to give efficacy to the regulations you have adopted upon this subject. On my part, no endeavours shall be wanted to enforce the execution of laws so judiciously calculated to preserve the healths and amend the morals of the people, and to advance the industry and prosperity of Ireland. To these objects my exertions are directed by his majesty's commands, and by every impulse of inclination and duty.

## A N S W E R.

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

I return you my most hearty thanks for this Address, so full of sentiments of attachment to the House of Brunswick, and of affection to me.

Your expressions of joy on the occasion of my marriage give me the highest satisfaction, and the city of London may rely upon my unabating zeal for their welfare and prosperity, and my constant endeavours to preserve their affection and regard.

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*Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, to the Duke of York, Dec. 19.*

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, ever firmly attached to the house of Brunswick, feel the most lively satisfaction in approaching your royal highness with our sincere congratulations on your marriage with the princess royal of the august house of Prussia.

Zealous as we are on every occasion to shew our loyalty and attachment to your illustrious family, we feel a peculiar satisfaction in the present opportunity to testify our sincere joy at your highness's union with a princess so truly distinguished.

That a union so auspicious may long be a source of uninterrupted felicity to your highness and your royal consort, is the ardent wish of the citizens of London.

Signed by Order of Court,

WILLIAM RIX.

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*Address from the same to the Duchess of York, Dec. 19.*

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, with peculiar satisfaction embrace the earliest opportunity to greet your royal highness on your safe arrival in this kingdom, and to offer our warmest compliments of congratulation on your auspicious nuptials with his royal highness the duke of York.

Truly happy to testify how sincerely we participate in the general joy, on your royal highness's union with an illustrious son of our beloved sovereign, we cannot but express our ardent wish, that you may long experience every degree of felicity which can result from so distinguished an alliance.

Signed by Order of Court,

WILLIAM RIX.

## A N S W E R.

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

I thank you for your congratulations, so expressive of love and duty

duty to the king, our sovereign; and of affection to the duke of York and myself. They make a great impression on my mind; and it shall be my constant and unremitting study, to continue to deserve the esteem of the city of London.

*Address to his Majesty, from the High Bailiff, Clergy, and other principal Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Birmingham.*

May it please your Majesty,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the high bailiff, clergy, and other principal inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Birmingham, deeply sensible of your majesty's paternal care of all your subjects, beg leave most humbly to approach your royal throne, with hearts full of gratitude for the recent instance of that care which your majesty graciously condescended to afford us during the late riots in this place, by commanding such particular attention to be paid to our security, and directing such ample relief for our necessities.

Rejoicing also in every opportunity of testifying our loyalty to the best of sovereigns, and our firm attachment to that noble fabric the constitution of this country, the envy of all other nations, as it is the glory of our own; we cannot neglect this occasion of pledging ourselves to support your majesty's illustrious house, and to defend that happy constitution both in church and state, against every attempt at innovation, at the risk of every thing dear to us.

*The Address of the Protestant Dissenters of the same Town.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's loyal and du-

tiful subjects, the protestant dissenters in the town of Birmingham, beg leave to approach your majesty in a moment of serious affliction and concern, arising not only from our recent aggravated sufferings, but from our painful apprehensions lest the calumnies of our enemies should influence your royal mind, and insinuate suspicions of our loyalty and affection.

Assured not of our innocence alone, but of our unalterable attachment to your august person, and to the succession of your royal house, we respectfully claim your majesty's continued protection and favour, and beg leave most earnestly to assure your majesty, we have no thoughts of disturbing the constitution. We are the descendants of those to whom (as the annals of our country will testify) the revolution, which secured to your illustrious house the crown of these kingdoms, was greatly indebted. The civil constitution of our country is our glory; which we have been taught from our infancy to reverence, and which we would die to preserve. Indeed, Sire, though deeply afflicted by the late riotous devastations, and by the want of energy in the civil power, yet we speak from hearts that are actuated by the love of law, of peace, of order, and good government. Sensible of your majesty's goodness, in the vigorous measures which have been adopted for suppressing the outrages, which a lawless banditti were spreading through this place and its environs, we offer you the warmest tribute of our gratitude, for the happy deliverance we have experienced, by the wisdom of the measures planned by your majesty's ministers, and by the energy and promptitude with which they were so successfully executed.

We feel ourselves deeply thank-

ful to your majesty, for this very beneficial and decisive instance of your royal attention; and likewise to your great goodness, in the measures which have since been adopted for discovering and bringing to exemplary punishment, as well the instigators, as the perpetrators of the late atrocious violences; and we firmly and dutifully rely upon your majesty for the continuance of it, as well as for the exercise of that candour and magnanimity, which will resist the calumnies of our enemies, and continue to us that protection, favour, and confidence, to which we know ourselves justly entitled.

That your majesty may long reign in peace and glory; that your royal honours may for ages continue to descend to your latest posterity; and that the happiness of Britain may prosper and improve itself under their auspicious influence, is the honest wish and fervent prayer of, Sir,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects.

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*Proclamation for the Discovery of the Publishers of a certain seditious Paper, circulated, on the 14th of July, in the Town of Birmingham.*

GEORGE R.

Whereas it hath been represented unto us, that on the 11th day of this instant July, a certain scandalous and seditious paper was printed and published in the town of Birmingham, and published in the parts thereunto adjacent, in our counties of Warwick and Worcester, of the following tenor: "My countrymen! the second year of Gallie liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third,

"on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give his sanction to the majestic common cause, by a public celebration of the anniversary. Remember that, on the 14th of July, the Bastille, that high altar and castle of despotism, fell. Remember the enthusiasm peculiar to the cause of liberty, with which it was attacked. Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to save the lives of oppressors. Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected, and sent as a free-will offering to the national assembly. But is it possible to forget that your own parliament is venal! Your ministers hypocritical! Your clergy legal oppressors! The reigning family extravagant! The crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it, too weighty for the people who gave it! Your taxes partial and excessive—Your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom. But on the 14th of this month, prove to the political sy-cophants of the day that you reverence the olive branch, that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity, till the majority shall exclaim, 'The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom. Of that moment let tyrants beware!' We, therefore, in order to bring to a speedy condign punishment the publishers of the paper aforesaid, and that practices so highly dangerous to the public tranquillity and welfare may hereafter be prevented, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our council, to publish this

this our royal proclamation, hereby requiring and enjoining all justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other our loving subjects, to be aiding and assisting to the utmost of their power, in detecting, apprehending and bringing to justice the publishers of the paper aforesaid: and for the better detection of the said publishers, we are graciously pleased to promise, that if any person shall discover any other person or persons concerned in publishing the printed paper aforesaid, by distributing the same, or otherwise, so as the persons discovered may be brought to justice for the same, such discoverers shall have and receive as a reward, upon conviction of such offender or offenders, the sum of one hundred pounds for each and every such offender, and also our gracious pardon, in case the person making such discovery shall himself be liable to be prosecuted for the same, except the person or persons so discovering be the author or authors of the paper aforesaid: and the commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of our exchequer are hereby required to make payment accordingly of the said rewards.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 27th day of July 179., in the thirty-first year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

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*Letter of Instructions from M. Montmorin, Minister of France for Foreign Affairs, sent, by Order of the King, to all his Ministers at Foreign Courts, April 23.*

SIR,

The king has charged me to inform you of his earnest desire, that

you make known his sentiments respecting the revolution and the French constitution to the court at which you reside. The same orders are transmitted to the ambassadors and ministers of France, at all the courts of Europe, to the end that no doubt may remain with regard to his majesty's intentions, his free acceptance of the new form of government, or his irrevocable oath to maintain it. His majesty convoked the states-general of his kingdom, and resolved in his council, that the commons should, in that assembly, have a number of deputies equal to those of the two other orders there existing. This act of provisional legislation, which the circumstances of the times did not allow to be more favourable, sufficiently announced his majesty's wish to restore to the nation all its rights.

The states-general met, and took the title of the National Assembly; and in a short space of time, a constitution fit to secure the happiness of France, and of the monarch, took place of the ancient order of things, under which the apparent power of the kingdom only served to conceal the real power of the abuses of certain aristocratic bodies.

The national assembly, the form of a representative government, conjoined with an hereditary monarchy, the legislative body, was declared to be permanent; the choice of the ministers of public worship, of magistrates, and judges, was given to the people; the executive power was conferred on the king, the formation of laws on the legislative body, and the power of sanction on the monarch; the public force, both internal and external, was organized on the principles, and in conformity to the fundamental distinction of powers: such is the new constitution of the kingdom.

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That which is called a revolution, is no more than the abrogation of numerous abuses, that have been accumulating for ages, through the errors of the people, or the power of the ministers, which was never the power of the king. Those abuses were no less prejudicial to the monarch than to the nation. Those abuses, authority, under happy reigns, had never ceased to attack, but without the power to destroy. They exist no longer. The nation, now the sovereign, has no citizens but such as are equal in rights; no despot but the law; no ministers but public ministers, and of those ministers the king is the chief. Such is the French revolution.

This revolution must naturally have for its enemies all those who, in the first moment of error, regret, on account of their private interest, the abuses of the ancient government. Hence the apparent division in the kingdom, which is daily becoming less; hence perhaps some severe laws and circumstances which time will correct; but the king, whose true power can never be distinct from that of the nation, who has no aim but the happiness of the people, and no authority but that which is delegated to him; the king has adopted, without hesitation, a happy constitution, which will at once regenerate his authority, the nation, and the monarchy. All his powers are preserved to him, except the dreadful power of making laws. He remains charged with the power of negotiating with foreign powers, with the care of defending the kingdom, and repelling its enemies; but the French nation will in future have no external enemies but its aggressors, no internal enemies but those who, still flattering themselves with vain hopes, believe that the will of twenty-four millions of

men, restored to their natural rights, after having organized the kingdom in such a manner as to leave only the memory of ancient form and abuses, is not an immovable and irrevocable constitution.

The most dangerous of those enemies are they who affect to disseminate doubts of the intentions of the monarch. They are much to blame, or much deceived. They suppose themselves the only friends of the king, and they are the only enemies of royalty. They would have deprived the king of the love and the confidence of a great nation, if his principles and his probity had been less known. What has the king not done to shew that he considered both the revolution and the French constitution as his titles to glory? After having accepted and sanctioned all the laws, he has neglected no means of causing them to be executed. Since the month of February, of the year preceding, he has promised in the midst of the national assembly to maintain them. He has taken an oath to do so in the midst of the general federation of the kingdom. Dignified by the title of the Restorer of French Liberty, he will transmit to his son more than a crown—he will transmit a Constitutional Royalty.

The enemies of the constitution are constantly repeating that the king is not happy; as if it were possible for a king to enjoy any happiness but the happiness of his people. They say that his authority is lessened, as if authority founded on force, were not less powerful, and more precarious, than authority founded on law. They say that the king is not free—a calumny atrocious, if they suppose that his will must be constrained: absurd, if they take for a want of freedom the

the consent repeatedly expressed by his majesty to remain among the citizens of Paris; a consent that was due to their patriotism, even to their fears, but above all to their love.

Those calumnies, however, have reached foreign courts; they have been repeated there by Frenchmen, who are voluntary exiles from their country, instead of sharing its glory, and who, if they were not enemies, have deserted their station as citizens. The king, sir, charges you to defeat their intrigues and their projects. The same calumnies, while they spread the falsest ideas respecting the French revolution, have rendered the intentions of French travellers suspected by several nations; and the king expressly orders you to protect and defend them. Represent the French constitution in the same light as that in which the king views it; and leave no doubt of his intention to maintain it to the utmost of his power. By securing the liberty and the equality of the citizens, that constitution founds the national prosperity on the most immovable basis; it confirms the royal authority by the law; it prevents, by a glorious revolution, the revolution which the abuses of the old government would probably soon have effected by a dissolution of the empire; and finally, it will constitute the happiness of the king. To justify it, to defend it, and to consider it as the rule of your conduct, ought to be your first and most important duty.

I have frequently before communicated to you his majesty's sentiments on this head; but, after the information he has received of the opinion endeavoured to be established in foreign courts respecting what is passing in France, he has ordered me to make known the contents of

this letter to the court at which you reside; and that it may be still more public, his majesty has ordered it to be printed.

(Signed) MONTMORIN.

April 23, 1791.

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*The King's Proclamation on his Departure from Paris, June 20.*

While the king could hope to see order and happiness restored by the means employed by the national assembly, and by his own residence near that assembly, he submitted to every sacrifice; he was even content to bear the loss of his liberty, of which he has been deprived since the month of October 1789; but now, when the result of all these observations is found to be the destruction of royalty, the violation of property, the invasion of personal security, the establishment of a complete anarchy in every part of the empire, without any appearance of an authority sufficient to restrain it; the king, after protesting against all the acts extorted from him during his captivity, thinks proper to submit to the eyes of Frenchmen an account of his conduct.

In the month of July, 1789, the king, relying on his own integrity, came, without any apprehension, among the Parisians. In the month of October of the same year, fully informed of the intentions of the factious, he dreaded lest a handle should be made of this departure, in order to foment a civil war. It is universally known with what impunity crimes were then committed.

The king yielded to the wish expressed by the army of Parisians; came, with his family, to reside in the palace of the Thuilleries; no thing was prepared for his reception;

tion ; and the king, far from meeting with the accommodations to which in his other palaces he was accustomed, did not even possess common conveniencies. In spite of every constraint, he thought proper, the day after his arrival, to give the provinces assurance of his residence at Paris. A more painful sacrifice was still exacted ; he was obliged to remove his Gardes du Corps, of whose fidelity he was assured ; two of them were massacred, and several wounded in executing the orders, which they had received, not to fire. All the art of the factious was employed to represent, in the worst light, a faithful queen, whose conduct had been uniformly unexceptionable ; it is even evident that all these machinations were directed against the king himself. It is to the soldiers of the French guards, and the Parisian national guard, that the care of the king's person has been committed under command of the municipality of Paris, from whom the commander-general derives his authority. The king has thus found himself a prisoner in his own state ; for what other name can be given to him, who is forcibly surrounded by persons whom he suspects ? It is not in order to criminate the Parisian national guard that he repeats this detail, but in order to state the real facts ; on the contrary, he is ready to do justice to their attachment, when not under the influence of the factious. The king ordered the convocation of the states-general ; to the third estate, he granted the privilege of a double representation. The union of the orders, the sacrifices of the 23d of June, all have been his work ; but his efforts have been slighted and perverted. When the states-general assumed the name of the national assembly, they re-  
recourse,

ved the plots of the factious in several provinces ; they revived those attempts that had been made to reverse the instructions of their constituents, which appointed laws to be enacted in concert with the king. The assembly have removed the king from the constitution, by denying him the privilege of sanctioning constitutional acts ; in which class they ranked whatever acts they thought proper, restricting to the third legislative body the privilege of refusing its sanction. They have given him twenty-five millions, which are entirely absorbed by the necessary expences of his household. They have left him the profits only of certain domains, saddled with oppressive forms ; and have deprived him of the patrimony of his ancestors ; they took care not to comprehend, in the article of expence, those services done to the king, as if they were not inseparable from those of the state. Let the different parts of the administration be examined, it will be found that the king has no longer a share ; he has no part in enacting laws ; he can only intreat the assembly to direct their attention to such and such subjects. In the administration of justice, nothing is left for him, but to dispatch the commissions of the judges, and to name the commissaries of the king whose functions are much less considerable than those of the ancient procurators-general. The public part has been committed to new officers ; and one prerogative still remaining, the most valuable of all, that of pardoning and remitting punishments, has been taken away from the king, and is now vested in juries, in consequence of their privilege of explaining, according to their pleasure, the sense of the law. Thus the royal majesty is impaired, to which the people formerly had  
recourse,



recourse, as to the common centre of goodness and beneficence. The internal administration of the departments is embarrassed by wheels which obstruct the motion of the machine; and the superintendence of ministers is reduced to nothing.

The societies of friends of the constitution are much more powerful, and engross every part of the active administration. The king has been declared supreme head of the army; however, every thing has been done by the committees of the national assembly, without his participation; they have granted to the king the nomination of some places, yet the choice which he has made, has experienced contradictions; he has been obliged to revise the operations of the general officers of the army, because their choice displeased clubs; to them only are to be attributed the greater number of the revolts of the regiments: when an army no longer respects its officers, it becomes the terror and firebrand of the state; the king has always been of opinion that officers ought to be punished as soldiers, and that the road to promotion ought no less to be open to the latter, according to their desert. As to the foreign affairs, they have granted to the king the nomination of ambassadors, and the conduct of negotiations; but they have taken from him the right of making war; they ought not however to have suspected that he would ever declare war without special reason. The right of making peace is of a different sort. The king wishes only to act in concert with the nation; but what power will enter into negotiations, when the right of revising them shall belong to the national assembly?

Independently of the necessary secrecy, which it is impossible to

preserve in an assembly whose deliberations are public, who would choose to stipulate engagements, except the persons with whom they were formed had the power of ratifying them? With respect to finances, the king has recognized before the states-general the right which the nation has of granting subsidies, and in this respect he complied, on the 23d of June, with every thing that had been demanded. On the 4th of February, the king requested the assembly to take into consideration the state of the finances; they deferred it too long; they have not yet a just statement of the receipt and expenditure; they allowed themselves to go into hypothetical calculations; the ordinary taxes are in arrear, and the resource which has been employed of the twelve hundred millions of assignats is almost exhausted; they have left to the king nothing upon this occasion but a barren nomination; he knew the difficulty of this part of the administration; and if it were possible that this machine could have been put in motion without his direct superintendence, his majesty would only have regretted that there was no diminution of the imposts; an object which he desired, and in which, had it not been for the American war, he should most certainly have succeeded.

The king has been declared supreme head of the administration of the kingdom, and he has been able to change nothing without the decision of the assembly. The chiefs of the prevailing party have thrown out such defiance against the agents of the king, and the penalties denounced against prevarications have occasioned so much alarm, that these agents have remained without force. The form of government is in two respects particularly faulty; the assembly

sembly exceeds the limits of its power in interfering in justice and the internal administration: by its committee of researches it exercises the most barbarous of all despotisms. / It has established associations, known by the name of friends of the constitution, which present corporations infinitely more dangerous than the ancient; they deliberate on every part of the government, and exercise a power of such preponderance, that all the bodies, and even the assembly itself, can do nothing except by their order. The king does not think it possible to preserve such a government. In proportion as the period of the labours of the assembly approaches, the sages of whom it is composed lose their credit. The new regulations, instead of pouring balm upon the wounds, on the contrary inflame their malignity; a thousand journals and libellous pamphlets perpetuate the disorder, which the assembly is unable to remedy: their labours tend only to a government, metaphysical in its principles, and impracticable in its execution.

Frenchmen! is it this which you intended by sending your representatives? Did you desire that the despotism of clubs should replace the monarchy under which the kingdom has prospered during fourteen hundred years? The attachment of Frenchmen to their monarch is ranked among the number of their virtues. He has received marks of it too affecting to be ever forgotten. The king would not bring forward the following, were it not to represent to his faithful subjects the disposition of the factions. The people kept in pay for the triumph of M. Necker, affected not to pronounce the name of king; they, at this period, persecuted the archbishop of Paris; a cou-

rier of the king was stopped, searched, and the letters which he carried broke open; at this time the assembly seem to insult the king; it was determined to carry to Paris the words of peace; during his journey, they stopped, in order to suppress any cry of *Vive le Roi*. They even made a motion to carry off, and to put the queen in a convent; this motion was applauded. On the nights of the 4th and 5th, when it was proposed to the assembly to repair to the king, it was replied that, consistently with its dignity, it could not remove: from this moment the scenes of horror were renewed. On the arrival of the king at Paris, an innocent person was massacred almost within his sight, in the garden of the Thuilleries; all those who had declared against religion and the throne, received the honours of a triumph. At the Fœderation, upon the 14th of July, the national assembly declared, that the king was the chief, by which it was implied, that they had a right to name another. His family was placed in a situation apart from himself, but that was, notwithstanding, one of the happiest moments they have passed since their stay in Paris.

Afterward, when, on account of their religion, Mesdames, the king's aunts, wished to go to Rome, their journey was opposed, in contradiction to the declaration of rights; and both at Bellevue and Arnay le Duc, the orders of the assembly were necessary to release them, those of the king being despised. In the tumult factiously excited at Vincennes, the persons who remained about the king were ill treated, and they carried their audacity so far as to break the arms of these persons in the presence of his majesty.

Upon the king's recovery from his

his illness, he intended to go to St. Cloud, and was detained. In vain did M. de la Fayette endeavour to protect his departure; the faithful servants who surrounded his majesty were torn away from him, and he was taken back to his prison. Afterward he was obliged to dismiss his confessor, to approve the letter of the minister to the foreign powers, and to attend mass performed by the new rector of St. Germain Auxerrois. Thus, perceiving the impossibility of averting any public evil, by his influence, it is natural that he should seek of place a safety for himself.

Frenchmen! and you the good inhabitants of Paris, distrust the suggestions of the factious; return to your king, who will always be your friend; your holy religion shall be respected; your government placed upon a permanent footing; and liberty established upon a secure basis.

Paris, June 20, 1791.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

P. S. The king forbids his ministers to sign any order in his name, until they shall have received his further directions; and enjoins the keeper of the seals, to send them to him, when required, on his behalf.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

*Address on the same Subject, from the National Assembly to the French Nation.*

A great attempt has just been made. The national assembly was near the conclusion of its long labours; the constitution was almost completed; the tumults of the revolution were about to cease; and the enemies of the public welfare were eager, therefore, to sacrifice the whole nation to their vengeance. The king and the royal family were carried off on the

20th inst. But your representatives will triumph over all these obstacles. They estimate calmly the extent of the duties imposed upon them. The public liberty shall be maintained; conspirators and slaves shall understand the intrepidity of the French nation, and we make, in the name of the nation, a solemn engagement to avenge the law, or to die.

France would be free, and she shall be so. It is intended to make the revolution recede, but it recedes not. It is the effect of your will, and nothing can retard its progress. It is necessary to accommodate the law to the state of the kingdom. The king, in the constitution, exercises the power of the royal sanction over the decrees of the legislative body; he is the head of the executive power, and, in that capacity, causes the laws to be executed by his minister.

If he quits his post, although carried off against his will, the representatives of the nation have the right to supply his place. The national assembly has in consequence decreed, that the seal of state, and the signature of the ministers of justice, shall be added to all its decrees to give them the character of laws. As no order of the king would have been executed, without being countersigned by the responsible minister, nothing was necessary but a simple delegation by the assembly to authorise him to sign the orders, and those only issued by them. In this circumstance they have been directed by the constitutional law relative to a regency, which authorises them to perform the functions of the executive power, until the nomination of a regent.

By these measures your representatives have ensured order to the interior part of the kingdom; and,

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to repulse any attack from without, they add to the army a reinforcement of three hundred thousand national guards.

The citizens then have, on all sides, the means of security. Let them not be overcome by their surprise; the constituent assembly is upon its duty; the constituted powers are in activity; the citizens of Paris, the national guards, whose patriotism and fidelity are above all praise, watch round your representatives; the active citizens throughout the kingdom are in arms, and France may wait for its enemies.

Are they to fear the consequences of a writing, forced before his departure, from a seduced king? It is difficult to conceive the ignorance and blindness that have dictated this writing, which may deserve to be further discussed hereafter; at present, your representatives content themselves with examining some particular sentiments.

The national assembly has made a solemn proclamation of political truth, and of rights, the acknowledgment of which will one day produce the happiness of the human race; to engage them to renounce this declaration of rights, the theory of slavery itself has been presented to them.

Frenchmen! we have no fear in recalling to your memories the famous day of the 23d June 1789, that day on which the chief of the executive power, the first public functionary of the nation, dared to dictate his absolute will to your representatives, charged by your orders to form a constitution. The national assembly lamented the disorders committed on the 14th of October, and directed the prosecution of the persons guilty of them; but, because it was difficult to discover some rioters

among such a multitude of people, they are said to have approved all their crimes. The nation is, however, more just. It has not reproached Louis XVI. with the violences that have occurred under his reign and those of his ancestors.

They are not afraid to call to your recollection the federation of July. What are the statements of the persons who have dictated the letter of the king, with respect to this august act? That the first public functionary was obliged to put himself at the head of the representatives of the nation, in the midst of the deputies of all the kingdom. He took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution. If the king does not hereafter declare, that his good faith has been surprised by seditious persons, he has, of course, announced his own perjury to the whole world! Is it necessary to go through the fatigue of answering the other reproaches of this letter?

The king is said to have experienced some inconveniences in his residence at Paris, and not to have found the same pleasures as formerly; by which it is implied, no doubt, that a nation ought to regenerate itself without any agitation, without disturbing for an instant the pleasures and the indulgences of courts. As to the addresses of congratulation and adherence to your decrees, these, say they, are the work of the factious—Yes—no doubt, of twenty-six millions of the factious!

It was necessary to reconstitute all powers, because all the powers were corrupted, and because the alarming debts accumulated by the despotism and the disorders of government, would have overwhelmed the nation. But does not royalty exist for the people? And if a great nation obliges itself to maintain it, is it

it not solely because it is believed to be useful? The constitution has left to the king this glorious prerogative, and has confirmed to him the only authority which he should desire to exercise. Would not your representatives have been culpable, if they had sacrificed twenty-six millions to the interest of one man?

The labour of citizens supports the power of the state; but the maxim of absolute power is to consider the public contributions as a debt paid to despotism. The national assembly has regulated its expences with the strictest justice; they thought themselves bound, when acting in the name of the nation, to act munificently, and when they were to determine what part of the public contributions should be allowed to the first functionary, thirty millions were allotted for him and the royal family; but this is represented as a trifling sum!

The decrees upon the subject of peace and war have taken from the king and his ministers the power of sacrificing the people to the caprices of courts, and the definitive ratification of treaties is reserved to the representatives of the nation. The loss of a prerogative is complained of. What prerogative? That of not being obliged to consult the national will, when the blood and the fortunes of citizens were to be sacrificed. Who can know the wish and the interests of the nation better than the legislative body? It is wished to make war with impunity. But have we not had, under the ancient government, sufficient experience of the terrible effects produced by the ambition of ministers?

We are accused of having depouled the king, in forming the judicial power, as if he, king of a great nation, ought to appear in the administration of justice, for any other

purpose than that of causing the law to be observed, and its judgments executed? It is wished that he should have the right of granting pardons and changing punishments; but does not all the world know, how such a right would be exercised, and upon whom the benefit of it would fall? The king could not exercise it by himself, and after having prohibited royal despotism, it was very natural to prohibit that of the ministers.

The necessity of circumstances has sometimes obliged the national assembly to interfere contrary to its inclination, in the affairs of administration. But ought it not to act, when the government remained in blameable inertness? Is it, therefore, necessary to say, that neither the king, nor the ministers, have the confidence of the nation?

The societies of friends of the constitution have supported the revolution; they are more necessary than ever; and some persons presume to say that they govern the administrative bodies and the empire, as if they were the deliberating bodies!

Frenchmen! all the powers are organized; all the public functionaries are at their posts; the national assembly watches over the safety of the state; may you be firm and tranquil! One danger alone threatens us. You have to guard against the suspension of your labours; against delay in the payment of duties; against any inflammatory measures which commence in anarchy, and end in civil war. It is to these dangers, that the national assembly call the attention of citizens. In this crisis, all private animosities and private interests should disappear.

Those who would preserve their liberty should shew that tranquil firm-

firmer which appeals tyrants. May the factious, who hope to see every thing overturned, find order maintained, and the constitution confirmed and rendered more dear to Frenchmen, by the attacks made upon it. The capital may be an example to the rest of France. The departure of the king excited no disorders there, but, to the confusion of the malevolent, the utmost tranquility prevails in it. To reduce the territory of this empire to the yoke, it will be necessary to destroy the whole nation. Despotism, if it pleases, may make such an attempt. It will either fail, or at the conclusion of its triumphs, will find only ruins.

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*The French Constitution, as finally settled by the National Constituent Assembly, and presented to the King the 3d Sept. 1791.*

*Declaration of the Rights of Man, and of the Citizens.*

The representatives of the French people, formed into a national assembly, considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the rights of men, are the sole causes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have resolved to exhibit, in a solemn declaration; the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, ever present to all the members of the social body, may incessantly remind them of their rights and of their duties; to the end that the acts of the legislative power, and those of the executive power, being able to be every moment compared with the end of all political institutions, may acquire the more respect; in order also that the remonstrances of the citizens,

founded henceforward on simple and incontestable principles, may ever tend to maintain the constitution, and to promote the general good.

For this reason, the national assembly recognizes, and declares in the presence, and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of men and of citizens:

ARTICLE I.

All men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights: social distinctions cannot be founded but on common utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man: these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance against oppression.

III. The principle of *sovereignty* resides essentially in the nation: *no body of men, no individual, can exercise an authority that does not emanate expressly from that source.*

IV. *Liberty* consists in the power of doing every thing except that which is hurtful to another: hence, the exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other bounds than those that are necessary to ensure to other members of society the enjoyment of the same rights: those bounds to be determined by the law only.

V. The law has a right to forbid those actions alone, that are hurtful to society. Whatever is not forbidden by the law, cannot be hindered; and no person can be constrained to do that which the law ordaineth not.

VI. The law is the expression of the general will: all the citizens have a right to concur personally, or by their representatives, in the formation of the law: it ought to be the same for all, whether it protect, or whether it punish. All citizens

citizens being equal in the eye of the law, are equally admissible to public honour, places and offices, according to their capacity, and without any other distinction but that of their virtue, or their talents.

VII. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which the law hath prescribed. Those who solicit, dispatch, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished; but every citizen that is summoned, or seized, in virtue of the law, ought to obey instantly—he becomes culpable by resistance.

VIII. The law ought to establish such punishments only as are strictly and evidently necessary; and no person can be punished, but in virtue of a law established and promulgated prior to the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till such time as he has been declared guilty, if it shall be deemed absolutely necessary to arrest a man, every kind of rigour employed, not necessary to secure his person, ought to be severely punished by the law.

X. No person shall be molested for his opinions, even such as are religious, provided that the manifestation of those opinions does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The free communication of thought, and of opinion, is one of the most precious rights of man. Every citizen, therefore, may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments; subject, however, to answer for the abuse of that liberty, in cases determined by the law.

XII. The guarantee of the rights of men and citizens involves a necessity of *public force*. This force is then instituted for the advantage

of all, and not for the particular utility of those to whom it is confided.

XIII. For the maintenance of the public force, and for the expences of administration, a common contribution is indispensably necessary: this contribution should be equally divided amongst all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, by himself, or by his representatives, to decide concerning the necessity of the public contribution; to consent to it freely; to look after the employment of it; to determine the quantity, the distribution, the collection, and duration.

XV. Society has a right to demand from every public agent, an account of his administration.

XVI. That society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured, nor the separation of powers determined, has *no constitution*.

XVII. Property being a right inviolable and sacred, no person can be deprived of it, except when the public necessity, legally ascertained, shall evidently require it, and on condition of a just previous indemnification.

The national assembly, desirous of establishing the French constitution on the principles which it has just now recognised and declared, abolishes, irrevocably, those institutions which are injurious to liberty, and equality of rights.

There is no longer any *nobility*, nor *peerage*, nor *hereditary distinctions*, nor *difference of orders*, nor *feudal government*, nor *patrimonial jurisdiction*, nor any of the *titles*, *denominations* and *prerogatives* which are derived from them; nor any of the orders of *chivalry*, *corporations*, or *decorations*, for which proofs of nobility were required; nor any kind

kind of superiority, but that of public functionaries in the exercise of their functions.

No public office is henceforth *hereditary* or *purchaseable*.

No part of the nation, nor any individual, can henceforth possess any *privilege* or *exception* from the common rights of all Frenchmen.

There are no more *wardenships* or *corporations*, in professions, arts, or trades.

The law recognises no longer any *religious vows*, nor any other engagement which would be contrary to natural rights, or to the constitution.

## T I T L E I.

### *Fundamental Regulations guaranteed by the Constitution.*

The constitution guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

1. That all the citizens are admissible to places and employments, without any other distinction than that of *virtue* and *talents*.

2. That all taxes shall be equally divided among all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

3. That the same crimes shall be subject to [the same] punishments, without any distinction of persons.

The constitution in like manner guarantees, as natural and civil rights, liberty to every man to go, stay, or depart, without being arrested, or detained, except according to the forms determined by the constitution.

Liberty to every man to speak, write, print and publish his thoughts, without the writings being subjected to censure or inspection before their publication, and to exercise the religious worship to which he is attached.

Liberty to the citizens to assem-

ble peaceably, and without arms, in complying with the laws of police.

Liberty to address to the constituted authorities, petitions signed by individuals.

The legislative power can make no law which would attack, or impede the exercise of the natural and civil rights expressed in the present title, and guaranteed by the constitution; but as liberty consists only in the power of doing whatever neither injures the rights of another, nor the public safety, the law may establish penalties against acts, which, attacking either the rights of others, or the public safety, would be injurious to society.

The constitution guarantees the inviolability of property, or a just and previous indemnity for that, of which, public necessity, legally proved, shall require the sacrifice.

Property, destined to the expence of worship, and to all services of public utility, belongs to the nation, and shall at all times be at its disposal.

The constitution guarantees all the alienations which have been, or which shall be made according to the forms established by the law.

The citizens have a right to elect or chuse the ministers of their religions.

There shall be created and organised, a general establishment of *public aid* for the education of deserted children, to relieve the infirm poor, and to procure work for the healthy poor, who have not been able to find it for themselves.

There shall be created and organised, a *public instruction*, common to all citizens, gratuitous with regard to those parts of tuition indispensable for all men, and of which the establishments shall be gradually distributed, in a proportion combin-



ed with the division of the kingdom.

There shall be established, *national festivals*, to preserve the remembrance of the French revolution, to keep up fraternal affection amongst the citizens, and attachment to the constitution, the country, and the laws.

There shall be drawn up, a code of civil laws, common to all the kingdom.

## T I T L E II.

*Of the Division of the Kingdom, and the State of the Citizens.*

I. The kingdom is *one and indivisible*; its territory is divided into eighty-three departments; every department into districts; each district into cantons.

II. Those are *French Citizens*,

Who are born in France, of a French father;

Who, having been born in France, of a foreign father, have fixed their residence in the kingdom;

Who, having been born in a foreign country, of a French father, have returned to settle in France, and have taken the civic oath.

In fine, who having been born in a foreign country, being descended, in whatever degree, from a Frenchman or Frenchwoman who had left their country from religious motives, come to reside in France, and take the civic oath.

III. Those who having been born out of the kingdom, of foreign parents, but reside in France, become French citizens, after five years of continued residence in the kingdom; if, besides, they have acquired immoveable property, or married a Frenchwoman, or formed an establishment of agriculture or commerce, and if they have taken a civic oath.

IV. The legislative power may, from important considerations, naturalize a foreigner, upon no other

condition than that of residing in France, and taking the civic oath.

V. The civic oath is, "*I swear to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King; and to maintain, with all my power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the National Constituent Assembly, in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791.*"

VI. The quality of a French citizen is lost:

1st, By naturalization in a foreign country;

2d, By being condemned to penalties which involve the civic degradation, provided the person condemned be not re-instated;

3d, By a sentence of contumacy, provided the sentence be not annulled;

4th, By an association with any foreign order of chivalry, or any foreign body, which shall suppose either proofs of nobility, or distinction of birth, or require religious vows.

VII. The law regards *marriage* solely as a *civil contract*. The legislative power shall establish for all the inhabitants, without distinction, the mode by which births, marriages, and deaths, shall be ascertained, and shall appoint the public officers, who shall receive and preserve the certificates of them.

VIII. French citizens, considered with respect to those local relations which arise out of their association in cities, and in certain divisions of territory in the country, form the *communities*.

The legislative power may fix the extent and boundary of each community.

IX. The citizens who compose each community, have a right of choosing, for a time, according to the forms prescribed by the law, those among them, who, under the name of municipal officers, are charged with the management of

the particular affairs of the community.

To the *municipal officers* may be delegated, certain functions relative to the general interest of the state.

X. The rules which the *municipal officers* shall be bound to follow in the exercise, both of the *municipal functions*, and of those which shall be delegated to them for the general interest, shall be fixed by the laws.

### T I T L E III.

#### *Of the Public Powers.*

I. The *sovereignty* is one, indivisible, inalienable, and imprescriptible; it belongs to the nation: no *section* of the people, nor any individual, can assume to itself the exercise of it.

II. The nation, from which alone flow all the powers, cannot exercise them, but by delegation.

The French constitution is *representative*; there representatives are the legislative body and the king.

III. The legislative power is delegated to a national assembly, composed of temporary representatives, freely chosen by the people, to be exercised by this assembly, with the sanction of the king, in manner afterwards determined.

IV. The government is monarchical; the executive power is delegated to the king, to be exercised under his authority, by ministers and other responsible agents, in manner afterwards determined.

V. The judicial power is delegated to judges chosen for a time by the people.

### C H A P. I.

#### *Of the National Legislative Assembly.*

I. The national assembly, forming the legislative body, is permanent, and consists of one chamber only.

II. It shall be formed by new elections every two years.

Each period of two years shall form one legislature.

III. The dispositions of the preceding articles shall not take place with respect to the ensuing legislative body, whose powers shall cease the last day of April 1793.

IV. The renewal of the legislative body shall be matter of full right.

V. The legislative body cannot be dissolved by the king.

### SECTION I.

#### *Number of Representatives—Bases of Representation.*

I. The number of representatives to the legislative body is seven hundred and forty-five, on account of the eighty-three departments of which the kingdom is composed, and independent of those that may be granted to the colonies.

II. The representatives shall be distributed among the eighty-three departments, according to the three proportions of territory, of population, and of direct contribution.

III. Of the 745 representatives, 247 are attached to the territory.

Of these each department shall nominate three, except the department of Paris, which shall only nominate one.

IV. Two hundred and forty-nine representatives are attributed to the population.

The total mass of the active population of the kingdom is divided into 249 parts, and each department nominates as many of the deputies as it contains parts of the population.

V. Two hundred and forty-nine representatives are attached to the direct contribution.

The sum-total of the direct contribution of the kingdom is likewise divided

divided into 249 parts; and each department nominates as many deputies as it pays parts of the contribution.

## SECTION II.

### *Primary Assemblies—Nomination of Electors.*

I. In order to form a national legislative assembly, the active citizens shall meet every two years, in primary assemblies, in the towns and cantons.

The primary assemblies shall form themselves, of full right, the second Sunday of March, if they have not been convoked sooner by the public officers established by law.

II. To be an active citizen, it is necessary,

To be born, or to have become a Frenchman;

To be twenty-five years of age complete;

To have resided in the city or canton during the time determined by the law;

To pay, in any part of the kingdom, a direct contribution, at least equal to the value of three days labour, and to produce the acquittance;

Not to be in a menial capacity, namely, that of a servant receiving wages;

To be inscribed in the municipality of the place of his residence, in the list of the national guards;

To have taken the civic oath.

III. Every six years the legislative body shall fix the minimum and the maximum of the value of a day's labour, and the administrators of the the departments shall determine the rate for every district.

IV. None shall exercise the right of an active citizen in more than one place, nor employ another as his substitute.

V. Those shall be excluded from the rights of an active citizen,

Who are in a state of accusation;

Who, after having been constituted in a state of failure, or insolvency, proved by authentic documents, shall not produce a general discharge from their creditors.

VI. The primary assemblies shall name electors in proportion to the number of active citizens residing in the town or canton.

There shall be named one elector for a hundred active citizens present; or not, in the assembly.

There shall be named two for 131 to 250; and so on in this proportion.

VII. No man can be named elector, if along with the conditions necessary in order to be an active citizen, he does not join the following:—In towns of more than 6000 inhabitants, that of being proprietor or life-renter of a property valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of 200 days labour; or of renting a house, valued on the same rolls, at a revenue equal to the value of 150 days labour.

In towns below 6000 inhabitants, that of being proprietor, or life-renter of a property, valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of 150 days labour; or of renting a house, valued on the same rolls, at a revenue equal to the value of 100 days labour.

And, in the country, that of being proprietor or life-renter of a property, valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of 150 days labour; or of being a farmer of lands, valued on the same rolls, at the value of 400 days labour.

With respect to those who shall be at the same time proprietors of life-renters on one hand, and tacksmen

men or farmers on the other, their powers on these different accounts shall be added together, to establish their eligibility.

### SECTION III.

#### *Electoral Assemblies—Nomination of Representatives.*

I. The electors named in each department shall convene in order to chuse that number of representatives, whose nomination shall belong to their department, and a number of substitutes equal to the third of the representatives.

The electoral assemblies shall form themselves, of full right, the last Sunday of March, if they have not been convoked sooner by the public officers appointed by law.

II. The representatives and substitutes shall be chosen by an absolute majority of votes, and cannot be chosen but from amongst the active citizens in the department.

III. All the active citizens, whatever be their condition, profession, or contribution, may be chosen representatives of the nation.

IV. Those, however, shall be obliged to decide between one or other situation—Ministers, and other agents of the executive power, removable at pleasure; Commissioners of the national treasury; Collectors and receivers of direct contributions; Superintendants of the collection, or management of indirect contributions, and national domains, and those who, under any denomination whatever, are attached to the employs of the military or civil household of the king.

The administrators, sub-administrators, municipal officers, and commandants of the national guards, shall also be obliged to make a choice.

V. The exercise of judiciary functions shall be incompatible with

those of a representative of the nation, during all the continuance of the legislature.

The judges shall be replaced by their substitutes, and the king shall provide, by briefs of commission, for the replacing of his commissaries at the tribunals.

VI. The members of the legislative body, may be re-elected to the next legislature; but not afterwards, till after an interval of one legislature.

VII. The representatives named in the departments, shall not be representatives of a particular department, but of the whole nation, and no mandate can be given them

### SECTION IV.

#### *Session and Regulation of the Primary and Electoral Assemblies.*

I. The functions of the primary and electoral assemblies are limited to the right of electing; and as soon as the elections are over, they shall separate, and shall not form themselves anew, but when they shall be convoked; if it be not in the case of Sect II. Art. I. and of Sect. III. Art. I. above.

II. No active citizen can enter or vote in an assembly, if he is armed.

III. Armed force cannot be introduced in the meeting, except at the express desire of the assembly, unless in the case of actual violence, when the order of the president shall be sufficient to call in the aid of public force.

IV. Every two years, there shall be drawn up in each district, lists by cantons of the active citizens; and the list of each canton shall be published and posted up two months before the meeting of the Primary Assembly. The protests which shall be made, either against the right of citizens, named in the list, or on the part of those who shall affirm that they

they are unjustly omitted, shall be carried to the tribunals, to be there summarily decided upon.

The list shall serve to regulate the admission of citizens in the next Primary Assembly, in every point that shall not have been ascertained by a sentence pronounced before the sitting of the assembly.

V. The Electoral Assemblies have the right of verifying the qualifications and powers of those who shall present themselves there; and their decisions shall be provisionally executed, with a reserve for the sentence of the legislative body at the time of the verification of the powers of deputies.

VI. In no case, and under no pretext, shall the king, or any agents named by him, interfere in questions relative to the regularity of the convocations, the sitting of assemblies, the form of elections, or the political rights of citizens. Without prejudice, however, to the functions of the commissaries of the king, in the cases determined by law, where questions relative to the political rights of citizens ought to be carried to the tribunals.

#### SECTION V.

*Meeting of the Representatives in the National Legislative Assembly.*

I. THE representatives shall assemble on the first Monday of May, in the place of the meeting of the last legislature.

II. They shall form themselves, provisionally, into an assembly, under the presidency of the eldest, to verify the powers of the representatives present.

III. As soon as these may be verified, to the number of 373 members, they shall constitute themselves

under the title of the *National Legislative Assembly*; they shall name a president, vice-president, and secretaries, and enter upon the exercise of their functions.

IV. During the whole of the month of May, if the number of representatives present fall short of 373, the Assembly shall not perform any legislative act. They may issue an arrêt, enjoining the absent members to attend to their functions within fifteen days at farthest, under a penalty of 3000 livres, if they do not produce an excuse which shall be deemed lawful by the legislative body.

V. On the last day of May, whatever be the number of members present, they shall constitute themselves a National Legislative Assembly.

VI. The representatives shall pronounce in a body, in the name of the French people, the oath, "*to live free or die.*"

They shall then individually take the oath, *to maintain, with all their power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the National Constituent Assembly, during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; to propose or assent to nothing in the course of the legislature, which may at all tend to infringe it; and to be, in every respect, faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King.*

VII. The representatives of the nation are inviolable; they cannot be examined, accused, or adjudged at any time with respect to what they have said, written, or done, in the exercise of their functions of representatives.

VIII. They may for a crime be seized in the act, or in virtue of an order of arrest; but notice shall be given of it, without delay, to the legislative body; and the prosecution shall not be continued, till after the

Legislative body shall have decided that there is ground for accusation.

## C H A P. II.

### *Of the Royalty, the Regency, and the Ministers.*

#### SECTION I.

##### *Of the Royalty and the King.*

I. The Royalty is indivisible, and delegated hereditarily to the race on the throne, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants.

Nothing is prejudged respecting the effect of renunciations in the race on the throne.

II. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable: his only title is *King of the French*.

III. There is no authority in France superior to that of the law. The king reigns only by it, and it is only in the name of the law that he can require obedience.

IV. The king, on his accession to the throne, or at the period of his majority, shall take to the nation, in the presence of the legislative body, the oath, "*To be faithful to the Nation, and to the Law; to employ all the power delegated to him, to maintain the Constitution decreed by the National Constituent Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; and to cause the laws to be executed.*"

If the legislative body shall not be assembled, the king shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed this oath, and a promise to repeat it as soon as the legislative bodies shall assemble.

V. If, one month after an invitation by the legislative body, the king has not taken this oath, or if after taking it he shall retract, he shall be

deemed to have abdicated the royalty.

VI. If the king put himself at the head of an army, and direct the forces of it against the nation, or if he do not oppose, by a formal act, any such enterprize undertaken in his name, he shall be deemed to have abdicated.

VII. If the king, having gone out of the kingdom, do not return, on the invitation of the legislative body, and within the delay fixed by the proclamation, which cannot be less than two months, he shall be deemed to have abdicated.

The delay shall commence from the day when the proclamation of the legislative body shall have been published in the place of its sitting; and the ministers shall be obliged, under their responsibility, to perform all the acts of the executive power, the exercise of which shall be suspended in the hands of the absent king.

VIII. After abdication, express or legal, the king shall be in the class of citizens, and may be accused and tried like them, for acts posterior to his abdication.

IX. The particular effects which the king possesses at his accession to the throne, are irrevocably united to the domain of the nation; he has the disposition of those which he acquires on his own private account; if he has not disposed of them, they are in like manner united at the end of the reign.

X. The nation makes provision for the splendour of the throne by a civil list, of which the Legislative body shall fix the sum at the commencement of each reign, for the whole duration of that reign.

XI. The king shall appoint an administrator of the civil list, who shall commence all suits for the king, and

and against whom all actions for debts of the king shall be carried on, and judgments given and executed. Sentences of condemnation, obtained by the creditors of the civil list, shall be executed against the administrator personally and his private fortune.

XII. The king shall have, independent of the honorary guard which shall be furnished him by the citizens, national guards of the place of his residence, a guard paid from the funds of the civil list. It shall not exceed 1200 foot, and 600 horse.

The degrees and rules of advancement shall be the same in it as amongst the troops of the line. But those who compose the king's guards, shall pass through all the degrees exclusively amongst themselves, and cannot obtain any in the army of the line.

The king cannot chuse his guards, but among those who are at present in active service in the troops of the line, or amongst the citizens who have served a year in the national guards, provided they are residents in the kingdom, and that they have previously taken the civic oath.

The king's guards cannot be ordered or required for any other public service.

## SECTION II.

### *Of the Regency.*

I. The king is a minor till the age of eighteen complete; and during his minority, there shall be a regent of the kingdom.

II. The regency belongs to the relation of the king, who is the next in degree according to the order of succession to the throne, and who has attained the age of twenty five, provided he be a Frenchman resident

in the kingdom, and not presumptive heir to any other crown, and have taken the civic oath.

Women are excluded from the regency.

III. If a minor king have no relations who unite the above qualities, the regent of the kingdom shall be elected as is directed in the following article:

IV. The Legislative body shall not elect the regent.

V. The electors of each district shall assemble in the chief place of their district, after a proclamation, which shall be issued in the first week of the new reign, by the legislative body if convened; and if separated, the minister of justice shall be bound to make that proclamation in the same week.

VI. The electors shall name in every district, by individual scrutiny, and absolute plurality of votes, a citizen eligible, and resident in the district, to whom they shall give by the proces-verbal of the election, a special mandate, limited to the sole function of electing the citizen whom he shall judge in his heart and conscience the most worthy of being regent of the kingdom.

VII. The citizens having these mandates, elected in the districts, shall be bound to assemble in the town where the legislative body holds its seat, the fortieth day at farthest, counting from that of the advancement of the minor king to the throne; and they shall form there the electoral assembly, who shall proceed to the nomination of the regent.

VIII. The election of the regent shall be made by individual scrutiny and absolute plurality of votes.

IX. The electoral assembly cannot employ itself, but relative to this election, and shall separate as soon as

the election is finished—Every other act which it shall attempt, is declared unconstitutional and of no effect.

X. The electoral assembly shall make its president present the process-verbal of the election to the legislative body, who after having verified the regularity of the election, shall make it public over all the kingdom by a proclamation.

XI. The regent exercises, till the king's majority, all the functions of royalty, and is not personally responsible for the acts of his administration.

XII. The regent cannot begin the exercise of his functions, till after taking to the nation, in the presence of the legislative body, an oath, "*To be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to employ all the power delegated to the king, and of which the exercise is confided to him during the minority of the king, to maintain the constitution decreed by the national constituent assembly, in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to cause the laws to be executed.*"

If the legislative body is not assembled, the regent shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed this oath, and a promise to repeat it as soon as the legislative body shall be met.

XIII. As long as the regent is not entered on the exercise of his functions, the sanction of the laws remains suspended; the ministers continue to perform, under their responsibility, all the acts of the executive power.

XIV. As soon as the regent shall take the oath, the legislative body shall fix his allowance, which shall not be altered during his regency.

XV. If on account of the minority of the relation called to the regency, it has devolved to a more distant relation, or been settled by

election, the regent who shall have entered on the exercise of it, shall continue his functions till the majority of the king.

XVI. The regency of the kingdom confers no right over the person of the minor king.

XVII. The care of the minor king shall be confided to his mother; and if he has no mother, or if she be married again at the time of her son's accession to the throne, or if she marry again during the minority, the care of him shall be delegated by the legislative body.

Neither the regent, nor his descendants, nor a woman, can be chosen as guardian of the minor king.

XVIII. In case of the king's insanity, notoriously admitted, legally proved, and declared by the legislative body, after three successive deliberations held monthly, there shall be a regency, as long as such incapacity continues.

### SECTION III.

#### *Of the Royal Family.*

I. The presumptive heir shall bear the name of *Prince Royal*. He cannot go out of the kingdom, without a decree of the legislative body, and the king's consent.

If he is gone out of it, and if, being arrived at eighteen years of age, he do not return to France, after being required by a proclamation of the legislative body, he is held to have abdicated the right of succession to the throne.

II. If the presumptive heir be a minor, the relation of full age, and next in order to the regency, is bound to reside within the kingdom. In case of his going out of it, and not returning on the requisition of the legis-



legislative body, he shall be held to have abdicated his right to the regency.

III. The mother of the minor king, having the care of him, or the guardian elected, if they go out of the kingdom, forfeit their charge.

If the mother of the presumptive heir, a minor, go out of the kingdom, she cannot even after her return, have the care of her minor son, become king, but by a decree of the legislative body.

IV. A law shall be made to regulate the education of the minor king, and that of the minor heir presumptive.

V. The members of the royal family called to the eventual succession to the throne enjoy the rights of an active citizen, but are not eligible to any places, employs, or functions, in the nomination of the people.

Excepting the places of ministers, they are capable of offices and employs in the nomination of the king; however they cannot be commanders in chief of any army or fleet, nor fulfil the functions of ambassadors, without the consent of the legislative body, granted on the proposition of the king.

VI. The members of the royal family, called to the eventual succession to the throne, shall add the denomination of *French Prince*, to the name which shall have been given them in the civil act, stating their birth; and this name can neither be patronymic, nor formed of any of the qualifications abolished by the present constitution.

The denomination of *Prince* cannot be given to any other individual, and shall convey no privilege, nor any exception, to the common rights of all Frenchmen.

VII. The acts by which shall be legally stated the births, marriages,

and deaths of the French princes, shall be presented to the legislative body, who shall command the deposit of them in their archives.

VIII. No real apanage (in land) shall be granted to the members of the royal family.

The younger sons of the king shall receive, at the age of twenty-five, or on their marriage, an annuity, the amount of which shall be fixed by the legislative body, and which shall terminate with the extinction of their male heirs.

#### SECTION IV.

##### *Of Ministers.*

I. To the king alone belongs the choice and revocation of ministers.

II. The members of the present national assembly, and succeeding legislatures, the members of the tribunal of annulment, and those who shall serve in the high jury, cannot be advanced to the ministry, nor receive any offices, gifts, pensions, salaries, or commissions from the executive power, or its agents, during the continuance of their functions, nor during two years after having finished the exercise of them.

The same shall be the case with respect to those who shall be inscribed in the list of the high jury, during all the time that their inscription shall continue.

III. No one can enter upon the exercise of any employ, either in the bureaux of ministers, or in those of the administrations of public power, without having taken the civic oath, and having verified his having taken it.

IV. No order of the king can be executed, if it be not signed by him, and countersigned by the minister or comptroller of the department.

V. The ministers are responsible for

for all the offences committed by them against the national safety and the constitution ;

For every attack on individual property and liberty ;

For every waste of the money allotted for the expences of their department.

VI. In no case can the written or verbal order of a king shelter a minister from responsibility.

VII. The ministers are bound to present every year to the legislative body, at the opening of the session, the state of the expences of their department ; to give an account of the employment of the sums destined for that purpose, and to mention the abuses which may have crept into the different parts of the government.

VIII. No minister in or out of place, can be criminally prosecuted for any transaction of his administration, without a decree of the legislative body.

### C H A P. III.

#### *Of the Exercise of the Legislative Power.*

#### SECTION I.

##### *Powers and Functions of the National Legislative Assembly.*

I. The constitution delegates exclusively to the legislative body, the powers and functions following :

1. To propose and decree laws : the king can only invite the legislative body to take an object into consideration.

2. To fix the public expences.

3. To establish the public contributions—to determine their nature, quantity, duration, and mode of collection.

4. To divide the direct contribution amongst the departments of the

kingdom—to superintend the employ of all the public revenue, and to demand an account of it.

5. To decree the creation or suppression of public offices.

6. To determine the quality, weight, impression, and name of the coin.

7. To permit or prohibit the introduction of foreign troops into the French territories, and of foreign naval forces into the ports of the kingdom.

8. To fix annually, after the proposition of the king, the number of men and ships of which the land and naval armies shall be composed ; the pay and number of individuals of each rank ; the rules of admission and promotion ; the forms of enrolment and discharge ; the formation of naval equipments ; the admission of foreign troops, or naval forces into the service of France ; and the pay of troops, in case of their being disbanded.

9. To regulate the administrative government, and the alienation of the national domains.

10. To prosecute before the high national court, the ministers and principal agents of the executive power, in what relates to their responsibility.

To accuse and prosecute before the same court, those who shall be charged with any attack or conspiracy against the general safety of the state, or against the constitution.

11. To establish the laws, according to which marks of honour or decoration, purely personal, shall be granted to those who have rendered services to the state.

12. The legislative body have the right to decree public honours to the memory of great men.

II. War cannot be determined on, but by a decree of the legislative body passed on the formal and  
neces.

necessary proposition of the king, and sanctioned by him.

In the case of imminent or commenced hostilities, of an ally to be supported, or a right to be preserved by force of arms, the king shall notify the same without delay to the legislative body, and shall declare the reasons of it.

If the legislative body be not sitting, the king shall assemble it immediately.

If the legislative body decide that war ought not to be made, the king shall immediately take measures to stop or prevent all hostilities, the ministers being responsible for delays.

If the legislative body find that the hostilities commenced are a palpable aggression on the part of ministers, or any other agent of the executive power, the author of the aggression shall be prosecuted criminally.

During the whole course of war, the legislative body may require the king to negotiate peace, and the king is bound to yield to this requisition.

On the immediate conclusion of war, the legislative body shall fix the time within which the troops levied above the peace establishment, shall be discharged, and the army reduced to its ordinary state.

III. It belongs to the legislative body to ratify treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, and no treaty shall have effect but by this ratification.

IV. The legislative body has the right of determining the place of its sittings, of continuing them as long as it shall think necessary, and of adjourning; at the commencement of each reign, if it be not sitting, it shall be bound to meet without delay.

It has the right of police in the place of its sitting, and to such extent around it as shall be determined.

It has the right of discipline over its members; but it can pronounce no heavier punishment than censure, arrest, for eight days, or imprisonment for three.

It has the right of disposing, for its safety, and the respect that is due to it, of the forces which shall be placed, by its consent, in the city where it shall hold its sittings.

V. The executive power cannot march, or quarter or station any troops of the line within thirty thousand toises of the legislative body, except on its requisition, or by its authority.

## SECTION II.

### *Holding of the Sittings, and Form of deliberating.*

I. The deliberations of the legislative body shall be public, and the proceedings of its sittings shall be printed.

II. The legislative body, may, however, on any occasion, form itself into a *general committee*.

Fifty members shall have a right to demand this.

During the continuance of the general committee, the assistants shall retire, the chair of the president shall be vacant, and order shall be maintained by the vice-president.

III. No legislative act can be debated and decreed, except in the following form:

IV. The plan of a decree shall be read thrice, at three intervals, the shortest of which cannot be less than eight days.

V. The discussion shall be open after every reading; nevertheless, after

after the first or second reading, the legislative body may declare that there is reason for adjournment, or that there is no need for deliberation; in this last case, the plan of the decree may be introduced again in the same session.

Every plan of a decree shall be printed and distributed before the second reading of it can be commenced.

VI. After the third reading, the president shall be bound to propose it to deliberation; and the legislative body shall decide, whether they are qualified to pass a definitive decree, or would rather chuse to postpone their decision, in order to gather more ample information on the subject.

VII. The legislative body cannot deliberate, if the meeting do not consist of at least two hundred members: and no decree shall be made, except by the absolute majority of votes.

VIII. No plan of a law, which, after having been submitted to discussion, shall have been rejected after the third reading, can again be introduced the same session.

IX. The preamble of every definitive decree shall announce, first the dates of those sittings at which the three readings of the plan of the decree were made; second, the decree by which it shall have been appointed, after the third reading, to decide definitely.

X. The king shall refuse his sanction to decrees whose preamble shall not attest the observance of the above forms; if any of those decrees be sanctioned, the ministers shall neither put to it the seal, nor promulgate it, and their responsibility in this respect shall continue six years.

XI. Excepting from these regulations, decrees recognized, and de-

clared urgent by a previous deliberation of the legislative body; but they may be modified, or revoked, in the course of the same session.

The decree by which a matter shall have been declared urgent, shall announce the reasons of it, and there shall be mention made of this previous decree in the preamble of the definitive decree.

### SECTION III.

#### *Of the Royal Sanction.*

I. The decrees of the legislative body are presented to the king, who may refuse his assent to them.

II. In the case of a refusal of the royal assent, that refusal is only *suspensive*.

When the two following legislatures which shall follow that in which the decree was presented, shall successively represent the same decree in the same terms in which it was originally conceived, the king shall be deemed to have given his sanction.

III. The assent of the king is expressed to each decree, by the following formula, signed by the king: *The king consents, and will cause it to be executed.*

The suspensive refusal is thus expressed: *The king will examine.*

IV. The king is bound to express his assent, or refusal, to each decree, within two months after it shall have been presented.

V. No decree to which the king has refused his assent, can be presented to him by the same legislature.

VI. The decree sanctioned by the king, and those which have been presented to him by three successive legislatures, alone have the force of a law, and bear the name and title of *laws*.

VII.

VII. There shall be, however, executed as laws, without being subjected to sanction, those acts of the legislative body which relate to its constitution as a deliberating assembly;

Its interior police, and that which it may exercise in the external space, which it shall have determined;

The verification of the powers of the members present;

The injunctions to absent members;

The convocation of the primary assemblies in case of delay;

The exercise of constitutional superintendence over the administrators, and municipal officers;

Questions of eligibility, or the validity of elections.

Exempting likewise from sanction, acts relative to the responsibility of ministers, and all decrees importing that there is ground of accusation.

VIII. The decrees of the legislative body, concerning the establishment, prerogation, and collection of public contributions, shall bear the name and title of laws; they shall be promulgated and executed without being subject to sanction, except with respect to those dispositions, which should establish other penalties than pecuniary fines and constraints.

These decrees cannot be passed but after the observation of the formalities prescribed by the articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of sect. II. of the present chapter; and the legislative body shall not insert in them any dispositions foreign to their object.

#### SECTION IV.

#### *Connection of the Legislative Body with the King.*

I. When the legislative body is

definitively constituted, it shall send a deputation to inform the king. The king may every year open the session, and propose the objects, which, during its continuance, he thinks ought to be taken into consideration; this form, however, is not to be considered as *necessary* to the activity of the legislative body.

III. When the legislative body wishes to adjourn longer than fifteen days, it is bound to inform the king, by a deputation, at least eight days previous.

II. A week, at least, before the end of each session, the legislative body shall send a deputation to the king, to announce to him the day on which it proposes to terminate its sittings. The king may come, in order to close the session.

IV. If the king find it of importance to the welfare of the state, that the session be continued, or that the adjournment be put off, or take place only for a shorter time, he may send a message to this effect, on which the legislative body is bound to deliberate.

V. The king shall convocate the legislative body, during the interval of its session, at all times when the interest of the state shall appear to him to require it, as well as in those cases which the legislative body shall have foreseen and determined, previous to their adjournment.

VI. Whenever the king shall visit the place of meeting of the legislative body, he shall be received and conducted back by a deputation; he cannot be accompanied into the inner part of the hall by any except the prince royal and the ministers.

VII. The president can in no case form part of a deputation.

VIII. The legislative body shall cease to be a deliberating body whilst the king shall be present.

IX. The

IX. The acts of correspondence of the king with the legislative body, shall be always countersigned by a minister.

X. The ministers of the king shall have admission into the national legislative assembly; they shall have a place assigned to them; they shall be heard always when they demand it on objects relative to their administration, or when they shall be required to give information. They shall also be heard on objects foreign to their administration, when the national assembly shall grant them liberty to speak.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### *Of the Exercise of the Executive Power.*

I. The *supreme* executive power resides exclusively in the hands of the king.

The king is the supreme head of the general administration of the kingdom: the care of watching over the maintenance of public order and tranquillity is entrusted to him.

The king is the supreme head of the land and sea forces.

To the king is delegated the care of watching over the exterior security of the kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and possessions.

II. The king names ambassadors, and the other agents of political negotiations.

He bestows the command of armies and fleets, and the ranks of marshal of France and admiral.

He names two thirds of the rear-admirals, one half of the lieutenant-generals, camp marshals, captains of ships, and colonels of the national gendarmerie.

He names a third of the colonels

and lieutenant colonels, and a sixth of the lieutenants of ships—the whole in conformity to the laws with respect to promotion.

He appoints, in the civil administration of the marine, the directors, the comptrollers, the treasurers of the arsenals, the masters of the works, the under-masters of civil buildings, half of the masters of administration, and of the under-masters of construction.

He appoints the commissaries of the tribunals.

He appoints the chief superintendants of the administration of indirect contributions, and the administration of national domains.

He superintends the coinage of money, and appoints the officers entrusted with this superintendence in the general commission and the mints.

The effigy of the king is struck on all the coinage of the kingdom.

III. The king orders letters patent, brevets, and commissions, to be delivered to all the public offices that ought to receive them.

IV. The king orders a list of pensions and gratifications to be made out, for the purpose of being presented to the legislative body each session, and decreed, if there is reason for it.

#### SECTION I.

##### *Of the Promulgation of Laws.*

I. The executive power is charged with ordering the seal of state to be put to laws, and causing them to be promulgated.

It is equally charged with causing to be promulgated and executed those acts of the legislative body which have no need of the sanction of the king.

II. Two copies of each law shall be

be made, both signed by the king, countersigned by the minister of justice, and sealed with the seal of state. The one shall be deposited in the archives of the seal, and the other shall be sent to the archives of the legislative body.

III. The promulgation of laws shall be thus expressed:

"N. (the king's name) by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state, king of the French, to all present and to come, greeting. The national assembly has decreed, and we will and ordain as follows:

(Here a literal copy of the decree shall be inserted, without any variation:)

"We command and ordain to all administrative bodies and courts of justice, to cause these presents to be transcribed on their registers, read and published, and posted up in their departments and respective place of resort, and executed as a law of the realm; in which we have signed these presents, to which we have caused the seal of the state to be put."

IV. If the king be a minor, laws, proclamations, and other acts proceeding from the royal authority during the regency, shall be conceived in these terms:

"N. (the name of the regent) regent of the kingdom, in the name of N. (the king's name) by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the state, king of the French, &c."

V. The executive power is bound to send the laws to the administrative bodies and courts of justice, to be certified that they are so sent, and to answer for it to the legislative body.

VI. The executive power cannot make any law, not even provisional, but merely proclamations, conform-

able to the laws, to ordain or enforce the execution.

## SECTION II.

### *Of the Interior Administration.*

I. There is in each department a superior administration, and in each district a subordinate administration.

II. The administrators have no character of representation.

They are agents, chosen for a time by the people, to exercise, under the superintendence and the authority of the king, the administrative functions.

III. They can neither interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, nor suspend the execution of the laws, nor assume any authority over judicial proceedings, nor over military regulations or operations.

IV. The administrators are essentially charged with the repartition of the direct taxes, and with the superintendence of the funds arising from all the contributions and public revenues in their territory.

It belongs to the legislative power to determine the rules and mode of their functions, both with respect to the objects above mentioned, as well as with respect to all the other parts of the interior administration.

V. The king has the right of annulling such acts of the administrators of department, as are contrary to the law, or the orders he has transmitted to them.

He may, in case of obstinate disobedience, or of their endangering, by their acts, the safety or peace of the public, suspend them from their functions.

VI. The administrators of department have also the right of annulling the acts of the sub-administrators,

tors of district, contrary to the laws or to the arrears of administrators of department, or to the orders which the latter shall have given or transmitted.

They may likewise, in case of an obstinate disobedience on the part of the sub-administrators, or if the latter endanger, by their acts, the public safety or tranquillity, suspend them from their functions, with the reserve of informing the king, who may remove or confirm the suspension.

VII. The king, if the administrators of department shall not use the power which is delegated to them in the article above, may directly annul the acts of sub-administrators, and suspend them in the same cases.

VIII. Whenever the king shall pronounce or confirm the suspension of administrators, or sub-administrators, he shall inform the legislative body. This body may either remove or confirm the suspension, or even dissolve the culpable administration; and if there be ground, remit all the administrators, or some of them, to the criminal tribunals; or enforce against them the decree of accusation.

### SECTION III.

#### *Of External Connections.*

I. The king alone can keep up foreign political connections, conduct negotiations, make preparations of war, proportioned to those of the neighbouring states; distribute the land and sea forces, as he shall judge most suitable, and regulate their direction in case of war.

II. Every declaration of war shall be made in these terms: *By the king of the French, in the name of the nation.*

III. It belongs to the king to resolve and sign with all foreign powers, all treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, and other conventions, which he shall judge necessary for the welfare of the state, with a reserve for the ratification of the legislative body.

### CHAP. V.

#### *Of the Judicial Power.*

I. The judicial power can in no case be exercised, either by the legislative body, or the king.

II. Justice shall be gratuitously rendered, by judges chosen for a time by the people, instituted by letters patent of the king, who cannot refuse to grant them. They cannot be deposed, but for forfeiture duly judged; nor suspended, but for an accusation admitted.

The public accusers shall be named by the people.

III. The tribunals cannot either interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, or suspend the execution of the laws, or undertake the administrative functions, or cite before them the administrators, on account of their functions.

IV. The citizens cannot be withdrawn from the judges whom the law assigns to them by any commission, or by any other attributions or evocations than those which are determined by the laws.

V. The right of the citizens to terminate definitively their disputes by the way of arbitration, shall receive no infringement from the acts of the legislative power.

VI. The ordinary courts of justice cannot receive any civil action, until it be certified to them that the parties have appeared, or that the pursuer has cited the opposite party to appear before mediators, to endeavour



your to bring about a reconciliation.

VII. There shall be one or more justices of peace in the canton and in the towns. The number of them shall be determined by the legislative power.

VIII. It belongs to the legislative power to regulate the number and extent of jurisdiction of the tribunals, and the number of judges of which each tribunal shall be composed.

IX. In *criminal* matters, no citizen can be tried, but on an accusation received by a jury, or decreed by the legislative body, in the cases where it belongs to it to pursue the accusation.

After the admission of the accusation, the fact shall be recognised and declared by a jury.

The accused shall have a right to refuse, as far as twenty jurors, without assigning reasons.

The jury which declares the fact, cannot be of fewer than twelve members.

The application of the law shall be made by judges.

The instruction of the process shall be public, and the assistance of counsel cannot be refused to the accused.

No man acquitted by a lawful jury, can be retaken or accused on account of the same fact.

X. No man can be seized upon, but in order to be conducted before an officer of police: and no man can be arrested or detained, but in virtue of a mandate of the officers of police; of an order for personal arrestation by a tribunal; of a decree of accusation of the legislative body, in the cases where it belongs to it to pronounce; or of a sentence of imprisonment or detention for the sake of correction.

XI. Every man seized upon and

conducted before an officer of police, shall be examined immediately, or at latest in twenty-four hours

If it result from the examination, that there be no ground for blame against him, he shall be directly set at liberty; or if there be ground, to send him to a house of arrest, he shall be conducted there with the least delay possible, and that in any case cannot exceed three days.

XII. No man arrested can be detained if he give sufficient bail, in all cases where the law permits a man to remain free under bail.

XIII. No man, in the cases when detention is authorised by the law, can be conducted or detained any where, but in those places legally and publicly marked out as houses of arrest, of justice, or prisons.

XIV. No guard nor jailor can receive or detain any man, but in virtue of a mandate, order of arrest, decree of accusation, or sentence, mentioned in the tenth article above, nor without transcribing them in his own register.

XV. Every guard or jailor is bound, and no order can release him from the obligation, to produce the person detained to the civil officer who superintends the police of the house of arrest, as often as it shall be required of him.

The production of the person detained, cannot also be refused to his relations and friends, who bring an order from a civil officer, who shall be bound always to grant it, unless the guard or jailor produce an order from a judge, transcribed in his register, to keep the person arrested secret.

XVI. Every man, whatever be his place or occupation, except those to whom the law confides the right of arrestation, who shall give, sign, execute, or make to be executed, an order to arrest a citizen; or who-

ever, even in the cases of arrestation authorized by the law, shall conduct, receive, or detain a citizen, in a place of detention not publicly and legally marked out; and every guard or jailor who shall act in opposition to the disposition of the above XIV. and XV. articles; shall be culpable of the crime of arbitrary detention.

XVII. No man can be taken up, or prosecuted, on account of the writings which he has caused to be printed or published, whatever be their subject, if he has not *designedly* provoked disobedience to the law, outrage to the established powers, and resistance to their acts, or any of the actions declared crimes or offences by the law.

The censure of all the acts of the established powers is permitted; but voluntary calumnies against the probity of public officers, and against the rectitude of their intentions in the exercise of their functions, may be prosecuted by those who are the subject of them.

Calumnies or injurious sayings against any kind of persons, relative to the actions of their private life, shall be punished by prosecution.

XVIII. No man can be judged, either civilly or criminally, for acts of writing, printing or publishing, except it has been recognized and declared by a jury, 1st; that there is an offence in the writing denounced: 2d, that the person prosecuted is guilty of it.

XIX. There shall be, for the whole kingdom, one only tribunal of annulment, established near the legislative body. Its functions shall be, to pronounce

On demands of annulment of judgments given, in the last resort by the tribunals;

On demands of being remitted from one tribunal to another, for lawful causes of suspicion;

On regulations respecting judges, and suits against a whole tribunal.

XX. In questions of annulment, the tribunal of annulment shall never take cognizance of the affair itself; but after having annulled the sentence which shall have been pronounced in a process, and in which the forms have been violated, or which shall contain an express contradiction to the law, it shall remit the original affair to the tribunal which ought to decide on it.

XXI. When, after being twice annulled, a sentence pronounced by a third tribunal shall be attacked on the same grounds as at first, the question shall no more be judged by the tribunal of annulment, without having been submitted to the legislative body, who shall pass a decree declarative of the law, to which the tribunal of annulment shall be bound to conform.

XXII. Every year, the tribunal of annulment shall be bound to send to the bar of the legislative body, a deputation of eight of its members, to present a state of the decisions passed; on the margin of each of which shall be placed a short account of the affair, and the text of the law which shall have determined the decision.

XXIII. A high national court, formed of the members of the tribunal of annulment, and of high jurors, shall take cognizance of offences committed by the ministers and principal agents of the executive power, of those crimes which attack the general safety of the state, after the legislative body shall have passed a decree for accusation.

It shall not be assembled but at the proclamation of the legislative body, and at the distance of thirty thousand toises at least from the place where the legislative body holds its meetings.

XXIV. The

XXIV. The orders issued for executing the judgments of the tribunals, shall be conceived in these terms :

“ N. (the name of the king) by the grace of God, and by the constitutional law of the state, king of the French, to all present and to come, greeting. The tribunal of ——— has passed the following judgment :” [Here shall following a copy of the judgment, in which shall be mentioned the names of the judges.]

“ We charge and enjoin all officers, upon the present demand, to put the said judgment into execution, our commissaries of the tribunals to enforce the same, and all the commanders and officers of the public force to be assisting with their force, when it shall be legally required : In witness of which, the present judgment has been signed by the president of the tribunal, and by the register.”

XXV. The functions of the king's commissaries in the tribunals, shall be, to require the observance of the laws in the judgments to be given, and to cause them to be executed after they are passed.

They shall not be public accusers ; but they shall be heard on all accusations, and shall require, during process, regularity of forms, and, before judgment, application of the law.

XXVI. The king's commissaries in the tribunals shall denounce to the director of the jury, either officially, or according to orders given them by the king ;

Offences against the individual liberty of citizens, against the free circulation of provisions and other objects of commerce, and against the collection of contributions :

Offences by which the execution

of orders given by the king, in the exercise of the functions delegated to him, shall be disturbed or impeded ;

Infringements on the laws of nations ; opposition to the execution of judgments ; and to all executive acts proceeding from established powers.

XXVII. The minister of justice shall denounce to the tribunal of appeal, by means of the king's commissary, and without prejudice to the rights of the parties interested, the acts in which the judges have exceeded the bounds of their power.

The tribunal shall annul these acts ; and if they give ground for forfeiture, the fact shall be represented to the legislative body, which shall pass the decree of accusation if there be ground, and refer the parties informed against to the high national court.

#### T I T L E IV.

##### *Of the Public Force.*

I. The public force is instituted to defend the state against external enemies, and to maintain internal order and the execution of the laws.

II. It is composed,

Of the land and sea armies ;

Of the troops specially destined for home service ;

And, subsidiarily, of the active citizens, and their children of age to bear arms, registered in the roll of national guards.

III. The national guards do not form a military body, or an institution in the state ; they are the citizens themselves, called to assist the public force.

IV. The citizens can never embody themselves, or act as national guards, but by virtue of a legal requisition of authority.

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V. They

V. They are subject in this quality to an organization, to be determined by the law.

They shall be distinguished in the whole kingdom, by only one form of discipline, and one uniform.

Distinctions of rank and subordination, subsist only relative to the service, and during its continuance.

VI. Officers are chosen for a time, and cannot again be chosen till after a certain interval of service as soldiers.

None shall command the national guard of more than one district.

VII. All the parts of the public force employed for the safety of the state from foreign enemies, shall act under the command of the king.

VIII. No body or detachment of troops of the line can act in the internal part of the kingdom without a legal order.

IX. No agent of the public force can enter the house of a citizen, if it be not on purpose to execute the orders of police and of justice, or in cases formally provided for by the law.

X. The requisition of the public force, in the internal part of the kingdom, belongs to the civil officers, according to the regulations provided by the legislative power.

XI. When any department is throughout in a state of commotion, the king shall issue, under the responsibility of ministers, the necessary orders for the execution of laws, and the re-establishment of order; but with the reserve of informing the legislative body if it be assembled, and of convoking it if it be not sitting.

XII. The public force is *essential*; *obedient*; no armed body can deliberate.

XIII. The land and sea armies, and the troops destined to preserve

internal security, are subjected to particular laws, both for the maintenance of discipline, and for the manner of judgments, and the nature of punishments, on occasion of military offences.

## T I T L E V.

### *Of Public Contributions.*

I. Public contributions shall be debated and fixed every year by the legislative body, and cannot continue in force longer than the last day of the following session, if they are not expressly renewed.

II. The funds necessary to the discharge of the national debt, and the payment of the civil list, can, under no pretext, be refused or suspended.

The salaries of the ministers of the catholic religion, who are paid, preserved, elected, or named in virtue of the decrees of the national constituent assembly, form a part of the national debt.

The legislative body cannot, in any case, charge the nation with the payment of the debts of any individual.

III. The accounts at full length of the ministerial department, signed and certified by the ministers or commissioners, shall be made public, by being printed at the commencement of the session of each legislature.

So shall also the state of receipts of the different taxes, and all the public revenues.

The state of receipt and expenditure shall be distinguished according to their nature, and shall express the sums received and disbursed, year by year, in each district.

The private expences of each department, and those relative to the

tribunals, the administrative bodies and other establishments, shall also be made public.

IV. The administrators of department, and sub-administrators, can neither establish any public contribution, nor make any distribution beyond the time and the sums fixed by the legislative body; nor deliberate, or permit, without being authorised by it, any local loan to be charged to the citizens of the department.

V. The executive power directs and superintends the collection and paying in of contributions, and gives all the necessary orders to this effect.

## TITLE VI.

### *Of the Connection of the French Nation with other Nations.*

The French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view to make conquests, and will never employ its forces against the liberty of any people.

The constitution no longer admits the Droit d'Aubaine.

Foreigners, whether settled in France or not, inherit the property of their parents, whether foreigners or Frenchmen.

They can contract, acquire, and receive, property situated in France, and dispose of it as well as any French citizen, in every mode authorised by the laws.

Foreigners in France are subject to the same criminal laws and regulations of police as French citizens, with a reserve for conventions agreed on with foreign powers. Their persons, effects, industry, and religion, are equally protected by the law.

## TITLE VII.

### *Of the Revision of Constitutional Decrees.*

I. The National Constituent Assembly declares, that the nation has an imprescriptible right to change its constitution; and nevertheless, considering that it is most suitable to the national interest to make use, only by means appointed by the constitution itself, of the right of reforming those articles which experience shall demonstrate the inconvenience of, decrees, that the assembly of revision shall proceed in the following manner:

II. When three following legislatures shall have declared an uniform wish for the change of any constitutional article, the revision demanded shall take place.

III. The ensuing legislature (that commencing in 1791) cannot propose the reform of any constitutional article.

IV. Of the three legislatures who shall successively propose any changes, the first two shall not occupy themselves relative to that object, but in the last two months of their last session, and the third at the end of its first annual session, or at the beginning of the second.

Their deliberations on that matter shall be subjected to the same forms as the legislative acts; but the decrees by which they shall have expressed their desires, shall not be subjected to the sanction of the king.

V. The fourth legislature, augmented by two hundred and forty-nine members chosen in each department, by doubling the ordinary number which it furnishes for its population, shall constitute the assembly of revision.

These two hundred and forty-nine members shall be elected after the nomination of representatives to the legislative body shall have been terminated, and there shall be formed a separate proces-verbal of it.

The assembly of revision shall not be composed of more than one chamber.

VI. The members of the third legislature, who shall have demanded a change, cannot be elected in the assembly of revision.

VII. The members of the assembly of revision, after having pronounced all at once the oath, "*to live free or die,*" shall individually swear, *to confine themselves to decide on the objects which shall have been submitted to them by the unanimous wish of three preceding legislatures; and to maintain, in other respects, with all their power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the National Constituent Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; and to be in all faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king.*

VIII. The assembly of revision shall be bound to occupy itself afterwards, and without delay, in the objects which shall have been submitted to its examination; and as soon as this task is finished, the two hundred and forty-nine new members, named over and above, shall retire, without taking a part in any case in the legislative acts.

The French colonies and possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, although they make a part of the French empire, are not included in the present constitution.

None of the powers instituted by the constitution have a right to change it in its whole, or in its parts, excepting the reforms which may be made in it by the mode of revision,

conformably to the regulations of Title VII. above.

The National Constituent Assembly commits the deposit of it to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the king, and of the judges, to the vigilance of fathers of families, to wives and to mothers, to the attachment of young citizens, to the courage of all Frenchmen.

The decrees passed by the national assembly, which are not included in the act of constitution, shall be executed as laws; and those anterior laws which it has not altered, shall also be observed so long as they shall not be revoked or modified by the legislative power.

(Signed) VERNIER, President.  
POUGEARD, COUPPE,  
MAILLY, CHATEAURENARD, CHAILLON,  
AUBRY, (Bishop of the Department of the Meuse) DARCHE, Secretaries.

Sept. 3, 1791. The national assembly having heard the *constitutional act* above read, after approving of it, declare, that the constitution is finished, and that it can make no change in it. There shall be named immediately, a deputation of sixty members, to offer, the same day, the constitutional act to the king.

(Signed as before)

*Letter from the King to the National Assembly, announcing his Resolution to accept the Constitution, Sept. 13.*

Gentlemen,

I Have attentively examined the constitutional act, which you have pre-

presented for my acceptance. I accept it, and I will cause it to be executed. At another time this declaration might have been sufficient; at present, I owe to the interests of the nation, I owe to myself, to make known my motives.

I have always, since the commencement of my reign, desired the reform of abuses, and in all acts of government wished to be regulated by the public opinion. Different causes, among the number of which may be placed the situation of the finances at my accession to the throne, and the immense expences of an honourable war, long supported without increase of imposts, had established a considerable disproportion between the revenues and the expences of the state.

Impressed with the extent of the evil, I not only sought the means of remedying it; I felt the necessity of preventing its return. I had formed the project of securing the happiness of the people upon a fixed basis, and of subjecting to invariable rules, even that authority of which I was the depositary. I called on the nation to execute it.

In the course of the events of the revolution, my intentions never varied. When, after having reformed the ancient institutions, you began to substitute in their stead the first essays of your work, I did not delay the expression of my sentiments till the whole constitution should be known to me; I favoured the establishment of its parts, even before I could judge of the whole: and if the disorders which have attended almost all the periods of the revolution, have too frequently afflicted my heart, I hoped that the law would resume force in the hands of new authority; and that, in approaching the term of your labours, every day would restore to it that respect, without which the peo-

ple can neither enjoy liberty nor happiness. I long persevered in this hope, and my resolution only changed at the moment when it abandoned me. Let every one recollect the moment at which I quitted Paris; the constitution was almost completed; and, nevertheless, the authority of the laws seemed to diminish every day; opinion, far from concentrating in any point, was divided into a number of parts. The most violent counsels alone seemed to be received with any degree of favour; the licentiousness of the press was at its height; no power was respected.

I could no longer perceive the expression of the general will in the laws which I every where saw without force, and without effect. Then, I am bound to declare, if you had presented to me the constitution, I should have been of opinion that the interest of the people (the constant and uniform rule of my conduct) did not permit me to accept it. I had only one sentiment; I formed only one project; I wished to get at a distance from all parties, and learn what was the real wish of the nation.

The motives by which I was then influenced no longer subsist; since that time, the inconveniences and the evils of which I complained have struck you in the same light as me; you have testified an inclination to re-establish order; you have directed your attention to the want of discipline in the army; you have perceived the necessity of restraining the abuses of the press. The revision of your labour has placed among the number of laws of regulation, several articles which had been presented to me as constitutional. You have established legal forms, for the revision of those which you have placed in the constitution. In fine, the sentiment of the people appears to me no longer doubtful: I have

have seen them at once displayed, both by their adherence to your work, and by their attachment to the support of monarchical government.

I accept then the constitution; I engage to maintain it at home, to defend it against attacks from abroad, and to cause it to be executed by all the means which it puts in my power.

I declare that, informed of the adherence of the great body of the people to the constitution, I renounce the right of concurring, which I had claimed in this work, and being responsible only to the nation, no other, while I renounce it, can have a right to complain.

I should, however, deviate from truth, if I affirmed that I perceived in the means of execution and administration, all the energy necessary to give motion and preserve the unity in all the parts of so vast an empire; but since opinions are divided upon these subjects, I consent that the decision should be left to the test of experience alone. While I shall have faithfully employed all the means which are entrusted to me, no reproach can be laid on me; and the nation, whose interest alone ought to be the supreme rule, will explain itself by those means which the constitution has reserved to it.

But, gentlemen, for the security of liberty, for the stability of the constitution, for the individual happiness of all Frenchmen, there are interests in which an imperious duty prescribes to us to combine, all our efforts: these interests are, respect for the laws, the re-establishment of order, and the re-union of all citizens. Now that the constitution is definitively settled, Frenchmen living under the same laws ought to know no enemies but those who infringe

them.—Discord and Anarchy; these are our common enemies.

I will oppose them with all my power: it is necessary that you and your successors second me with energy; that the law, without attempting to establish its dominion over the mind, may equally protect all those who submit their conduct to it; that those, whom the fears of persecution and of trouble have driven from their country, be assured of finding at their return safety and tranquillity. And, in order to extinguish the animosities, to soften the evils which a great revolution always brings in its train; that law may, from this day, begin to receive a full execution, let us consent to an oblivion of the past. Let those accusations and prosecutions which originate solely from the events of the revolution, be for ever extinguished in a general reconciliation. I speak not of those who have been solely influenced by their attachment to me—can you regard them as criminals? As to those who by excesses, in which I can perceive personal injuries have brought upon them the prosecution of the laws, I shall prove in my conduct to them, that I am the king of all the French.

(Signed) LOUIS.

P. S. I was of opinion, gentlemen, that I ought to pronounce my solemn acceptance of the constitution in the very place in which it was formed—of consequence I shall come in person to-morrow at noon to the national assembly.

*The King's Speech to the National Assembly on accepting the Constitution, Sept. 14.*

Gentlemen,

I COME to consecrate, in this place, solemnly, the acceptance which



which I have given to the constitutional act: in consequence of which I swear to be faithful to the nation and the law; and to employ all the power that is delegated to me, to maintain the constitution decreed by the constituting national assembly. May this great and memorable epoch be that of the re-establishment of peace and union, and become the surety of the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of the empire.

*The PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.*

ABUSES of long standing, which had triumphed over the good intentions of the best of kings, and had incessantly braved the authority of the throne, oppressed France. Depositary of the wishes, rights, and power of the people, the national assembly has established, by the destruction of all abuses, the solid basis of public prosperity. Sire, what this assembly has decreed, the national concurrence has ratified. The most complete execution of its decrees, in all parts of the empire, attests the general sentiment. It deranges the weak plans of those whom discontent has too long kept blind to their own interests. It promises to your majesty, that your wishes for the welfare of the French will no longer be vain.

The national assembly has nothing more to desire, on this ever-memorable day, in which you complete, in its bosom, by the most solemn engagement, the acceptance of constitutional royalty. It is the attachment of the French, it is their confidence, which confers upon you that pure and respectable title to the most desirable crown in the universe; and what secures it to you, sire, is the unperishable authority of a constitution freely decreed. It is

the invincible force of a people who feel themselves worthy of liberty. It is the necessity which so great a nation will ever have for an hereditary monarchy.

When your majesty, waiting from experience the lights which are about to be spread by the practical result of the constitution, promises to maintain it at home, and to defend it from external attack, the nation, trusting to the justice of its rights, and to the consciousness of its force and courage, as well as to the loyalty of your co-operation, can entertain no apprehension of alarms from without, and is about to contribute, by its tranquil confidence, to the speedy success of its internal government.

What ought to be great in your eyes, sire, dear to our hearts, and what will appear with lustre in our history, is, the epoch of this regeneration; which gives to France, citizens—to the French, a country—to you, as king, a new title of grandeur and of glory—and to you again, as a man, a new source of enjoyment, and new sensations of happiness.

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*The King's Speech to the National Assembly, the last Day of their Meeting, Sept. 30.*

Gentlemen,

YOU have terminated your labours: the constitution is finished. I have promised to maintain it, to cause it to be executed: it is proclaimed by my orders. This constitution, from which France expects prosperity, this fruit of your cares and watchings will be your recompence. France, made happy by your labours, will communicate her happiness to you.

Return to your homes, and tell your

your fellow-citizens, that the happiness of the French ever has been, and ever will be, the object of my wishes; that I neither have, nor can have, any interest but the general interest; that my prosperity consists only in the public prosperity; that I shall exert all the powers entrusted to me to give efficacy to the new system; that I shall communicate it to foreign courts; and shall, in every thing, prove that I can be happy only in the happiness of the people of France.

Tell them also, that the revolution has reached its period, and that the firmest support of the constitution is now the re-establishment of order. You, gentlemen, in your several departments, will undoubtedly second my vigilance and care with all your power; you will give the first example of submission to the laws which you have framed; in the capacity of private citizens you will display the same character as in the capacity of public men; and the people, seeing their legislators exercise, in private life, those virtues which they have proclaimed in the national assembly, will imitate them, discharge with pleasure the obligations which the public interest imposes on them, and cheerfully pay the taxes decreed by their representatives. It is by this happy union of sentiments, of wishes, and exertions, that the constitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it guarantees.

#### *The PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.*

Sire,

THE adherence of the nation ratifies the constitution decreed by the assembly of the representatives of the nation. Your majesty has accepted it, and the public joy is a sufficient

testimony of the general assent. It promises that your majesty will no longer desire in vain the happiness of the French. On this memorable day, the national assembly has nothing more to wish; and the nation, by its tranquil confidence, is ready to co-operate for the prompt success of its internal government.

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#### *His Majesty's Proclamation, Sept. 30.*

LOUIS,

By the grace of God, and by the constitutional law of the state, king of the French. To all citizens—greeting:

I HAVE accepted the constitution: I will use all my endeavours to maintain it, and cause it to be executed.

The revolution is completed. It is time that the re-establishment of order should give to the constitution the support which is still most necessary; it is time to fix the opinion of Europe on the destiny of France, and to shew that the French are worthy to be free.

But my vigilance and my cares ought still to be seconded by the concurrence of all the friends of their country, and of liberty. It is by submission to the laws; it is by abjuring the spirit of party, and all the passions which accompany it; it is by a happy union of sentiments, of wishes, and of endeavours, that the constitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it secures.

Let every idea of intolerance then be abandoned for ever; let the rash desire of independence no longer be confounded with the love of liberty; let those pernicious terms of reproach, with which it has been attempted to inflame the people, be irrevocably banished; let religious opi-

nions

nions no longer be a source of persecution and animosity; let all who observe the laws be at liberty to adopt that form of worship to which they are attached; and let no party give offence to those who may follow opinions different from their own from motives of conscience. But it is not sufficient to shun those excesses to which you might be carried by a spirit of violence; you must likewise fulfil the obligations which are imposed by the public interest. One of the first, one of the most essential, is the payment of the contributions established by your representatives. It is for the observance of engagements, which national honour has rendered sacred, for the internal tranquillity of the state, for its external security; it is for the stability of the constitution itself that I remind you of this indispensable duty.

Citizens, armed for the maintenance of the law; national guards, never forget that it is to protect the safety of persons and of property, the collection of public contributions, the circulation of grain and provisions, that the arms which you bear have been delivered into your hands. It belongs to you to feel that justice and mutual utility demand, that, between the inhabitants of the same empire, abundance should be applied to the aid of indigence; and that it is the duty of public force to promote the advancement of commerce, as the means of remedying the intemperance of seasons, correcting the inequality of harvest, uniting together all the parts of the kingdom, and establishing a community of the various productions of their soil and industry.

And you, whom the people have chosen to watch over their interests: you also, on whom they have conferred the formidable power of deter-

mining on the property, the honour, and the life of citizens; you too whom they have instituted to adjust their differences, members of the different administrative bodies, judges of tribunals, justices of peace, I recommend to you to be impressed with the importance and dignity of your functions. Fulfil them with zeal; with courage, with impartiality. Labour with me to restore peace, and the government of laws; and, by thus securing the happiness of the nation, prepare for the return of those whose absence has only proceeded from the fear of disorder and violence.

And all you, who from different motives have quitted your country, your king invites you to return to your fellow-citizens; he invites you to yield to the public wish and the national interest. Return with confidence under the security of law; and this honourable return, at the moment when the constitution is definitively settled, will render more easy, and more expeditious, the re-establishment of order and of tranquillity.

And you, French people, a nation illustrious for so many ages, show yourselves magnanimous and generous at the moment when your liberty is confirmed; resume your happy character; let your moderation and wisdom revive among you the security which the disturbances of the revolution had banished; and let your king henceforth enjoy without inquietude, and without molestation, those testimonies of attachment and fidelity which can alone secure his happiness.

Done at Paris the 28th Sept. 1791.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(and underneath) DE LESSART.

*His*

*His Majesty Speech to the New National Assembly, Oct. 7.*

Gentlemen,

ASSEMBLED by virtue of the constitution to exercise the powers which it delegates to you, you will undoubtedly consider as among your first duties, to facilitate the operations of government; to confirm public credit; to add, if possible, to the security of the engagements of the nation; to shew that liberty and peace are compatible; and, finally, to attach the people to their new laws, by convincing them that those laws are for their good.

Your experience of the effects of the new order of things, in the several departments from which you come, will enable you to judge of what may be yet wanting to bring it to perfection and make it easy for you to devise the most proper means of giving the necessary force and activity to the administration.

For my own part, called by the constitution to examine, as first representative of the people, and for their interest, the laws presented for my sanction, and charged with causing them to be executed, it is also my duty to propose to you such objects as I think ought to be taken into consideration in the course of your session.

You will see the propriety of fixing your immediate attention on the state of the finances, and you will feel the importance of establishing an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure, of accelerating the assessment and the collection of taxes, of introducing an invariable order into all parts of this vast administration, and thus providing at once for the support of the state, and the relief of the people.

The civil laws will also demand your care, which you will have to

render conformable to the principles of the constitution. You will also have to simplify the mode of proceeding in the courts of law, and render the attainment of justice more easy and more prompt.

You will perceive the necessity of establishing a system of national education, and of giving a solid basis to public spirit. You will encourage commerce and industry, the progress of which has so great an influence on the agriculture and the wealth of the kingdom; and you will endeavour to make permanent dispositions for affording work and relief to the indigent.

I shall make known my firm desire for the re-establishment of order and discipline in the army; and I shall neglect no means that may contribute to restore confidence among all who compose it, and to put it into a condition to secure the defence of the realm. If the laws in this respect are insufficient, I shall make known to you the measures that seem to me to be proper, and you will decide upon them.

I shall in the same manner communicate my sentiments respecting the navy, that important part of the public force, destined to protect trade and the colonies.

We shall not, I hope, be troubled with any attack from abroad. I have taken from the moment that I accepted the constitution, and I still continue to take, the steps that appear to me the most proper to fix the opinion of foreign powers in our favour, and to maintain with them the good intelligence and harmony that ought to secure to us the continuance of peace. I expect the best effects from them; but this expectation does not prevent me from pursuing, with activity, those measures of precaution, which prudence ought to dictate.

Gen.

Gentlemen, in order that your important labours and your zeal may produce the effects expected from them, it is necessary that constant harmony and unalterable confidence should reign between the legislative body and the king. The enemies of our repose are but too studious to disunite us: the love of our country must therefore rally us, and the public interest render us inseparable. Thus the public force will be exerted without obstruction, the administration will not be harassed by vain alarms, the property and the religion of every man will be equally protected, and no pretext will be left for any person to live at a distance from a country where the laws are in vigour, and men's rights respected.

It is on this great basis of order that the stability of the constitution, the success of your labours, the safety of the empire, the source of all kinds of prosperity, must depend. It is to this, gentlemen, that we all ought to turn our thoughts in this moment with the utmost possible vigour; and this is the object that I recommend the most particularly to your zeal, and to your patriotism.

#### *The PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.*

Sire,

YOUR presence in the midst of us is a new engagement which you take to the country. A constitution is established, and with it the liberty of Frenchmen. You are to cherish it as a citizen; as king you are to maintain and to defend it. Instead of violating, it ascertains your power; it has given you, as friends, all those who formerly called themselves only your subjects. (*Here a burst of applause.*) You have reason to be beloved by Frenchmen. You said so, sire, some days ago, in this temple of

the country, and we also have reason to love you. (*The plaudits are reiterated.*) The constitution has made you the first monarch in the world. Your love for it places your majesty in the rank of the most favoured kings, and the welfare of the people will make you the most happy. May our mutual union make us speedily feel its happy influence, purify legislation, re-confirm public credit, overthrow anarchy. Such is our duty, such are our wishes, such are your's, sire. Such are our hopes, and the benediction of Frenchmen will be our reward.

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*Message from the National Assembly to the King, Nov. 29.*

Sire,

SCARCE had the national assembly cast their eyes on the situation of the kingdom, when they perceived that the troubles which still agitate it have their source in the criminal preparations of the French emigrants.

Their audacity is supported by German princes who misunderstand the treaties signed between them and France, and who affect to forget, that to the empire of France, they are indebted for the treaty of Westphalia, which guarantees their rights and their safety.

Their hostile preparations—their menaces of invasion call for armaments that absorb immense sums which the nation would have joyfully paid to its creditors.

To you, Sire, it belongs to put a stop to them; to hold to foreign powers the language that becomes the king of the French. Tell them that wherever preparations against France are permitted, France can see only enemies; that we will religiously observe the oath to make no

conquests; that we offer them the good neighbourhood, the inviolable amity of a free and powerful people; that we will respect their laws, their customs, and their constitutions; but that we insist upon our own being respected. Tell them, that if the German princes continue to favour preparations directed against the French, we will carry among them not fire and sword, but liberty. It is for them to calculate what may be the consequences of the alarm of nations.

For two years that French patriots have been persecuted on the frontiers, and that rebels have there found succour, what ambassador has spoken in your name as he ought? Not one.

If the French who were driven from the country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes had assembled in arms on the frontiers, if they had been protected by the princes of Germany, Sire, we appeal to you, what would have been the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth? Would he have suffered such assemblings? Would he have permitted succours given by princes who, under the name of allies, act like enemies? What he would have done for his authority, let your majesty do for the safety of the empire, and the maintaining of the constitution.

Sire, your interest, your dignity, the insulted greatness of the nation, all dictate a language very different from that of your ambassadors. The nation expects from your energetic declarations to the circles of the Upper and the Lower Rhine, the electors of Treves and Mentz, and the bishop of Spire.

Let them be such as that the hordes of the emigrants may be instantly dispersed. Prescribe an early period beyond which no dilatory

answer shall be received. Let your declaration be supported by movements of the forces entrusted to you, and let the nation know who are its friends and its enemies. In this splendid measure we shall recognize the defender of the constitution.

You will thus assure the tranquillity of the empire, inseparable from your own; and you will hasten those days of national prosperity, in which peace shall restore order and the reign of the laws, in which your happiness shall be united with that of all the French.

#### A N S W E R.

I Will take the message of the national assembly into the most serious consideration. You know that I have omitted nothing to secure the public tranquillity at home, to maintain the constitution, and to make it respected abroad.

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#### *The King's Speech to the National Assembly, Decem. 14.*

Gentlemen,

I HAVE taken your message of the 29th of last month into deep consideration. In a case that involves the honour of the French people, and the safety of the empire, I thought in my duty to be myself the bearer of my answer. The nation cannot but applaud these communications between its elected and its hereditary representative.

You have invited me to take decisive measures to effect a cessation of those external assemblages which keep up a hateful disquiet and fermentation in the bosom of France, render necessary an oppressive augmentation of expence, and expose liberty to greater danger than an open

open and declared war. You desire me to cause declarations to be made to the neighbouring princes, who, contrary to the rules of good neighbourhood, and the principles of the law of nations, protect these assemblages, that the nation can no longer suffer this want of respect and these sources of hostility. Finally, you have given me to understand, that one general sensation is felt by the nation, and that the cry of all the French is for war, in preference to a ruinous and degrading patience.

Gentlemen, I have long thought that our circumstances required great circumspection in our measures; that having scarcely yet weathered the agitations and storms of a revolution, and in the first essays of an infant constitution, no means ought to be neglected that could preserve France from the incalculable evils of war. These means I have always employed. On the one hand, I have done every thing to recal the French emigrants to the bosom of their country, and induce them to submit to the new laws which a great majority of the nation has adopted; on the other, I have employed amicable intimations; I have caused formal and precise requisitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a support calculated to flatter their hopes, and encourage them in their rash designs.

The emperor has done all that was to be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages within his states.

My measures at the courts of other princes, have not been equally successful. Unaccommodating answers have been given to my requisitions.

These unjust refusals call for resolutions of another kind. The na-

tion has manifested its wishes. You have collected them, you have weighed the consequences, you have expressed them to me by your message. Gentlemen, you have not anticipated me. As the representative of the people, I felt the people's injuries; and I am now to inform you of the resolution I have taken to pursue demand (repeated applauses and shouts of *vive le roi*).

I have caused a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if, before the 15th of January, he do not put a stop, within his states, to all collecting of troops, and all hostile dispositions on the part of the French, who have taken refuge in them, I shall no longer consider him but as the enemy of France. (Shouts of applause, and *vive le roi*.) I shall cause similar declarations to be made to all who favour assemblages contrary to the tranquillity of the kingdom; and, by securing to foreigners all the protection which they ought to expect from our laws, I shall have a right to demand a speedy and complete reparation of all the injuries which Frenchmen may have received.

I have written to the emperor to engage him to continue his good offices, and, if necessary, to exert his authority as head of the empire, to avert the evils which the obstinacy of certain members of the Germanic body, if longer persisted in, cannot fail to occasion. Much may undoubtedly be expected from his interposition, supported by the powerful influence of his example; but I am, at the same time, making the most proper military arrangements to render these declarations respected.

And if they shall not be attended to, then, gentlemen, it will only remain for me to propose war; war, which a people, who have solemnly

solemnly renounced conquest, never make without necessity; but which a nation, happy and free, know how to undertake when their safety—when honour commands.

But in courageously abandoning ourselves to this resolution, let us hasten to employ the only means that can assure its success. Turn your attention, gentlemen, to the state of the finances; confirm the national credit; watch over the public fortune. Let your deliberations, ever governed by constitutional principles, take a grand, high-spirited, and authoritative course, the only one that befits the legislators of a great empire. Let the constituted powers respect themselves to be respected; let them give mutual aid instead of mutual impediment; and finally, let it appear that they are distinct, but not enemies (*applauded*). It is time to shew to foreign nations that the French people, their representatives, and their king, are but one (*applauded*).

It is to this union, and also, let us never forget it, to the respect we pay to the government of other states, that the safety, consequence, and glory of the empire are attached.

For my part, gentlemen, it would be in vain to endeavour to surround with disgusts the exercise of the authority which is confided to me. In the face of all France I declare, that nothing shall weary my perseverance, or relax my efforts. It shall not be owing to me that the law does not become the protection of the citizen and the terror of the disturber (*shouts of vive le roi*). I shall faithfully preserve the deposit of the constitution, and no consideration shall determine me to suffer it to be infringed (*applauded*). If men, who only wish for discord, and trouble, take occasion from this firmness, to calumniate my

intentions, I will not stoop to repel by words the injurious suspicions they may choose to circulate. Those who watch the progress of government with an attentive, but unprejudiced eye, must see that I never depart from the constitutional line, and that I feel profoundly how glorious it is to be the king of a free people.

#### *The PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.*

The assembly will take the propositions you have made into consideration, and communicate their determination by a message.

*Address from the National Assembly to the King, Dec. 16.*

Sire,

IN the language which you majesty held to them, the national assembly recognize the king of the French. They feel more than ever how truly valuable is harmony between the two branches of power, and a frank communication, which is the desire, and will be the welfare of the empire.

Sire, the assembly will fix all their attention on the decisive measures which you announce, and if the order of events shall make these measures necessary, they promise to your majesty more true glory than was ever obtained by any of your ancestors.

They promise to Europe the new spectacle of a great people, outraged in its immutable love of liberty, arming the hand in union with the heart.

Every where the French people will oppose themselves with vigour to their enemies, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the Ocean. All French shall be covered



covered by the regards of a good king, and by soldiers intrepid and faithful.

Behold, fire, the family that deserve your heart—these are your friends—these will never abandon you.

All the representatives of the French people—all true Frenchmen guarantee, on their heads, the defence of a constitution to which they have sworn, and of a beloved king whose throne they have established.

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*The Speech of George Washington, President of the United States of America, to both Houses of Congress, October 25, 1791.*

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives.

I MEET you, upon the present occasion, with the feelings which are naturally inspired by a strong impression of the prosperous situation of our common country, and by a persuasion equally strong, that the labours of the session, which has just commenced, will, under the guidance of a spirit no less prudent than patriotic, issue in measures conducive to the stability and increase of national property.

Numerous as are the providential blessings which demand our grateful acknowledgments, the abundance with which another year has again rewarded the industry of the husbandman is too important to escape recollection.

Your own observations in your respective situations will have satisfied you of the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation. In tracing their causes, you will have remarked with particular pleasure the happy effects of that revival of confidence,

public, as well as private, to which the constitution and laws of the United States have so eminently contributed; and you will observe, with no less interest, new and decisive proofs of the increasing reputation and credit of the nation. But you, nevertheless, cannot fail to derive satisfaction from the confirmation of these circumstances, which will be disclosed in the several official communications that will be made to you in the course of your deliberations.

The rapid subscriptions to the bank of the United States, which completed the sum allowed to be subscribed in a single day, is among the striking and pleasing evidences which present themselves, not only of confidence in the government, but of resource in the community.

In the interval of your recess, due attention has been paid to the execution of the different objects which were specially provided for by the laws and resolutions of the last session.

Among the most important of these is the defence and security of the western frontiers. To accomplish it on the most humane principles, was a primary wish.

Accordingly, at the same time that treaties have been provisionally concluded, and other proper means used to attach the wavering, and to confirm in their friendship the well-disposed tribes of Indians—effectual measures have been adopted to make those of a hostile description sensible, that a pacification was desired upon terms of moderation and justice.

These measures having proved unsuccessful, it became necessary to convince the refractory of the power of the United States to punish their depredations: offensive operations have therefore been directed—to

be conducted, however, as consistently as possible with the dictates of humanity. Some of these have been crowned with full success, and others are yet depending. The expeditions which have been completed were carried on under the authority, and at the expence of the United States, by the militia of Kentucky, whose enterprise, intrepidity, and good conduct, are entitled to peculiar commendation.

Overtures of peace are still continued to the deluded tribes, and considerable numbers of individuals belonging to them have lately renounced all further opposition, removed from their former situations, and placed themselves under the immediate protection of the United States.

It is sincerely to be desired, that all need of coercion in future may cease, and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to this, it seems necessary—

That they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice.

That the mode of alienating their lands, the main source of discontent and war, should be so defined and regulated as to obviate imposition, and, as far as may be practicable, controversy concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made.

That commerce with them should be permitted under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment toward them, and that such rational experiments should be made for imparting to them the blessings of civilization as may from time to time suit their condition.

That the executive power of the Unit-

ed States should be enabled to employ the means to which the Indians have been long accustomed, for uniting their immediate interests with the preservation of peace. And,

That efficacious provision should be made for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those who, by violating their rights, shall infringe the treaties, and endanger the peace of the union.

A system, corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy toward an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honourable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.

The powers specially vested in me by the act laying certain duties on distilled spirits, which respect the sub-divisions of the districts into surveys, the appointment of officers, and the assignment of compensations, have likewise been carried into effect. In a matter, in which both materials and experience were wanting to guide the calculation, it will be readily conceived that there must have been difficulty in such an adjustment of the rates of compensation, as would conciliate a reasonable competency, with a proper regard to the limits prescribed by the law. It is hoped, that the circumspection which has been used, will be found in the result to have secured the last of the two objects; but it is probable, that with a view to the first, in some instances, a revision of the provision will be found advisable.

The impressions with which this law has been received by the community have been, upon the whole, such as were to be expected among enlightened and well-disposed citizens,

ness, from the propriety and necessity of the measure. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a considerable part of the United States, and a misconception of some of its provisions, have given occasion, in particular places, to some degree of discontent. But it is satisfactory to know, that this disposition yields to proper explanations and more just apprehensions of the true nature of the law. And I entertain a full confidence that it will, in all, give way to motives which arise out of a just sense of duty, and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

If there are any circumstances in the law, which, consistently with its main design, may be so varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections that may happen to exist, it will consist with a wise moderation to make the proper variations. It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite, with a steady and firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of government, the fullest evidence of a disposition, as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundation of the public administration in the affections of the people.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, has been fixed and announced by proclamation; which district will comprehend lands on both sides of the river Potowmac, and the towns of Alexandria and George-town. A city has also been laid out, agreeable to a plan which will be placed before Congress: and as there is a prospect, favoured by the rate of sales which have already taken place, of ample funds for carrying on the necessary buildings, there is every expectation of their due progress.

The completion of the census of the inhabitants, for which provision was made by law, has been duly notified (excepting in one instance, in which the return has been informal; and another, in which it has been omitted or miscarried); and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty which will be laid before you, will give you the pleasing assurance, that the present population of the United States borders on four millions of persons.

It is proper also to inform you, that a further loan of two millions and a half of florins has been completed in Holland, the terms of which are similar to those of the one last announced, except as to a small reduction of charges. Another, on like terms, for six millions of florins, had been set on foot, under circumstances that assured immediate completion.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

Two treaties, which have been provisionally concluded with the Cherokees, and six nations of Indians, will be laid before you for your consideration and ratification.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

In entering upon the discharge of your legislative trust, you must anticipate, with pleasure, that many of the difficulties, necessarily incident to the first arrangement of a new government for an extensive country, have been happily surmounted by the zealous and judicious exertions of your predecessors, in co-operation with the other branch of the legislature. The important objects which remain to be accomplished, will, I am persuaded, be conducted upon principles equally comprehensive, and equally well

calculated for the advancement of the general weal.

The time limited for receiving subscriptions to the loans proposed by the act, making provision for the debt of the United States, having expired, statements from the proper department will, as soon as possible, apprise you of the exact result. Enough, however, is already known, to afford an assurance that the views of that act have been substantially fulfilled. The subscription in the domestic debt of the United States has embraced by far the greatest proportion of that debt; affording, at the same time, proof of the general satisfaction of the public creditors with the system which has been proposed to their acceptance, and of the spirit of accommodation to the convenience of the government with which they are actuated. The subscriptions in the debts of the respective States, as far as the provisions of the law have permitted, may be said to be yet more general. The part of the debt of the United States which remains unsubscribed will naturally engage your further deliberations.

It is particularly pleasing to me to be able to announce to you, that the revenues which have been established promise to be adequate to their objects, and may be permitted, if no unforeseen exigency occurs, to supercede, for the present, the necessity of any new burthens upon our constituents.

An object which will claim your early attention, is a provision for the current service of the ensuing year, together with such ascertained demands upon the treasury as require to be immediately discharged, and such casualties as may have arisen in the execution of the public business, for which no specific appropriation may have yet been

made; of all which a proper estimate will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

I shall content myself with a general reference to former communications for several objects, upon which the urgency of other affairs has hitherto postponed any definitive resolution:—their importance will recal them to your attention; and I trust that the progress already made in the most arduous arrangements of the government will afford you leisure to resume them with advantage.

There are, however, some of them, of which I cannot forbear a more particular mention—these are, the militia—the post-office and post-roads—the mint—weights and measures—a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order. In connexion with this, the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and vulnerable, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement, exposed as little as possible to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances.

The importance of the post-office and post-roads, on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety, and facility of communication, is increased by the instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government, which, while it contri-

serves

bates to the security of the people, serves, also, to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. The establishment of additional cross posts, especially to some of the important points in the Western and Northern parts of the union, cannot fail to be of material utility.

The disorders in the existing currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, a scarcity so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes, strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into concerning the establishment of a mint. Measures have been taken pursuant to that resolution for procuring some of the most necessary articles, together with the requisite apparatus.

An uniformity in the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the constitution; and if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and universal, must be no less honourable to the public councils than conducive to the public convenience.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States is particularly urged, among other reasons, by the important considerations—that they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt—that, if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burdening our citizens with new taxes for the extinguishment of the principal—and that, being free to discharge the principal but in a limited proportion, no opportunity ought to be lost for availing the public of its rights.

G. WASHINGTON.

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*Letters from Arthur Phillip, Esquire,  
Governor of New South Wales, to*

*Lord Sydney, laid before the House  
of Commons, March 2, 1791.*

#### NUMBER I.

Sydney Cove, Feb. 12, 1790.

When the Supply left Norfolk Island, the people were all very healthy, and they had vegetables in the greatest abundance. They get fish, when the weather permits the boat to go without the reef, and, at times, in such quantities, that fish is served to the people in lieu of salt provisions. They make their lines from the flax plant; but, unfortunately, we have not any person who understands how to dress it.

Half a pod of cotton being found on the island (supposed to be brought there by a bird) and a cocoa nut which was perfectly sound, and appeared to have been but a short time in the water, being thrown upon the beach, have given some reason to suppose that both these articles will be found in some island at no great distance.

Lord Howe Island has been examined; but no fresh water, or good anchorage, being found, it can be of no other advantage to this settlement, than occasionally supplying a few turtle.

I had the honour of informing your lordship, that a settlement was intended to be made at a place I named Rose Hill. At the head of this harbour there is a creek, which, at half flood, has water for large boats to go three miles up; and one mile higher the water is fresh, and the soil is good. A very industrious man whom I brought from England, is employed there at present, and has under his direction one hundred convicts, who are employed in clearing and cultivating the ground. A barn, granary, and other necessary buildings, are erected; and twenty-  
(H 3) seven

seven acres in corn promise a good crop. The soil is good; and the country for twenty miles to the westward, as far as I have examined it, lies well for cultivation: but then the labour of clearing the ground is very great; and I have seen none that can be cultivated without cutting down the timber, except some few particular spots, which, from their situation (lying at a distance from either of the harbours) can be of no advantage to us at present: and, I presume, the meadows mentioned in captain Cook's voyage, were seen from the high grounds, about Botany Bay, and from whence they appear well to the eye, but, when examined, are found to be marshes, the draining of which would be waste of time, and not to be attempted by the first settlers. The captain's guard, which, until lately did duty at Rose Hill, is now reduced to a lieutenant and twelve privates, and intended merely as a guard to the store which contains the provisions, and which is the redoubt; for I am now sensible there is nothing to be apprehended from the natives; and the little attendance which had been desired of the officers, more than what was immediately garrison duty, when at Rose Hill, is now no longer required.

At Sydney Cove all the officers are in good huts, and the men in barracks; and, although many unforeseen difficulties have been met with, I believe there is not an individual, from the governor to the private soldier, whose situation is not more eligible at this time, than he had any reason to expect it could be in the course of the three years station; and it is the same with the convicts; and those who have been any ways industrious, have vegetables in plenty. The buildings now carrying on are of brick and stone. The house intended for myself was

to consist of only three rooms; but, having a good foundation, has been enlarged, contains six rooms, and is so well built, that I presume it will stand for a great number of years.

The stores have been lately overrun with rats; and they are equally numerous in the gardens, where they do considerable damage; and as the loss in the stores could only be known by removing all the provisions, that was ordered to be done; and many casks of flour and rice were found to be damaged, or totally destroyed. The loss, in these two articles by the rats, since landing, has been more than twelve thousand weight.

Vegetables and provisions having been frequently stolen in the night, from convicts, and others; twelve convicts were chosen as a night watch, and they have actually answered the end proposed, no robbery having been committed for several months; and the convicts, in general, have behaved better than I ever expected. Only two convicts have suffered death in the last year. Four were executed the first year.

As near two years have now passed, since we first landed in this country, some judgment may be formed of the climate; and I believe a finer, or more healthy climate, is not to be found in any part of the world. Of one thousand and thirty people, who were landed, many of whom were worn out by old age, the scurvy, and various disorders, only seventy-two have died in twenty-one months: and by the surgeon's return it appears, that twenty-six of those died from disorders of long standing; and which, it is more than probable, would have carried them off much sooner in England. Fifty-nine children have been born in the above time. In December the corn at Rose

Rose Hill was got in. The corn was exceedingly good; about two hundred bushels of wheat, and sixty of barley, with a small quantity of flax, Indian corn, and oats; all which is preserved for seed. Here I beg leave to observe to your lordship, that, if settlers are sent out, and the convicts divided among them, this settlement will very shortly maintain itself; but without which, this country cannot be cultivated to any advantage. At present I have only one person (who has about one hundred convicts under his direction) who is employed in cultivating the ground for the public benefit, and he has returned the quantity of corn above mentioned into the public store. The officers have not raised sufficient to support the little stock they have. Some ground I have had in cultivation, will return about forty bushels of wheat into store; so that the produce of the labour of the convicts employed in cultivation, has been very short of what might have been expected, and which I take the liberty of pointing out to your lordship in this place; to shew as fully as possible, the state of this colony, and the necessity of the convicts being employed by those who have an interest in their labour. The giving convicts to the officers has been hitherto necessary, but it is attended with many inconveniences, for which the advantages arising to the officers do not make amends: it will not therefore be continued after this detachment is relieved, unless particularly directed. The numbers employed in cultivation, will, of course, be increased, as the necessary buildings are finished, but which will be a work of time, for there are numbers in this settlement who do nothing towards their own support, except those employed for the public.

In November the Supply failed

for Norfolk Island, with some convicts, and returned, after being absent six weeks. All the people in that island were well; and their crops, after all they had suffered from rats, birds, and a worm, which had done them considerable damage, so good, that they had grain sufficient for six months (and bread for every one upon the island) reserving sufficient for their next year's crops.

Early in January, 1790, the Supply again sailed for Norfolk Island, with more convicts; and in her passage left a small party on Lord Howe Island, to hunt turtle; but in fifteen days only three were taken, so that no great advantages will at present accrue from thence. The island has fresh water, but no good anchoring-ground.

Since the deaths mentioned in a former part of this letter, one woman has suffered for a robbery; five children have died, and twenty-eight children have been born, making in all, seventy-seven deaths, and eighty-seven births.

## NUMBER II.

Sydney Cove, Feb. 13, 1790.

In order to get a knowledge of the country round the settlement, frequent excursions have been made since the ships sailed in November, 1788; soon after which I went to Botany Bay, and the five days spent in that harbour confirmed me in the opinion I had first formed of it, that it afforded no eligible situation for fixing the settlement, and was a bad harbour, not affording good security for ships against the easterly winds, which frequently blow very hard in the winter, and which has been further proved by captain Hunter, and the first lieutenant of the Sirius, who went there to survey the Bay.

After having been several times.

with the boats to Broken Bay, in order to examine the different branches in that harbour, a river was found; but the want of provisions obliged us to return without being able to trace its source, which has since been done; and in the sixteen days we were then out, all those branches, which had any depth of water, were traced as far as the boats could proceed.

The breadth of this river, named the Hawkesbury, is from three hundred to eight hundred feet; and it appears, from the soundings we had, to be navigable, for the largest merchant ships, to the foot of Richmond Hill; but as the water, near the head of the river, sometimes rises, after very heavy rains, thirty feet above its common level, it would not be safe for ships to go far up; but fifteen or twenty miles below Richmond Hill they would lie in fresh water, and perfectly safe. I speak of Richmond Hill as being the head of the river, it there growing very shallow, and dividing into two branches.

The high rocky country which forms Broken Bay, is lost as you proceed up the Hawkesbury; and the banks of the river are there covered with timber; the soil a rich light mould; and, judging from the little we saw of the country, I should suppose it good land to a very considerable extent. The other branches of fresh water are shoal, but probably run many miles further into the country than we could trace them in our boats. On these rivers we saw great numbers of wild ducks, and some black swans: and on the banks of the Hawkesbury several decoys were set by the natives, to catch quails.

Richmond Hill (near the foot of which a fall of water prevented our proceeding further with the boats)

is the southern extremity of a range of hills, which running to the northward, most probably join the mountains that lie nearly parallel to the coast, from fifty to sixty miles inland. The soil of Richmond Hill is good, and it lies well for cultivation. Our prospect from the hill was very extensive to the southward and eastward; the country appearing, from the height on which we were, a level covered with timber. There is a flat of six or seven miles between Richmond Hill and a break in the mountains, which separates Lansdown and Carmarthen Hills; and in this flat I suppose the Hawkesbury continues its course, but which could not be seen for the timber, that, with very few exceptions, covers the country, wherever the soil is good.

The great advantage of so noble a river, when a settlement can be made on its banks, will be obvious to your Lordship.

The settlement made at Port Jackson, and near the head of the harbour (Rose Hill) very fully answers my expectations; the soil is exceedingly good, lies well for cultivation, and is well watered. Six miles to the southward there is a small fresh river; and twenty to the southward there is a more considerable river, the source of which I suppose to be at the foot of the mountain. The banks of this river, which most probably empties itself into the Hawkesbury, are high, the soil a good light mould, and covered with trees. The wood of some of the trees is very light: they are about the size of large walnut-trees, which they resemble: they shed their leaves, and bear a small fruit, which is said to be very wholesome. This river likewise rises thirty feet above its common level. It is, as far as I have seen it, from three hundred to four



four hundred feet in breadth. I named it the Nepean; and its source will be traced in the course of the winter. From its banks I hope to reach the mountains, which has been attempted by a party, who crossed the river; but, after the first day's journey, they met with such a constant succession of deep ravines, the sides of which were frequently inaccessible, that they returned, nor having been able to proceed above fifteen miles in five days. When they turned back, they supposed themselves to be twelve miles from the foot of the mountains.

As the land, for several miles to the southward, and twenty miles to the eastward, of Rose Hill, (that is to the banks of the Nepean) is as fine land for tillage as most in England (some few spots excepted, the soil of which is poor, and bears a very small proportion to the good land), I propose that tract of land for those settlers who may be sent out; and though they will be placed at some distance from each other, for the convenience of water, from one to three or four miles, they will have nothing to apprehend from the natives, who avoid those parts we most frequent, and always retire at the sight of two or three people who are armed.

As the labour of clearing the ground of timber will be great, I think each settler should not have less than twenty men on his own farm, which I suppose to be from five hundred to one thousand acres. It will be necessary to give that number of convicts to those settlers who come out, and to support them for two years from the public stores. In that time, if they are at all industrious, they will be in a situation to support themselves; and I do not think they would be able to do it in less time. At the expiration of the

two years, they may return half the convicts they have been allowed, and want no further assistance from government.

It may be necessary to grant lands to officers and soldiers, who, becoming settlers, will of course be entitled to every indulgence: but few of the officers now here have reaped any good advantage from being allowed convicts; and it is attended with unavoidable inconveniences, from the convicts being left so much to themselves, and from their mixing with the soldiers. It may be found more to the advantage of the crown, and the officers likewise, if officers, on duty in this settlement, were allowed a certain quantity of grain to support their live stock, until they have a market to go to; and I make no doubt but that, in the third year from the time settlers arrive, there will be a market, well supplied with grain, poultry, hogs, and goats, of all which there has been a great increase, but killed from wanting corn to support them: and the natives so frequently setting fire to the country, which they do to catch the opossum, flying squirrel, and other animals, has prevented swine from being turned out, as was intended.

If this plan, of distributing among the settlers, those convicts who are not immediately necessary for carrying on the public works, is approved of, and which I suppose will, as appearing to me most likely to render this settlement independent for the necessities of life in the shortest time possible, there are many regulations which will of course take place.

### NUMBER III.

Sydney Cove, April 11, 1790.

The quantity of flour brought from the Cape of Good Hope, by the

the *Sirius*, was less than I expected; four months flour only for the settlement, and a year's provisions for the ship's company: and it was necessary to give the ship a very considerable repair before she could be sent to sea again, which was not completed before the middle of January; when I had reason to expect ships from England in the course of a few weeks. The sending to the islands would have answered, as far as procuring live stock to breed from, but which was not immediately wanted; and what the *Sirius* could have brought for the consumption of such a number of people, would have been at best but a small relief. Lord Howe Island has been tried several times, and only a very few turtle procured.

The goodness of the soil in Norfolk Island, and the industry of those employed there, rendered that island a resource, and the only one that offered, when, from the time which had passed since my letters might be supposed to have been received in England, there was reason to suppose some accident had happened to the store-ships sent out.

I therefore ordered two companies of marines to be ready to embark with a number of convicts by the fifth of March, if no ship arrived before that time; and a proportion of what provisions and stores remained in this settlement, being put on board the *Supply* and *Sirius*, sixty-five officers and men, with five women and children, from the detachment and civil department, one hundred and sixteen male, and sixty-seven female convicts, with twenty-seven children, embarked, and sailed the sixth of March.

The advantage I expected by sending away such a number of people, was from the little garden ground they would leave, and which would

assist those who remained, and the fish which might be caught in the winter would go the further. At the same time, those sent to Norfolk Island would have resources in the great abundance of vegetables raised there, and in fish and birds, which this settlement could not afford them; and it was my intention to have sent more convicts to that island, if there had not been this necessity.

The provisions sent, with what was on the island, and the wheat and Indian corn raised there, more than would be necessary for seed, was calculated to last full as long as the provisions in this place; and at Norfolk Island, from the richness of the soil, a man may supply himself with little assistance from the store, after the timber is cleared away.

As I wished to send an officer to England, who could give such information as cannot be conveyed by letters, and the detachment was now divided, I replaced the officer who was superintendant and commandant at Norfolk Island, by major Ross. The officer I have recalled having been these two years on the island, is very capable of pointing out the advantages which may be expected from it; and I think it promises to answer very fully the end proposed by making the settlement. It will be a place of security for the convicts, where they will soon support themselves, and where they may be advantageously employed in cultivating the flax plant.

Extract from instructions given by governor Phillip to the lieutenant-governor, during his command at Norfolk Island, dated March 2, 1790.

You will cause the convicts to be employed in the cultivation of the land, in such manner as shall appear

to you the best calculated to render that settlement independent, as far as respects the necessaries of life, paying such attention to the cultivation of the flax plant as your situation will admit of, and which is to be the principal object, when the necessaries of life are secured to the settlers.

As, from the great increase of corn, and other vegetable food, which may be expected from a common industry, and in so fertile a soil, after a certain quantity of ground is cleared and in cultivation, as well as from the natural increase of swine and other animals, it cannot be expedient that all the convicts should be employed in attending only to the object of provisions; you are to cause the greatest possible number of these people to be employed in cultivating and dressing the flax plant, as a means of acquiring cloathing for themselves, and other persons, who may become settlers, as well as for a variety of maritime purposes, and for which its superior excellence renders it a desirable object in Europe.

You will, at every opportunity, transmit to me all such remarks, or observations, as you may make, respecting the nature of the soil on the island; and point out such means as may appear to you the most likely to answer the views of government, in the cultivation of the flax plant, and in rendering that island independent for the necessaries of life, and for the order and government of the settlers thereon, that such information may from me be transmitted to his majesty's ministers.

Copy of a paper delivered by lieutenant-governor King, dated the 10th of January 1799, containing a description of Norfolk Island.

Norfolk Island is situated in the latitude of 29 degrees, 0 min. south; and in the longitude of 168 degrees, 0 min. east. Its form is nearly oblong, and contains from twelve to fourteen thousand acres.

The face of the country is hilly, and some of the vallies are tolerably large for the size of the island; many of the hills are very steep, and some few so very perpendicular that they cannot be cultivated; but where such situations are, they will do very well for fuel; on the tops of the hills are some very extensive flats.

Mount Pitt is the only remarkable high hill in the island, and is about one hundred and fifty fathoms high. The cliffs which surround the island are about forty fathoms high, and perpendicular; the basis of the island is a hard firm clay. The whole island is covered with a thick wood, choked up with a thick underwood.

The island is well supplied with many streams of very fine water; many of which are sufficient to turn any number of mills. These springs are full of very large eels. From the coast to the summit of Mount Pitt, is a continuation of the richest and deepest soil in the world, which varies from a rich black mould to a fat red earth. We have dug down forty feet, and found the same soil.

The air is very wholesome, and the climate may be called a very healthy one; there has been no sickness since I first landed on the island.

There are five kinds of trees on the island which are good timber, viz. the pine, live oak, or yellow wood, a hard black wood, and a kind of beech. The pine trees are of a large size, many of which are from one hundred and eighty to two hundred and twenty feet in height,

height, and from six to nine feet in diameter. Those trees which are from one hundred to one hundred and eighty feet in height, are, in general, sound: from the root to the lower branches, there are from eighty to ninety feet of sound timber: the rest is too hard and knotty for use. It sometimes happens, that, after cutting off twenty feet from the butt, it becomes rotten or shaky; for which reason no dependence can be put in it for large masts or yards. The timber of the pine is very useful in buildings, and is plentiful along the coasts. Its dispersed situation in the interior parts of the island, is well calculated for erecting such buildings as may be necessary. From what I have seen of this wood, I think it is very durable; two boats have been built of it, and have answered the purpose fully.

The live oak, yellow wood, black wood, and beech, are all of a close grain, and are a durable wood.

The flax plant of New Zealand grows spontaneously in many parts of the island, but mostly abounds on the sea-coast, where there is a very great quantity of it. The leaves of the flax, when fully grown, are six feet long, and six inches wide. Each plant contains seven of those leaves. A strong woody stalk arises from the center, which bears the flowers. It seeds annually; and the old leaves are forced out by young ones every year. Every method has been tried to work it; but I much fear, that, until a native of New Zealand can be carried to Norfolk Island, the method of dressing that valuable commodity will not be known; and, could that be obtained, I have no doubt but Norfolk Island would very soon cloath the inhabitants of New South Wales.

There are a great quantity of pigeons, parrots, hawks, and other

smaller birds, which are now in a wild state.

The ground is much infested with different kinds of the grub worm, which are very destructive to the growth of vegetables. They are mostly troublesome about the spring. It is to be hoped, that, when more ground is cleared away, this evil will cease.

There is no quadruped on the island, except the rat, which is much smaller than the Norway rat. These vermin were very troublesome when first we landed; but at present there are but very few.

The coasts of the island abound with very fine fish. No opportunities were ever lost of sending the boat out, which enabled us to make a saving of two pounds of meat each man a week.

The coasts of the island are in general steep; and, excepting at Sydney, Anson, Ball, and Cascade Bays, they are inaccessible, being surrounded by steep perpendicular cliffs, arising from the sea. Some rocks are scattered about close to the shore.

Sydney Bay, on the south side of the island, is where the settlement is made. Landing at this place entirely depends on the wind and the weather. I have seen as good landing as in the Thames for a fortnight or three weeks together; and I have often seen it impracticable to land for ten or twelve days successively; but it is much oftener good landing than bad.

Anson's Bay is a small bay, with a sandy beach, where landing is in general good, with an off-shore wind, and moderate weather; but, as the interior parts of the island are so difficult of access from thence, no ships boats have ever landed there.

Ball Bay is on the south-east side of the island; the beech is of large loose

loose stone. When landing is bad in Sydney Bay, it is very good here ; as it also is in Cascade Bay, on the north side of the island.

During the winter months, viz. from April to August, the general winds are the south and south-west, with heavy gales at times. In the summer, the south-east wind blows almost constantly.

The spring is visible in August ; but the native trees, and many plants in the island, are in a constant state of flowering. The summer is warm, and sometimes the droughts are very great. All the grain and European plants seeded in December. From February to August may be called the rainy season ; not that I think there are any stated times for rains in these months, as it is sometimes very fine weather for a fortnight together ; but when the rain does fall, it is in torrents. I do not remember above three claps of thunder during the time I was on the island. The winter is very pleasant, and it never freezes.

The proper time for sowing wheat and barley is from May to August, and is got in in December. That

which has been sowed, has produced twenty-five fold, and I think the increase may be greater. Two bushels of barley, sowed in 1789, produced twenty-four bushels of a sound full grain.

The Indian corn produces well ; and it is, in my opinion, the best grain to cultivate in any quantity, on account of the little trouble attending its growth and manufacturing for eating.

The Rio Janeiro sugar cane grows very well, and is thriving.

Vines and oranges are very thriving ; of the former there will be a great quantity in a few years.

Potatoes thrive remarkably well, and yield a very great increase. I think two crops a year of that article may be got with great ease.

Every kind of garden vegetable thrives well, and comes to great perfection.

The quantity of ground cleared, and in cultivation, belonging to the public, was, on the 13th of March, 1790, from twenty-eight to thirty-two acres ; and about eighteen cleared by free people and convicts for their gardens.

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1791.

## N A V Y.

|                                                 |               |                     |           |          |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|-----------|----------|
|                                                 | DEC. 7, 1790. | £.                  | s.        | d.       |
| <b>F</b> OR 24,000 men, including 4,800 marines |               | 1,248,000           | 0         | 0        |
|                                                 | DEC. 13.      |                     |           |          |
| Expences of the late armament                   | _____         | 1,565,000           | 0         | 0        |
|                                                 | MAY 16, 1791. |                     |           |          |
| Ordinary of the navy                            | _____         | 689,395             | 13        | 4        |
| Extra navy                                      | _____         | 506,010             | 0         | 0        |
|                                                 |               | <u>£. 4,008,405</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>4</u> |

## A R M Y.

|                                                                                |                |                     |           |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|
|                                                                                | DEC. 13, 1790. | £.                  | s.        | d.        |
| Expences of the late armament                                                  |                | 64,000              | 0         | 0         |
| Provisions for the troops in the E. and W. Indies, }<br>in consequence thereof | _____          | 41,000              | 0         | 0         |
|                                                                                | FEB. 8, 1791.  |                     |           |           |
| For 17,013 men, as guards and garrisons                                        |                | 570,499             | 11        | 2½        |
| Forces in the plantations                                                      | _____          | 329,544             | 10        | 0         |
| Difference between the British and Irish establishments                        | _____          | 8,487               | 10        | 7         |
| Troops in the East Indies                                                      | _____          | 11,435              | 12        | 10½       |
| Recruiting land forces and contingencies                                       | _____          | 64,500              | 0         | 0         |
| Full pay to supernumerary officers                                             | _____          | 15,551              | 14        | 5½        |
| General and staff officers                                                     | _____          | 6,409               | 8         | 0         |
| Allowance to the pay-master-general, &c. &c.                                   | _____          | 63,276              | 5         | 8         |
|                                                                                | MAR. 29.       |                     |           |           |
| Reduced officers of land forces and marines                                    | _____          | 155,287             | 5         | 5         |
| Ditto of independent companies                                                 | _____          | 10,000              | 0         | 0         |
| Ditto horse guards                                                             | _____          | 212                 | 14        | 7         |
| Ditto officers of British American forces                                      | _____          | 55,092              | 10        | 0         |
| Allowances to several reduced officers of ditto                                | _____          | 4,907               | 10        | 0         |
| Officers late in the service of the States-general                             | _____          | 3,161               | 10        | 10        |
| Widows pensions                                                                | _____          | 9,710               | 4         | 3         |
| Chelsea pensioners                                                             | _____          | 174,167             | 4         | 3½        |
| Scotch roads and bridges                                                       | _____          | 5,911               | 4         | 3         |
| Hessian subsidy                                                                | _____          | 36,033              | 15        | 0         |
| Extraordinaries                                                                | _____          | 335,234             | 28        | 0         |
|                                                                                | MAY 16.        |                     |           |           |
| Augmentation of a corps of foot in New South Wales                             |                | 2,754               | 5         | 8½        |
|                                                                                |                | <u>£. 1,967,337</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>14</u> |
|                                                                                |                |                     |           | ORD.      |

## O R D N A N C E.

| DEC. 13, 1790.                                         |       | £                       | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|----|----|
| Expences of the late armament                          | _____ | 151,000                 | 0  | 0  |
| FEB. 8, 1791.                                          |       |                         |    |    |
| Ordinance, previous to Dec. 31, 1783, not provided for | _____ | 3,857                   | 5  | 1  |
| Ditto, land service not provided for in 1789           | _____ | 30,613                  | 19 | 1  |
| Ditto, sea service, ditto                              | _____ | 25,278                  | 12 | 0  |
| Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1790          | _____ | 2,159                   | 4  | 5  |
| Ditto for 1791                                         | _____ | 381,769                 | 18 | 3  |
|                                                        |       | <u>£. 594,678 18 10</u> |    |    |

## M I L I T I A.

|                                  |       |        |   |   |
|----------------------------------|-------|--------|---|---|
| Pay and cloathing of the militia | _____ | 95,311 | 0 | 0 |
|----------------------------------|-------|--------|---|---|

## M I S C E L L A N E O U S S E R V I C E S.

| DEC. 7, 1790.                                                                  |       |           |    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------|----|----|
| For paying off exchequer bills                                                 | _____ | 3,500,000 | 0  | 0  |
| APRIL 18, 1791.                                                                |       |           |    |    |
| American and East Florida sufferers                                            | _____ | 324,124   | 6  | 1½ |
| APRIL 19.                                                                      |       |           |    |    |
| For paying off exchequer bills                                                 | _____ | 3,000,000 | 0  | 0  |
| Catwater harbour                                                               | _____ | 2,000     | 0  | 0  |
| Civil establishment of Nova Scotia                                             | _____ | 6,376     | 17 | 6  |
| Ditto of New Brunswick                                                         | _____ | 4,400     | 0  | 0  |
| Ditto of St. John's island                                                     | _____ | 1,840     | 0  | 0  |
| Ditto of Cape Breton                                                           | _____ | 2,100     | 0  | 0  |
| Ditto of Newfoundland                                                          | _____ | 1,182     | 10 | 0  |
| Ditto of the Bahama islands                                                    | _____ | 4,180     | 0  | 0  |
| Chief justice of the Bermuda islands                                           | _____ | 580       | 0  | 0  |
| Ditto of Dominica                                                              | _____ | 600       | 0  | 0  |
| Civil establishment of New South Wales                                         | _____ | 4,758     | 6  | 3½ |
| APRIL 21.                                                                      |       |           |    |    |
| Somerfet house                                                                 | _____ | 25,000    | 0  | 0  |
| MAY 12.                                                                        |       |           |    |    |
| Prosecution of offenders against the coin laws                                 | _____ | 1,565     | 0  | 3  |
| Extraordinary expences of the mint                                             | _____ | 12,016    | 18 | 7½ |
| African forts                                                                  | _____ | 13,000    | 0  | 0  |
| MAY 19.                                                                        |       |           |    |    |
| To the prince of Wales, to discharge a debt for stone-masons work              | _____ | 3,500     | 0  | 0  |
| To Mr. Cotton for American sufferers                                           | _____ | 31,000    | 0  | 0  |
| To pay fees for receipts of money for compensation to the loyalists of Georgia | _____ | 1,271     | 17 | 0  |
| Ditto to pay bills of exchange, &c.                                            | _____ | 775       | 18 | 8½ |
| Purchase of hemp seed for Canada                                               | _____ | 766       | 16 | 6  |
| Arrears of contingencies due from the auditors office                          | _____ | 4,237     | 4  | 1  |
| Provisions for New South Wales                                                 | _____ | 29,613    | 1  | 8  |
| Convicts on the Thames                                                         | _____ | 41,716    | 10 | 7  |
| Ditto at Plymouth                                                              | _____ | 10,849    | 1  | 6  |

Address

|                                                                            | £.           | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|----|----|
| Address money                                                              | 67,948       | 12 | 10 |
| Expences of Mr. Hastings's prosecution                                     | 14,153       | 3  | 9  |
| Secretary of commissioners for regulating the shipping of slaves           | 500          | 0  | 0  |
| Board of land revenue                                                      | 4,000        | 0  | 0  |
| Secretary of commissioners for the American loyalists                      | 3,600        | 0  | 0  |
| Arrears of the salary of Mr. Johnston, formerly governor of North Carolina | 2,018        | 19 | 2  |
| Commissioners of American loyalists                                        | 24,000       | 0  | 0  |
| Ditto of East Florida sufferers                                            | 5,100        | 0  | 0  |
| MAY 21.                                                                    |              |    |    |
| For money issued out of the civil list for the duke of Clarence            | 34,210       | 5  | 0  |
| To discharge the annuity due to the late duke of Cumberland                | 1,546        | 7  | 10 |
| A claim of the sons of the late Bey of Algiers                             | 6,762        | 19 | 0  |
|                                                                            | £. 7,191,294 | 16 | 4½ |

## DEFICIENCY.

|                               | APRIL 19.  |       |
|-------------------------------|------------|-------|
| Deficiency of grants for 1790 | 207,728    | 3 1   |
| Navy                          | 4,008,405  | 13 4  |
| Army                          | 1,967,237  | 15 1½ |
| Ordnance                      | 594,678    | 18 10 |
| Militia                       | 95,311     | 0 0   |
| Miscellaneous services        | 7,191,294  | 16 4½ |
| Deficiency                    | 207,728    | 3 1   |
|                               | 14,064,656 | 6 9½  |

## WAYS and MEANS.

|                                                  | DEC. 9, 1790.   |      |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------|
| Land tax                                         | 2,000,000       | 0 0  |
|                                                  | DEC. 16.        |      |
| Exchequer bills                                  | 1,833,000       | 0 0  |
| Surplus of the consolidated fund on April 5,     | 1,300,000       | 0 0  |
| Malt duty                                        | 750,000         | 0 0  |
|                                                  | APRIL 18, 1791. |      |
| Surplus of the consolidated fund on April 5,     | 303,221         | 9 0½ |
|                                                  | APRIL 19.       |      |
| Part of interest on foreign secret-service money | 4,026           | 6 0  |
|                                                  | MAY 17.         |      |
| To be lent, without interest, by the bank        | 500,000         | 0 0  |
|                                                  | MAY 19.         |      |
| Surplus of the consolidated fund                 | 2,375,000       | 0 0  |
| Profit in 50,000 lottery tickets at 16l. 2s. 6d. | 306,250         | 0 0  |

Ex.



|                                       |            |    |    |
|---------------------------------------|------------|----|----|
| Exchequer bills                       | 5,500,000  | 0  | 0  |
| Surplus of hemp and flax bounty money | 10,137     | 4  | 0  |
|                                       | 14,881,634 | 19 | 0½ |
|                                       | 14,064,656 | 6  | 9½ |
| Excess of Ways and Means              | £. 816,978 | 12 | 3  |

*Principal Public Acts passed in the first Session of the seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.*

*Dec. 29, 1790.*

Land tax act.

Malt duty act.

Act for an additional duty on malt.

*Mar. 23, 1791.*

Mutiny act.

Marine mutiny act.

*April 11.*

Act for an additional duty on sugar.

Militia pay and cloathing bill.

*June 6.*

Act to settle an annuity on the duke of Clarence.

Act for new duties on receipts, bills of exchange, &c.

Act for new duties on game certificates.

Act to grant a compensation to the officers of the wine licence office, for the loss of their offices.

Act to prohibit the importation of silk crapes and tiffanies of Italy.

Act for new duties on tanned goat and sheep skins.

Act to allow the importation of 1791.

seal skins, cured with foreign salt, for a limited time, free of duty.

Act to indemnify all persons concerned in carrying into execution an order of council, respecting the importation of salt-petre. &c.

Act to amend an act 27 Geo. III. for regulating the trade between the British colonies and the United States of America.

Act for the better regulation and government of seamen employed in the coasting trade.

Act for establishing a court of civil judicature in Newfoundland.

Act for allowing a farther bounty on pilchards.

Act to render persons guilty of petty larceny competent witnesses.

Act respecting the powers of the governor general of Bengal.

*June 10.*

Act for regulating the importation and exportation of corn.

Act to make farther provisions for the government of the province of Quebec.

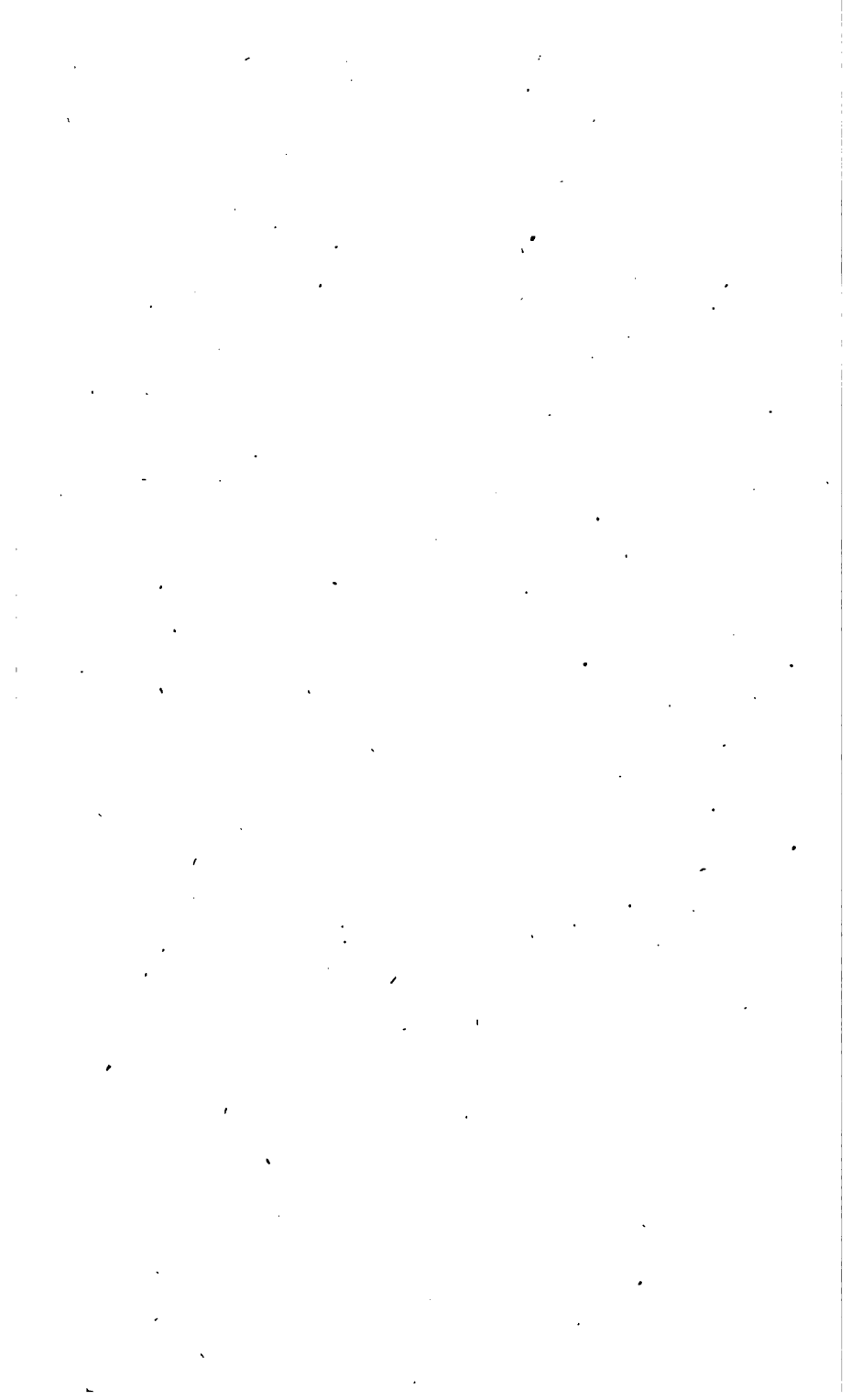
Act to relieve Roman catholics from certain penalties and disabilities.

Act to amend the act regulating the shipping of slaves.

Act to protect the oyster fisheries.

Act for the better regulation of gaols.

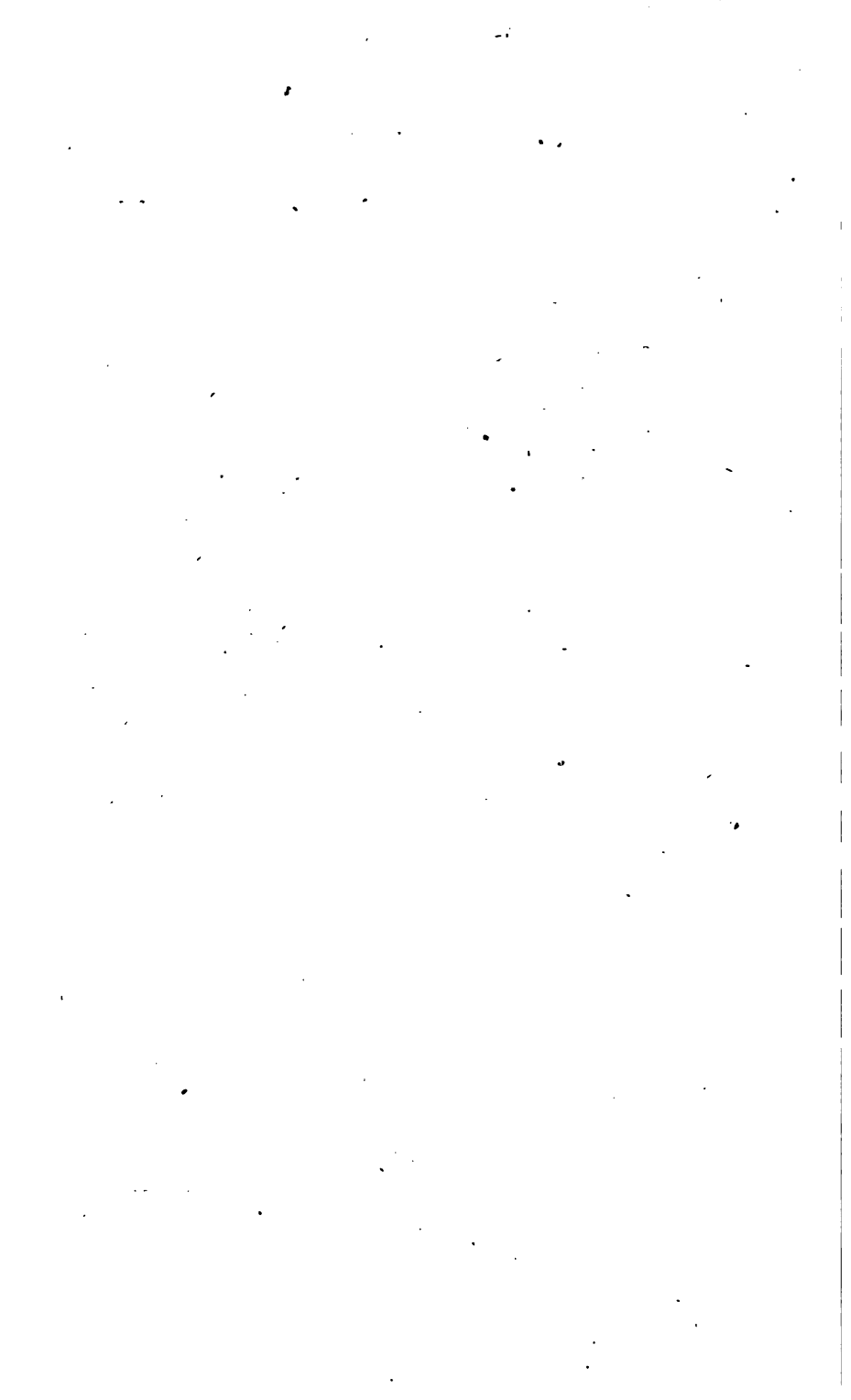
( I )      P R I C E S



# **PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1791.**

**N. B.** The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

|         | Bank<br>Stock | 3 per<br>c. red. | 3 ditto.<br>conf. | 4 p. c.<br>conf. | 5 p. c.<br>Ann. | Long<br>Ann. | Short<br>Ann. | India<br>Stock | India<br>An. | India<br>bonds | S. Sea<br>Stock. | Old<br>Ann. | New<br>Ann. | Navy<br>Bills. | Excheq.<br>Bills. | Lottery<br>Tickets. |
|---------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Jan. {  | 190<br>186    | 82½<br>80½       | 83<br>79½         | 103½<br>101½     | 123<br>117½     | 24½<br>21½   | 13½<br>13½    | 175½<br>168    | 77½<br>76    | 113<br>100     | 93½<br>92½       | 82½<br>80½  | 81½<br>80   | 1½<br>1½       | 16<br>11          | 16 9<br>16 1 6      |
| Feb. {  | 187½<br>187½  | 81½<br>80½       | 81½<br>80½        | 102½<br>101½     | 119½<br>118½    | 24<br>23½    | 13½<br>13½    | 170<br>166½    | 76½<br>76    | 109<br>95      | 91<br>90½        | 80½<br>80½  | 80½<br>80½  | 1½<br>1½       | 18<br>16          | 16 13 6<br>16 6 6   |
| Mar. {  | 191½<br>178½  | 82½<br>78        | 82½<br>75½        | 103½<br>98½      | 120½<br>113½    | 24½<br>22½   | 13½<br>12½    | 170<br>159     | 77<br>38     | 110            | 91½<br>87½       | 82½<br>81½  | 82½<br>76½  | 3½<br>3½       | 20<br>19          |                     |
| Apr. {  | 188½<br>178½  | 80½<br>77½       | 81½<br>76½        | 101½<br>100½     | 119½<br>114     | 23½<br>22½   | 12½<br>12½    | 167½<br>159½   | 74½<br>73½   | 91<br>86       | 90½<br>86        | 80½<br>79½  | 80½<br>76½  | 3½<br>1½       | 5 Par.            |                     |
| May {   | 187½<br>183½  | 81½<br>79½       | 82½<br>80½        | 101½<br>100      | 121<br>118½     | 23½<br>23½   | 12½<br>12½    | 167½<br>163½   | 75½<br>74½   | 90<br>85       | 90½<br>89½       | 80½<br>79½  | 81½<br>80½  | 1½<br>1½       | 8                 |                     |
| June {  | 187½<br>185½  | 81½<br>80½       | 82½<br>81½        | 101½<br>101½     | 121<br>120      | 24<br>23½    | 13½<br>12½    | 168½<br>166    | 75½<br>75½   | 96<br>84       | 90½<br>89½       | 81½<br>80½  |             | 1½<br>1        | 10                | 16 0 6<br>16        |
| July {  | 190<br>18½    | 81½<br>80½       | 83½<br>81½        | 104½<br>101      | 120½<br>119½    | 24½<br>23½   | 13½<br>12½    | 172<br>165½    | 77½<br>75½   | 107<br>87      | 91½<br>93½       | 83½<br>80½  | 82½<br>81½  | 1½<br>1½       | 13<br>12          | 16 1 6<br>16        |
| Aug. {  | 204<br>190½   | 90<br>83½        | 89½<br>83         | 107<br>103½      | 122½<br>115½    | 26½<br>24½   | 13½<br>13½    | 186½<br>173    | 83½<br>78½   | 116<br>106     | 97½<br>93½       | 89½<br>84½  | 88½<br>83½  | 1½<br>1½       | 26<br>20          | 16 8 6<br>16 4 6    |
| Sept. { | 204½<br>200½  | 90½<br>89½       | 89½<br>88½        | 105<br>104       | 118½<br>116½    | 26½<br>26½   | 13½<br>13½    | 195½<br>185½   | 83½<br>83½   | 117<br>112     | 97½<br>96        | 90½<br>89   | 89½<br>88½  | diff.<br>Par.  | 28<br>25          | 16 13<br>16 7       |
| Oct. {  | 203<br>194    | 89½<br>87½       | 89½<br>87½        | 104½<br>100½     | 118½<br>116     | 26½<br>25½   | 13½<br>12½    | 194<br>188½    | 81½<br>81    | 106            | 96½<br>95½       | 87½<br>8½   | 88½<br>87   | diff.<br>Par.  | 23<br>6           | 16 15 6<br>16 10 6  |
| Nov. {  | 196½<br>194½  | 87½<br>85½       | 88½<br>86½        | 101½<br>100½     | 118½<br>117½    | 25½<br>25½   | 13½<br>12½    | 193½<br>181½   | 82½<br>81½   | 109<br>89      | 96½<br>96½       | 87½<br>86½  | 88<br>87    | diff.<br>Par.  | 12<br>7           | 17 3 6<br>16 14 6   |
| Dec. {  | 200½<br>196   | 89½<br>87½       | 89½<br>83         | 103½<br>101½     | 120<br>118      | 26½<br>25½   | 13½<br>12½    | 187½<br>83     | 84½<br>84½   | 94<br>85       | 90½<br>87½       | 88<br>87½   | 89½<br>87½  | diff.<br>Par.  | 16<br>12          | 17 9 6<br>17 1 6    |



BIOGRAPHICAL  
ANECDOTES  
AND  
CHARACTERS.

THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

1877

AMERICAN

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# BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

## MEMOIRS of TYCHO BRAHE.

[From the third Volume of COXE'S TRAVELS into POLAND, RUSSIA,  
SWEDEN, and DENMARK.]

**T**YCHO Brahe, descended from a noble and illustrious Danish family, was born in 1546 at Knudstorp, a small lordship near Helsingborg in Scania. His father, Otto Brahe, having a large family, Tycho was educated under the care and at the expence of his uncle George Brahe, who, having no children, adopted him as his heir. Finding his nephew a boy of lively capacity, and though only seven years of age strongly inclined to study, he had Tycho instructed in the Latin tongue unknown to his father, who considered literature as inglorious, and was desirous that all his sons should follow the profession of arms.

"In the twelfth year of his age, Tycho was removed to the academy of Copenhagen; and his mind, which had not yet taken any direction, was casually incited to the study of astronomy by an eclipse of the sun, which happened on the 21st of August, 1560. He had for some time examined the astrological diaries or almanacks, which pretended to predict future events from the inspection of the stars; but when he observed that the eclipse happened at the precise time at which it was foretold, his admiration was lost in

astonishment; and he considered that science as divine, which could thus so thoroughly understand the motions of the heavenly bodies as to foretel their places and relative positions. From that moment he devoted himself to astronomy.

"In 1562 he was sent to Leipzig for the purpose of studying civil law; but he gave to the law only those hours which his tutor's importunity wrested from him, devoting the greatest part of his time to his favourite science; and as his tutor continually remonstrated against those studies which took off his attention from the law, to which he was destined by his uncle, he conceived an unconquerable disgust for that profession, and more assiduously, though secretly, continued his astronomical pursuits. For this purpose he laid out all the money which his uncle allowed him for pocket expences in the purchase of astronomical books: having obtained a small celestial globe, he took the opportunity, while his preceptor was in bed, of examining the heavenly bodies, and before a month had elapsed, he made himself acquainted with all the stars which at that time appeared above the horizon.

Inspired with the same ardent

zeal in pursuit of his favourite science, he learned geometry and mathematics without a master, and invented a radius, and several mathematical instruments.

"Having passed three years at Leipzig, he was preparing to pursue his travels through Germany; but the death of his uncle obliged him to return to his native country, in order to superintend and settle his estates, which he largely inherited. Instead of finding himself encouraged and esteemed for the wonderful progress, which at his early age he had made in the science of astronomy and its concomitant studies, he was mortified at being treated with contempt by his relations and acquaintance for following a science which they considered as degrading, and who reproached him for not pursuing what they called the more noble study of the law. Disgusted at their behaviour he settled his affairs, and hastened his departure from a country wherein he met with repeated mortifications, and before a year had elapsed set out upon his travels. He proceeded to Wittenberg, and afterwards to Rostoc, where an accident happened which had nearly occasioned his death.

"Being invited to a wedding feast, he had a dispute with a Danish nobleman relative to some subject in mathematics; and as they were both of choleric dispositions, the dispute ended in a duel. In the conflict part of Tycho's nose was cut off. In order to remedy this defect, Tycho contrived a supposititious nose made of gold and silver, which he fastened by means of a glue, so artfully formed, it is said, as to bear the appearance of the real member, and to deceive many who were not acquainted with his loss.

"From Rostoc Tycho continued his travels, and prosecuted his studies in the principal towns of Germany and Italy, and particularly at Augsburg, where he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Peter Ramus, invented and improved various mathematical instruments, superintended the building of an observatory at the expence of the burgo-master Paul Hainzell, after a plan communicated by himself, and formed a series of astronomical observations and discoveries, which astonished and surpassed all who had hitherto been considered as the greatest proficient in that science.

"On his return to Copenhagen, in 1570, he was soon disgusted with the necessity of going to court; and, importuned with innumerable visits and interruptions of his studies, he removed to Herritzvold, near Knudstorp, the seat of his maternal uncle, Steno Bille, who alone of all his relations encouraged him to persevere in his astronomical labours. Steno consigned to his nephew a commodious apartment, and a convenient place for the construction of his observatory and laboratory.

"During his residence with his uncle, Tycho, besides his astronomical researches, seems to have followed with no less zeal the study of chymistry, or rather of alchymy, from the chimerical view of obtaining the philosopher's stone, that he might amass sufficient riches to settle in some foreign country, where he might not be under the necessity of appearing at court, or having his studies interrupted by receiving and paying visits.

But neither his philosophy, or the unwearied zeal with which he prosecuted his studies, could exempt him from the passion of love.

Being



Being a great admirer of the fair sex, he conceived a violent inclination for Christina, a beautiful country girl, the daughter of a neighbouring peasant, and alienated his family by marrying a person of such low extraction. Love is ever ingenious in devising excuses. Our philosopher justified the choice of his heart, and gave many whimsical reasons for preferring a woman of low birth. He dreaded a wife who should be under the necessity of living at court, a life to him the most detestable; he therefore preferred one, whose situation necessarily precluded her from what he styles a painful honour, who, grateful to her benefactor, would be dependent on himself alone, would be happy to accompany him in his travels, would consider a subserviency to his inclinations as a duty, and would not object to his continued application. Whatever effect these reasons might have in inducing our philosopher to marry, yet it may be imagined they had none on a proud family, who conceived themselves disgraced by Tycho's mis-alliance, and refused to hold any intercourse with him, until Frederic the Second commanded them to be reconciled. Tycho never seems to have repented of his choice; but ever found in his beloved Christina a grateful companion and an obedient wife.

"About this period of his life he first appeared as a public teacher, and read lectures on astronomy at the express desire of the king. He explained the theory of the planets, and preceded his explanation by a very learned oration concerning the history and excellency of astronomy and its sister-sciences, with some remarks in favour of judicial astrology, a study as congenial to the times as to the inclinations of our philosopher.

"Offended with his relations, and disgusted with his countrymen, he had long determined to quit Denmark, and to settle abroad; and after travelling through Germany and Italy, he at length fixed upon Basil; to the choice of which place he was influenced by the wholesomeness of the air, the cheapness of the living, and the celebrity of the university; and from whence he might hold a regular and easy correspondence with the astronomers of France, Germany, and Italy.

"On his return to Denmark he was preparing with the utmost secrecy to transport his library and astronomical apparatus, but was prevented carrying his design into execution by an unexpected summons from the king. Frederic, being secretly apprised of his intentions, was unwilling that Denmark should be deprived of so great an ornament, kindly embraced him, offered his protection and encouragement, presented him with the island of Huen as a proper retirement, and promised to erect, at his expence, whatever buildings and apparatus should be found necessary for his astronomical pursuits. He settled upon him a pension of 1000 crowns a year, and gave him a canonry of Roschild worth not less than 2000 crowns.

"Tycho, astonished and transported at this instance of his sovereign's liberality, did not hesitate accepting the king's offer. He immediately repaired to the isle of Huen, and on the eighth of August, 1576, was present at the laying of the first stone of a magnificent house, which he afterwards called Uranienburgh, or the Castle of the Heavens.

"This castle was a square building of sixty feet, containing a large suite of apartments, an observatory,

and a subterraneous laboratory; and although the king supplied 100,000 rix-dollars, Tycho Brahe did not expend less than the same sum. He afterwards constructed a detached building, which he called *Stiernberg*, or the Mountain of the Stars.

"In this retreat Tycho Brahe passed twenty years, and greatly improved the science of astronomy by the diligence and exactness of his observations. He maintained several scholars in his house for the purpose of instructing them in geometry and astronomy, some of whom were sent and their expences defrayed by the king; others, who voluntarily offered themselves, he received and supported at his own expence.

"He did not, however, pass the life of an anchorite or a recluse; on the contrary, he lived in a most sumptuous manner, kept an open house with unbounded hospitality, was always happy to entertain and receive all persons, who flocked in crowds to visit the island, and to pay their respects to a person of his renown.

"During his residence in the island of Huen, he received numerous visits from persons of the highest rank. Among these must be particularly mentioned Ulric duke of Mecklenburgh, in company with his daughter Sophia queen of Denmark; William, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, whose correspondence with Brahe on astronomical subjects has been given to the public, and who had shewn himself a constant patron to the Danish astronomer.

"In 1590 Tycho was honoured with a visit from James the First, then king of Scotland, when that monarch repaired to the court of Copenhagen to conclude his mar-

riage with the princess Anne, and was so delighted with Brahe's apparatus and conversation, that he remained eight days at Uranienburgh. On retiring he presented Tycho with a magnificent present, and afterwards accompanied his royal licence for the publication of Tycho Brahe's works with the following flattering testimony of his abilities and learning: "Nor am I acquainted with these things from the relation of others, or from a mere perusal of your works, but I have seen them with my own eyes, and heard them with my own ears, in your residence at Uranienburg, during the various learned and agreeable conversations which I there held with you, which even now affect my mind to such a degree, that it is difficult to decide, whether I recollect them with greater pleasure or admiration; which I now willingly testify by this licence to present and future generations, &c."

"His majesty also, at his particular request, composed, in honour of the Danish astronomer, some Latin verses, more expressive indeed of his esteem and admiration than remarkable for classic elegance.

"In 1592 he was honoured with a visit from his own sovereign, Christian the Fourth, then in the fifteenth year of his age, who continued some days at Uranienburgh. That promising young prince shewed great curiosity in examining the astronomical and chymical apparatus, expressed the highest satisfaction in receiving explanations and instructions, proposed various questions on several points of mathematics and mechanics, to which his majesty was attached, and particularly on the prin-

principles of fortification, and the construction of ships. He was also highly delighted with a gilt tin globe which represented the face of the heavens, and so contrived, that, being turned on its own axis, it shewed the rising and setting of the sun, the motions of the planets and heavenly bodies; a wonderful contrivance for that age. Tycho, observing the delight which the young king shewed in observing these phenomena, presented it to his majesty. The king graciously accepted it, gave him in return a gold chain, and assured him of his unalterable protection and attachment.

“Notwithstanding however these assurances, the king’s youth was worked upon by those courtiers who were envious of Tycho Brahe’s merit, or who had been offended by the violence of his temper, and the severity of his satire, and under various pretences prevailed upon Christian to deprive him of his pension, and the canonry of Roskild.

“Tycho Brahe being thus deprived of the means to support the great expences of his establishment at Uranienburgh, quitted with chagrin his favourite residence, and repaired to his house at Copenhagen, where he waited for an opportunity to retire from his native country. Having transported from Uranienburgh all the instruments and apparatus which could be removed, he quitted Copenhagen, embarked with his wife and family, landed at Rostock, and remained a year at Wansbeck with his learned friend Henry Rantzau.

“Having dedicated a treatise on astronomy to the emperor Rhodolph the Second, who was extremely addicted to astronomy, chymistry, and judicial astrology, he

at length received a very flattering invitation from that monarch, which he accepted without hesitation, and repaired to Prague in 1599. The emperor received him in the kindest and most honourable manner, built for him an observatory and elaboratory, settled on him an ample pension, and treated him with the highest marks of deference and respect.

“In the service of Rhodolph he passed the remainder of his days, but did not live long to enjoy his protection. He had enjoyed a good state of health till the year previous to his death, when his constitution, somewhat weakened by the intenseness of his application, was still farther shattered by the chagrin occasioned by his removal from Uranienburgh. At that period he began to experience symptoms of complaints which announced his approaching dissolution, but which he concealed as much as possible from his friends. He was reduced however to so low a state as to be affected with the most trifling circumstances, which he considered as prodigies, and would frequently interrupt his sallies of wit with sudden reflections on death.

“The immediate cause of his decease was a strangury, which being attended with the most excruciating torments, brought on a violent fever, and a temporary delirium; in the midst of which he was heard repeatedly to cry out, “*Ne frustra vixisse videar.*” His delirium at length subsiding he became calm and composed, and perfectly sensible. Being extremely debilitated by the violence of his disorder, he perceived that he had not many hours to live. Accordingly he gave orders with the utmost coolness and resignation; even amused himself with composing an extempore copy of verses; sung various

hymns; offered up prayers and supplications to the Supreme Being; recommended to his family and friends piety and resignation to the divine will; exhorted his pupils to persevere in their studies; and conversed with Kepler on the most abstruse parts of astronomy. Thus, amidst prayers, exhortations, and literary conversation, he expired so peaceably, that he was neither heard nor seen, by any of those who were present, to breathe his last. He died in October 1601, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

“It is remarkable, that so sensible a man, and so accurate an observer as Tycho Brahe, should be so infected with the rage of system-making as to reject the simple and beautiful system of Copernicus, established by the most incontrovertible proofs, and to endeavour to reconcile the absurdities of the Ptolemaic system. He was indeed, too well acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies, not to be sensible that the sun was the centre of the system; and though he was struck with the simplicity and harmony of the Pythagorean system, which Copernicus had lately revived, yet out of respect, it is said, for several passages in scripture, he absurdly endeavoured to reconcile (what were never intended to be reconciled) his learning with his faith: he rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth on its own axis; supposed that the earth was quiescent; that the sun, with all the planets, was carried about the earth in the space of a year; and that the planets, by their proper motions, revolved round the sun in their several periods; thus retaining the most absurd part of the Ptolemaic hypothesis, which makes the whole planetary system revolve round the earth in the space of every twenty-four hours.

“Tycho, indeed, was so bigotted to his own hypothesis, and shewed, even in his last moments, such an attachment to his own system, as to desire his favourite scholar, the great Kepler, to follow his system rather than that of Copernicus.

“If we were to estimate the merits of Tycho Brahe as an astronomer, we should compare the science as he left it with the state in which he found it. His great merit consisted in his inventions and improvements of mathematical instruments, and in the diligence and exactness with which he made astronomical observations for a long series of years. And as his instruments were remarkably good, he composed a catalogue of 777 fixed stars, all observed by himself, with an accuracy unknown to former astronomers. He likewise discovered the refraction of the air; demonstrated, against the prevailing opinion of those times, that the comets were higher than the moon; and from his observations on the moon and the other planets, the theories of their motions were afterwards corrected and improved. He was also the first astronomer who composed a table of refractions, and shewed the use to be made of them in astronomy. Such is the reputation of Tycho Brahe, for his great proficiency in that science, that Costard, in his *History of Astronomy*, has fixed upon his name as marking the beginning of a new period.

“He seems to have embraced a large circle of the arts and sciences. He cultivated poetry, and wrote Latin verses, not without some degree of classic elegance. He drew the plan for building the castle of Cronborg, and sketched the design for the noble mausoleum of Federic the Second, which was executed in Italy, and is erected in the cathedral of  
Roslild.

Roskild. He dabbled also in physic. He was fond of being consulted, and readily gave his advice and medicines gratis to those who consulted him. He invented an elixir, which he calls an infallible cure for epidemic disorders, of which he has published the recipe in a letter to the emperor Rhodolph.

"He was a good mechanic. He possessed several automates, and took great delight in showing them to the peasants, and was always pleased if they took them for spirits.

"He was no less fond of being consulted as a fortune-teller, and willingly encouraged an opinion, that his knowledge of the heavenly bodies enabled him to observe horoscopes, and foretel events. Many traditional fables of his predictions have been handed down to posterity, which shew his proneness to judicial astrology, and the weakness of those who believed his predictions.

"In many instances astrological predictions, by alarming, occasion the event which they foretel, and have thus gained a false credit from the weak or the unwary. Thus Tycho Brahe's astrological predictions proved fatal to the emperor Rhodolph the Second: for, being informed by Tycho, that a star which presided at his nativity threatened him with some sinister designs to his prejudice, from his relations, he was thrown into such a panic, that he did not venture to quit his palace, or appear before any person; and, as the conduct of his brother Matthias confirmed the astrologer's informations, he fell at last a prey to his grief, and died 18th of January 1622, aged fifty-nine years.

"At Uranienburgh Tycho Brahe had several contrivances calculated to deceive and astonish those who came to visit and consult him. Among others, several bells, com-

municating with the rooms in the upper story, inhabited by his scholars, the handles of which were concealed in his own apartments.

"Frequently, when company was with him, he would pretend to want something, and having secretly pulled the bell, would cry out "Come hither Peter, come hither Christian," and pleased to observe the astonishment of the company, who not hearing the bells, were surprized at the appearance of the person who was thus summoned.

"He was no less devoted to the study of chymistry than to astronomy, and expended as much on the terrestrial astronomy, as he styles it, as on the celestial. He left, indeed, no writings upon that science, although it seems to have been his intention to have given to the public a selection of his experiments, which he had made with so much labour and expence; yet he adds, in the true cant of alchymy, "On consideration, and by the advice of the most illustrious as well as the most learned men, he thought it improper to unfold the secrets of the art to the vulgar, as few people were capable of using its mysteries to advantage, and without detriment."

"His foibles were as prominent as his virtue and capacity. He was of a morose and unbending disposition, indulged himself in too great freedom of speech, but while he rallied others was not pleased to be rallied himself.

"He was greatly addicted to judicial astrology, and prone to a credulity and superstition below his learning and judgment. If he met an old woman in going out of his house, he would instantly return home; and considered an hare as an ill omen. While he lived at Uranienburgh he had a fool, whose name was Sep, who was accustomed during dinner to sit at  
his

his feet, and whom he used to feed with his own hand. This man was continually uttering incoherent expressions, which Tycho observed and noted down, from a persuasion that the mind, in a state of emotion, was capable of predicting future events; and he even believed, if any inhabitant of the island was taken ill, that this madman could predict whether he should live or die. He maintained, that the cabala and magic, if

they did not act to the offence of God or man, could lay open many abstruse things by figures, images, and marks.

"But to turn from the unfavourable to the brighter parts of his character, we may assent to the truth of the following eulogium given by his panegyrist; that to him his studies were life; meditation his delight; science riches; virtue nobility; and religion his constant direction \*."

\* *Ipsi vita studia erant; deliciae vero meditatio; divitiæ scientiæ; virtus nobilitas; religio directio.*—*Oratio Funebris.*

## 2 SHORT ACCOUNT of the celebrated SCHEELÉ.

[From the same Work.]

"CHARLES William Scheele, the son of a tradesman, was born at Stralsund, in December 1742. He received the earliest rudiments of education at a private school, and afterwards in the seminary of that town. Playing at a very early age expressed a strong desire to follow the profession of an apothecary, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Bauch, of Gotheborg, with whom he continued till 1765. There he laid the foundation of his chymical knowledge. He was remarkably quiet and serious, extremely attentive to the medical and chymical preparations, and used afterwards to repeat the process in his own apartments. He seems to have been first excited to the study of chymistry, by the perusal of Neuman's chymistry, recommended by Grunberg, an apprentice in the same shop. He also met with Lemerie and Stahl's works, and Kenckell's Laboratory, which seems to have been his favourite book.

"In 1765, he departed from

Gotheborg, and served different apothecaries; first, Karlstroem, of Malmoe; secondly, Scharenberg, of Stockholm; and, in 1773, obtained an appointment with Looch of Upsala.

"At Upsala he increased his knowledge by forming an acquaintance with the learned men of the university, particularly the strictest friendship with professor Bergman, and by having free access to the public laboratory.

"In 1775, he was appointed by the medical college apothecary at Kioping, where he finished his days.

"The reader will find, in Wells's *Chemische Annalen* for 1787, a list of the works and principal discoveries of Scheele; also in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1789.

"His character as a chymist, is sufficiently known by his great and numerous discoveries in that science.

"Scheele had struggled during his whole life against narrow circumstances;

stances ; and when appointed apothecary of Kioping, he involved himself in debt in order to purchase the stock which had belonged to his predecessor. He had been for some time engaged to marry his predecessor's widow ; but waited until he had discharged his debts, and had collected a moderate provision for her in case of his death. He had scarcely effected his purpose, and received the offer of an annuity of 300*l.* per annum, if he would settle in England, which would have afforded him more leisure, and a sufficient income to pursue his chymical discoveries, when his health declined. His disorder began with an inflammation in his eyes, arising probably from the intense zeal with which he carried on his chymical experiments, and ended in a total debility, which hurried him to the grave on the 21st day of May, 1786, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. Two days before his death, he was married to the person to whom he had been so long betrothed, and left her the little money he had been able to save.

“ The union of virtue and knowledge is doubly meritorious ; and it is a pleasing satisfaction to add, that the morals of Scheele were strict, and his conduct as irreproachable as his morals in all seasons of life.

“ Scheele had neither time nor inclination to form common acquaintances ; for most of the hours which he could spare from his shop and the duties of his office, he employed in his laboratory and library ; but he was greatly attached to a few congenial friends, and fond of conversing with them on subjects of chymistry. He was to them extremely open, and

of a communicative disposition, never in the least desirous of withholding his information, or concealing his discoveries.

“ Before he adopted any opinion, he was particularly cautious ; but when he had once formed it, he was decisive, and defended it with firmness, yet without heat. He was, however, always open to conviction ; and more than once retracted his opinion, whenever he was convinced by argument or experiment.

“ Scheele understood no other languages but the Latin, German, and Swedish ; so that he had not the advantage of being benefited by the early intelligence of discoveries made by foreigners, and was forced to wait until the information was conveyed to him in the slow and uncertain channel of translation. Even his acquaintance with the Swedish was not sufficient to write the treatises he sent to the Swedish academy of sciences in that tongue, but he was accustomed to compose them in German, from whence they were translated into Swedish.

“ When we consider the number and accuracy of Scheele's experiments, we should naturally presume that his chymical apparatus was very complete, and his laboratory large. On the contrary, his laboratory was extremely confined, and his apparatus extremely inconvenient, owing, probably, to the scantiness of his circumstances.

“ If he made such important and accurate discoveries with a scanty and inconvenient apparatus, and without any assistance, what would he have done, if his circumstances and his situation had been different ?”

# BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES of ERNEST JOHN BIRON, DUKE of COURLAND.

[From the same Work.]

“**E**RNEST John Biron was descended from a family of mean extraction. His grandfather, whose name was Buren, or Bieren, was head groom to James the Third, duke of Courland, and obtained from his master the present of a small estate in land. His son accompanied prince Alexander, youngest son of the duke of Courland, in a campaign into Hungary against the Turks, in quality of groom of his horse, and with the rank of lieutenant. Prince Alexander being killed before Buda, in 1686, Biron returned into Courland, and was appointed master huntsman to the duke.

“Ernest John, his second son, was born in 1687, received the early part of this education in Courland, and was sent to the university of Königsbergh in Prussia, where he continued until some youthful imprudences compelled him to retire.

“In 1714, he made his appearance at St. Petersburg, and solicited the place of page to the princess Charlotte, wife of the tsarovitch Alexey; but being contemptuously rejected as a person of mean extraction, retired to Mittau, and chanced to ingratiate himself with Count Bestuchef, master of the household to Anne, widow of Frederic William duke of Courland, who resided at Mittau. Having through his means obtained the office of gentleman of the chamber, and being of a handsome figure and polite address, he soon gained the good-will of the dutchess, and became her chief fa-

vourite. The first use which he made of his favour, was to obtain the disgrace and removal of his benefactor Bestuchef. He soon gained such an entire ascendancy over the affections of his mistress, that his will became her's, and the upstart favourite offended by his arrogance the whole body of the nobility of Courland.

“Having espoused Mademoiselle de Trenden, a lady of noble family, and maid of honour to the dutchess, he endeavoured, by means of that alliance, and favour of his mistress, to be admitted into the body of the nobles; but his solicitations were rejected with great contempt.

“His ascendancy over the dutchess, his spirit of intrigue, and his extreme arrogance, were so notorious, that when Anne was declared sovereign of Russia, one of the articles proposed to her by the council of state at Moscow, expressly stipulated, that she should not bring Biron into Russia. She consented, but instantly broke her word; for she had scarcely arrived at Moscow, before he made his appearance at her court.

“By his secret advice, the empress formed a strong party among the Russian nobility, gained the guards, and brought about the revolution, which restored to the crown despotic authority.

“But when the whole plan was ripe for execution, Anne hesitated, and was alarmed, till Biron took her by the hand, and led her to the door of the apartment in which the council of state, senate and principal nobility were assembled; and she was declared absolute sovereign.

“With



"Within the space of a few months, Biron was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber, knight of the order of St. Andrew, and lord high chamberlain, and, as Manstein says, was omnipotent in the government; for, during the whole reign of Anne, and some weeks after her death, he ruled with despotic sway the vast empire of Russia.

"On the death of Ferdinand Ketterer, in 1737, the empress dispatched general Bismarck, governor of Riga, to Mittau, at the head of a considerable army. The nobles having assembled in the cathedral, Bismarck surrounded the church with troops, and compelled them to elect for their sovereign the same Biron whom they had refused to admit into their corps. But his new dignity did not prevent him from keeping his post of high chamberlain, and his wife that of first lady of the bed-chamber.

"Biron governed Courland with the same despotic spirit with which he governed Russia; and the nobles, who had been accustomed to great freedom of debate in their diets, were suddenly restrained. Those who ventured to oppose his will, or to speak with their usual freedom, were privately seized by persons in masks, forced into kibitkas, and conveyed to Siberia.

"Of a violent and sanguinary temper, Biron ruled Russia with the knout in his hand, and compelled his imperial mistress, who was naturally of a mild and merciful disposition, to order acts of the most atrocious cruelty, though she oftentimes interceded, but in vain, with tears in her eyes, for the unhappy victims of his suspicion and vengeance.

"The cruelties exercised upon the most illustrious persons of the country almost exceed belief; and Manstein conjectures, that "during

the ten years in which Biron's power continued, above 20,000 persons were sent to Siberia, of whom scarcely 5,000 were ever more heard of."

"The violence of his temper would break forth in a manner most disrespectful to the empress. Once in particular, while the duke of Bevern had an audience, Biron burst into the apartment without ceremony, threatening, with the most horrid imprecations, that he would no longer be vexed and tormented by her servants, but would retire into Courland. Having uttered these words, he quitted the room, and shut the door with great violence. The empress, in the highest consternation, lifted up her hands to heaven, then clasped them together, and being almost ready to faint, she opened the window for fresh air. While she continued in this agitation, the dutchess of Courland, accompanied with her children, entered the room, kneeled down, and entreated the empress to forget and forgive the passionate behaviour of her husband. Anne in this, as in every other instance, relented, and bore with his insolence.

His influence over his imperial mistress was such, that during the sitting of the cabinet council, she used frequently to repair to an adjoining room, in which her favourite remained, to receive his advice, or rather his orders. She had no table of her own, but used to dine with his family.

"He knew only two languages, the German, and his native jargon spoken in Courland; so that he governed the extensive empire of Russia, without even understanding its language. He even piqued himself on his ignorance of that tongue, having once said in the presence of the empress Anne, that he would not learn the Russian, because he could

could not bear to read before her majesty all the reports and memorials which were daily transmitted to him.

"Biron was undoubtedly a man of very great capacity; during his whole administration, the external splendour of the Russian empire, and its internal tranquillity, announced the wisdom of his measures; and he shewed his judgment in employing such a statesman as Osterman, and such a general as Munich.

"He was a sincere friend and an implacable enemy; and it was justly said of him, that he seldom forgot a benefit, and always remembered an injury.

"He amassed an enormous fortune in money and jewels; and on public occasions his magnificence far exceeded the magnificence of the empress.

"He had so long directed the affairs of a great empire, that he could not brook retiring into Courland. He accordingly prevailed upon the empress, on her death-bed, to appoint her great nephew, prince Ivan, her successor, and himself regent, until the prince had attained the age of seventeen; and he managed this whole transaction with so much art, that he seemed only to accept the regency at the earnest request and recommendation of Munich, the chancellor Osterman and the principal Russian nobility, as it were for the good of the empire, and not to satisfy his own ambition.

"Having thus secured the regency, to the exclusion of Anne, the mother of the young emperor, the first act of his power in that capacity was to obtain for himself a clear revenue of 500,000 roubles per annum, and the title of Imperial Highness.

"But the power which he had thus acquired by intrigue, he attempted to secure by repeated acts

of arrogance, persecution, and cruelty. Piquets were placed in the streets to prevent commotions. The numerous spies which he entertained brought him vague accounts of contemptuous expressions, and ill-formed plots. Such numbers were arrested, that scarcely a day passed in which persons suspected were not imprisoned and tortured in order to force confession. But instead of disarming the envy and jealousy of the natives, who were disaffected at being governed by a foreigner, he increased his own unpopularity by the haughtiness of his demeanour, and treated even the parents of his sovereign with the most extreme brutality.

"It was natural that prince Anthony Ulric and the princess Anne, the father and mother of the infant emperor, should be disaffected at being set aside, and a foreigner preferred to the regency; and Anthony Ulric, who was a prince of great spirit, even expressed his disapprobation in the strongest terms to the regent himself.

"The duke of Courland, suspecting that the prince was forming cabals against his government, called on him early one morning unexpectedly, and without being announced; "your highness," he said, "does not deal fairly with me; for you promised to inform me if any disaffected persons caballed against me, and you now know what intrigues are carrying on against me." "I know not," replied the prince, "that any thing is now in agitation which will be detrimental to the emperor and the country." "I will take care," returned Biron, "to place this empire in such a situation, as no other person is capable of doing; for I am neither deficient in knowledge or in power." "The nobles must assist you," said the prince,

prince, "and you must all be accountable to the emperor." "Am I not regent," replied Biron, "with absolute authority? Such assertions, sir, may occasion great commotions; and your highness must know, that whenever factions arise, the emperor and the country are in danger; and what must be the inevitable consequence, if you and I should be at variance?" "A massacre!" returned the prince with great warmth, and putting at the same time his hand upon his sword.

"After much altercation, the prince accused Biron of having forged the testament and signature of the empress; and the duke quitted the apartment with these words; "This affair, sir, is of such importance, that it must be laid before the principal nobility of the realm." Repairing instantly to his palace, he summoned the cabinet council, the senate, and the principal nobility, and acquainted them with the conversation which had passed between him and the prince. But when the imperial minister, count Keyserling, who was present, endeavoured to justify the prince, he called the prince a liar, who had misrepresented the conversation; and, turning to Keyserling, said, "we want here no advocates; and no lawyer's quibbles;" and walking up and down the apartment in great agitation, exclaimed, "am I a poisoner! or do I contend for the throne and the sceptre?"

"The princess Anne, who had been informed of the misunderstanding, now arriving, he turned to her, and explained with great bitterness what had already passed. Anne was exceedingly affected, and appeared to blame her husband's conduct. At length, the prince himself being summoned, was prevailed upon to

attend, and soon afterwards made his appearance. Being reprimanded by Biron, and by several who were present, in the grossest terms, his highness at length submitted, to demand pardon, the tears starting from his eyes from this necessary but degrading concession; and the affair was hushed up.

"Soon afterwards, the regent sent a message by Marshal Munich, ordering the prince to resign his military employments, and not to stir out of his chamber. But this state of things could not last long. The regent, at variance with the parents of the emperor, suspicious of the plots forming against him, and detested by the nation in general, became agitated and uneasy, felt the precariousness of his present situation, paid his court with great assiduity to the princess Elizabeth, and seems even to have formed the design of marrying her to the prince, his eldest son, and of raising her, or her nephew the duke of Holstein, to the throne of Russia. He was imprudent enough to declare publicly, that if the princess Anne was refractory, he would send her and her husband into Germany, and place the duke of Holstein on the throne.

"While he was fluctuating concerning his future conduct, and laying plans to remove those who gave him umbrage, his own ruin came from a powerful quarter which he did not expect, and was not prepared to resist. Marshal Munich, secretly displeased with the regent at not being appointed generalissimo of the Russian forces, fomented the discontents, awakened the suspicions of the princess Anne, and prevailed upon her to permit him to arrest the duke of Courland. His offer being accepted, he succeeded in securing the person of the regent, arrested him on the 18th of December, only twenty days after

after he had been appointed to the regency. Lieutenant colonel Manstein, who was employed by Munich on that memorable occasion, and who has related the transaction in his Authentic Memoirs, penetrated, at the head of only twenty men, into the palace inhabited by the duke of Courland, though guarded by forty soldiers, who were placed under the windows of the regent's bed-chamber, and by numerous centinels posted in the several apartments through which he was to pass. Being personally known to the centinels, they permitted him to pass, thinking that he had an affair of consequence to communicate to the regent. Having burst open the door of his bed-chamber, he approached the bed, in which the duke and dutchess were so fast asleep, that the noise did not awaken them. On drawing the curtains, both started up in surprise, and the duke instantly got out of bed with an intention to escape, but was prevented by Manstein, who threw himself upon him, and held him fast till the soldiers came to his assistance. In this interval the duke had disengaged himself from Manstein, and endeavouring to burst from the soldiers who had laid hold of his arm, received several blows from the butt-ends of their muskets. Being at length thrown down on the floor, his mouth gagged with a handkerchief, and his hands tied behind him with an officer's sash, he was led to the guard-room, where being covered with a soldier's cloak, he was conveyed in a carriage to the winter palace, in which the princess Anne resided. While he was leading away, the dutchess sprang out of bed, and though only in her shift, ran after him, screaming, in an agony of despair, into the street, till being forced away by the soldiers, she dropped down upon the snow, and would have per-

ished with cold, if the captain of the guard had not sent for some clothes to cover her, and re-conducted her to her apartment.

"The next day the duke and his family were conveyed to the fortress of Schlusselfburg; and in June were removed to Pelim, a small town in Siberia, where he was imprisoned in a wooden house under the strictest confinement. Fortunately he did not long occupy this dreary prison. The empress Elizabeth had no sooner ascended the throne, by the deposition of Ivan, than she recalled Biron from his imprisonment; and if his misfortunes had not softened his vindictive spirit, he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing his enemy, Marshal Munich, occupy that prison which he had just quitted.

"Biron was transferred to Yaroslaf, where he had a comfortable mansion assigned to him and his family, five roubles a day, and the permission of hunting within twenty or thirty miles of Yaroslaf. In this situation, wretched when contrasted with his former dignified station as the omnipotent favourite of Anne, or as regent of Russia, but a paradise when compared with his prison at Pelim, he passed his days during the whole reign of Elizabeth.

"On the demise of Elizabeth, Peter the Third recalled Biron to Petersburg, but did not reinstate him in the dutchy of Courland. Biron had refused, during his confinement, to resign his right to that dutchy, although he was offered his liberty, and a pension of 100,000 roubles; nor could he be prevailed upon by Peter the Third to abdicate in favour of the duke of Holstein; nobly adding, that nothing should induce him to do such an injury to his family; but that he would prefer even a second imprisonment.

"Catharine, soon after the revolution

lution which placed her on the throne of Peter the Great, took compassion of his misfortunes, and restored him to his former dignity.

"Biron repaired to Mittau in 1763, twenty-eight years after he had been elected duke of Courland, and for the first time since he had been raised to the dignity. Prince Charles of Saxony, although supported by a large party in Courland, yet receiving no assistance from his father Augustus the Third,

was compelled to retire before the Russian forces; and Biron received the oaths of allegiance and fidelity from the whole nation.

"In 1764, he obtained from the king and republic of Poland the investiture of Courland for his eldest son Peter; the present duke; 1769, abdicated in his favour; and, in 1772, closed at Mittau, in the eighty-third year of his age, a life of almost unparalleled vicissitude."

LIFE and CHARACTER of PHILIP EARL of HARDWICKE,  
In a Letter from JEREMIAH BENTHAM, Esq.

[From an ESSAY on the LIFE and CHARACTER of JOHN LORD SOMERS,  
&c. By RICHARD COOKSEY, Esq.]

"S I R,  
"BIOGRAPHY in general affords so much instruction and entertainment, where the subjects are of sufficient importance to lay claim to the public notice and regard, that I cannot help looking upon it to be incumbent upon every one to contribute his mite, who has it at all in his power, towards enabling an author, that is induced to engage in such a purpose, to render his work as complete as possible. Chance having therefore led me to cast my eye, while I was at Cheltenham, upon an advertisement in the Gloucester Journal, of the 15th instant; wherein you announce an intention of publishing an Essay on the Life and Character of that great lawyer, the late Earl of Hardwicke, whose inflexible integrity and eminent abilities gave a lustre so many years to the courts of law and equity, wherein he practised at the bar,

and afterwards presided in Westminster-hall; and there being now but very few living, who had any relation to these courts, that are capable of tracing the personal knowledge and remembrance of him, so far back as myself, I flatter myself it may possibly not be unacceptable to you to be made acquainted with a few anecdotes relative to the late earl of Hardwicke, which may not have come to your knowledge from any other quarter; and which is my only inducement for furnishing you with the following particulars:

"Mr. Philip Yorke was the son (and I believe the only son) of an eminent attorney, at Dover, in Kent, who, after giving him a proper education, and intending him for the bar, very judiciously placed him with a Mr. Salkeld, a law agent, in the Temple; at that time a man of the first character for abilities and business of any in his profession;

and not with sergeant Salkeld, as misrepresented in the *Biographia Britannica*. And it is no less true, than it was an extraordinary circumstance, that this Mr. Salkeld had, in his office, nearly about the same time, for the like purpose, Mr. Jocelyn, lord chancellor of Ireland; Mr. Parker, who was afterwards sir Thomas Parker, and lived to be many years lord chief baron of the court of exchequer; as also Mr. John Strange, afterwards sir John Strange, who died master of the Rolls.

“Mr. Yorke, by his uncommon assiduity and attention, made himself thoroughly acquainted with the grounds and principles of the common law; and having been entered a student in the Temple, he regularly attended the court of King’s Bench, for the purpose of being called to the bar; and in order thereto, it being necessary for him to keep commons, by dining in the Temple-hall, he had the good fortune, by that means, to become acquainted with Mr. Parker, the son of lord Macclesfield, then chief-justice, who was at that time a student also at the Temple: such an acquaintance soon proved a very favourable circumstance to Mr. Yorke; for, upon the chief-justice asking his son, Mr. Parker, whether he had made any and what acquaintance among the young men of his own standing, Mr. Parker took occasion to tell his father, that he had contracted an intimacy with Mr. Philip Yorke, whom he represented to his father to be not only a very agreeable companion, but a very intelligent young man; upon which the chief-justice, being naturally pleased with his son’s having made so good a choice of a companion, told him, he should be glad to see Mr. Yorke, and to bring him to dine with him,

which Mr. Parker soon afterwards did. So fortunate an introduction, as well may be imagined, soon enabled a young man of Mr. Yorke’s prudence and abilities to recommend himself to the esteem and regard, and consequently to the friendship, of lord Macclesfield, which continued without interruption so long as his lordship lived; who took every occasion that offered to distinguish Mr. Yorke as his particular favourite, as well when he presided in the court of king’s bench, as afterwards in the court of chancery, when he became lord high chancellor of Great Britain; and when lord Macclesfield was so unfortunate as to be impeached by the house of commons, on account of some misdemeanor in the execution of his office, Mr. Yorke, who was at that time attorney-general, and knighted, was so sensible of his obligations to his lordship, that he got himself excused, though not without some difficulty, from being appointed one of the managers for carrying on the prosecution, in consequence of the impeachment.

“Mr. Yorke, by means of his own merit, and the countenance he was known to have from the court, made so rapid a progress in his profession, that he had soon as much business as he could well go through with; which gave occasion to judge Powis to make him a compliment, that, in the manner it was made, terminated more to Mr. Yorke’s credit, as a young man of ready wit, than to the judge’s good sense. The affair was this—Mr. justice Powis, who had been trying causes at some one of the assizes, in the circuit he went, being at dinner, and several of the counsel with him, amongst whom was Mr. Yorke, took occasion to make Mr. Yorke some compliment, by telling him, he could not but be greatly

greatly surpris'd at his having acquired so great a share of business for so young a man; and said to him, "Mr. Yorke, I cannot well account for your having so much business, considering how short a time you have been at the bar: I humbly conceive" (continued the judge) "you must have published some book, or are about publishing something; for look you, do you see, there is scarcely a cause before the court but you are employed in it, on one side or other; I should therefore be glad to know, Mr. Yorke, whether this is the case." Such a curious way of accounting for Mr. Yorke's run of business could not but force a smile from him; and it determined him to make the judge such a reply as might put an end to so fulsome a compliment: he therefore told the judge, he had indeed some thoughts of publishing a book, but that he had made no progress in it as yet: at which the judge, pleading himself for having made so happy a discovery, became importunate with Mr. Yorke to let him know the subject of this book; which put him upon telling the judge, that he had thoughts of publishing Coke upon Littleton in verse; but that he had gone but a very little way in it: this however tickled the judge's curiosity still more; and telling Mr. Yorke, that it was something so new, and must be so entertaining, he begged him to oblige him with the recital of a few of the verses; when Mr. Yorke, finding the judge would not drop the subject, thought himself he could not get rid of it better than by giving, by way of a specimen, something in the judge's own words, and introducing the phrases he himself was in the habit of making use of upon all occasions, let the subject be what it would. Therefore, accompanying

what he intended to say, with some excuses for complying with the judge's request, Mr. Yorke began with reciting, as he pretended, the following verses; viz.

"He that holdeth his lands in fee,  
"Need neither to quake nor to shiver;  
"I humbly conceive, for look, do you see,  
"They are his and his heirs for ever."

"Such a specimen as this, it may easily be conceived, was enough to satisfy the judge; but however that might be, the rest of the company could not but be under some difficulty to refrain from laughter: and it serves at least to prove, that Mr. Yorke had a ready wit, and a good deal of pleasantry about him.

"It was Powis's misfortune to be so addicted to blunders, that the late duke of Wharton, who was the brightest genius perhaps of the age wherein he lived, though, unhappily for himself and his country, he was at the same time the most profligate of mankind, took occasion to introduce judge Powis into a lampoon; wherein the duke was very severe on several of the judges of that time. He was however not wanting in doing justice to the character of such of them as were deserving.

"I have not the poem by me, nor can I pretend to remember the whole of it, it being now above forty years since I read or have seen any thing of it; but some of the verses are still fresh in my memory, and particularly what related to judge Powis, with regard to whom the duke says,

"When Powis sums up a cause without  
a blunder,  
"And honest Price shall trim and  
truckle under;  
"When Pyre his haughtiness shall lay  
aside,  
"And Tracey's gen'rous soul shall swell  
with pride—"

"And, as I remember, the duke concluded

cluded the whole of his poem with the following couplet :

"Then will I cease my charmer to adore,  
"And think of love and politics no  
more."

"Mr. Yorke, as he was possessed of great convivial pleasantries, to relieve himself under the pressure of business in his profession, and his engagements in public affairs, even when he became sir Philip Yorke, and his majesty's attorney-general, would sometimes enjoy himself in the company of men of genius, like himself; and once, upon his dining with Mr. Taylor, (commonly called Joe Taylor of Bridewell, then member of parliament for the borough of Petersfield, in Hampshire) at his house at Stanmore, in Middlesex, where lord Bolingbroke made one of the company, his lordship took occasion jocularly to ask sir Philip Yorke, whether he was never a rake in his younger days. Sir Philip's reply was, that he must confess he never was a rake, for that indeed he was so early immersed in business, that he never had any time to be one; upon which lord Bolingbroke expressed himself to be not a little pleased with the reason sir Philip had given him; for, said his lordship, he was persuaded no one could ever distinguish himself, and make his way in life in the manner sir Philip had done, unless he had been a rake, or at least had the seeds of a rake in him. Such a compliment as this, however lord Bolingbroke might apply it to sir Philip Yorke, yet the rest of the company present could not but understand it with a view of making still a greater compliment upon himself, as shining abilities and rakery were so conspicuously united in lord Bolingbroke's own character. This account of the conversation that passed between

him and the late lord Hardwicke I had from Mr. Taylor himself, at whose house, and in whose company it happened.

"At the time sir Philip Yorke was attorney-general, Mr. Talbot was solicitor-general, and lord King was lord-chancellor, who had been advanced to that high office, from being chief justice of the common pleas, and had distinguished himself for having been not only a very able common lawyer, but also a good divine; he became however so far advanced in years, when he held the seals, as chancellor, that he often dozed over his causes, when upon the bench; a circumstance which I myself well remember was the case; but it was no prejudice to the suitors; for sir Philip Yorke and Mr. Talbot were both men of such good principles and strict integrity, and had always so good an understanding with one another, that although they were frequently and almost always concerned for opposite parties in the same cause, yet the merits of the cause were no sooner fully stated to the court but they were sensible on which side the right lay; and accordingly the one or the other of those two great men took occasion to state the matter briefly to his lordship, and instruct the register in what manner to minute the heads of the decree, so as that strict justice might be done; and so great was the friendship subsisting between them, that when it happened that the place of chief justice of the court of king's bench became vacant, by the death of lord Raymond, and likewise that of lord chancellor, by the death of lord King, although sir Philip Yorke, then attorney-general, was considered as such to be entitled to the seals, in preference to Mr. Talbot; yet, the latter having confined himself very early to the practice of the court of chancery,



chancery, and not having been much conversant in the practice of the courts of common law, he thought himself not sufficiently qualified to preside in the court of king's bench, on which account, sir Philip Yorke being equally competent to preside either in that court or the court of chancery, it was agreed between them, that sir Philip should waive his pretensions in favour of Mr. Talbot; and the king and the ministry so well approved of it, that it was settled among them, that sir Philip Yorke should have the place of chief justice of the king's bench, and should have two thousand pounds a year added to his salary, as chief justice; which however sir Philip, to his honour, refused to accept, without its being made permanent to the office of chief justice of that court, by being secured to his successors; and upon these terms the seals were delivered to Mr. Talbot. In consequence of which sir Philip Yorke was created lord Hardwicke, and Mr. Talbot lord Talbot.

"Lord Talbot enjoying his high office but a very few years, which he held with the highest reputation till his death, occasioned by a polypus at his heart, all men's eyes were immediately turned towards lord Hardwicke, as his successor; to whom the king thereupon delivered the seals; and to do the greater honour to his lordship, sir Robert Walpole, then prime minister, the then lord president of the council, and several others of the greatest officers of the state attended him into the court of chancery, while he took his oath of office and his seat therein; and I well remember being present in Westminster-hall upon that day, and seeing his lordship afterwards going out of the court of chancery, from sitting as chancellor, into the court of king's bench, where he sat as

lord chief justice of that court, to give his opinion in a cause of some consequence, which had been argued before him there; so that it may very truly be said, that he presided on one and the same day in the two highest courts of law and equity in Westminster-hall.

"Many years after he had the seals, lord Hardwicke was advanced to the dignity of earl Hardwicke and viscount Royston, and held them for near twenty years with the highest reputation to himself and benefit of his country; in all which time his strength and judgment, his great knowledge of the law, his evenness of temper, which was never known to be ruffled or discomposed; and his affability, condescension, and courtesy to all about him, gained him the love and admiration of every one that had occasion to attend the court wherein he presided.

"At length, perceiving or imagining he perceived his faculties growing rather impaired, he thought proper to resign the seals; and accordingly waited upon the king, and delivered them into his majesty's own hands.

"Upon which a droll circumstance happened the first time of his lordship's going to court on a levee day, after having resigned the seals, when advancing near the person of the king, and conversing familiarly with several of the ministry about him, in the manner he had been accustomed to do; but appearing as a private gentleman, without his gown and the purse, the usual insignia that had accompanied him in his office of chancellor, the king absolutely did not know him, and asked the lord then in waiting who that gentleman was: upon which, being told it was the earl of Hardwicke, his majesty's late chancellor, the king was quite surprized at his own want of recol-

lection of one who had been in the habit of attending him near twenty years together, and immediately accosted his lordship with a smile, and made him a very obliging apology upon the occasion; the observation of which was a matter of pleasantry to all the company then in the drawing-room.

"As the late lord Hardwicke married a daughter of Charles Cocks, esq. of Worcestershire, which lady was a niece of lord Somers, I presume it may be a circumstance that has given you occasion to connect what you have to write of the lives of those two great men with your intended history of that country; and being persuaded you are well acquainted with the several branches of the late earl of Hardwicke's own family, I have said nothing relative to them, although sir Joseph Yorke, his third son, now lord Dover, as well as the honourable Mr. John Yorke, another of his sons, I have the honour to be personally acquainted with; the former had been above thirty years resident ambassador at the Hague, from the British court to the states-general; and under many critical occur-

ces, which, during so long a series, gave him frequent occasion to exercise his judgment, he always acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his sovereign, and for the benefit of his country. Of which his present majesty was so sensible, that the honour of peerage, conferred on sir Joseph Yorke, proceeded from the king's own mere motion, without the least solicitation from any one whatever. A circumstance that greatly enhanced the value of it, as it could not but render it still more grateful to his lordship to receive, in such a manner, so distinguished a mark of approbation and regard from a prince who has been ever known to take pleasure in rewarding those that have been peculiarly deserving of his royal favours.

"If you shall think any of these particulars I have mentioned herein, worthy to be introduced into your intended publication, you will keep this letter; otherwise be pleased to return it to

S I R,

Your most obedient servant,

*Bath,*  
JER. BENTHAM."  
*Sept. 30, 1788.*

## PORTRAIT of Mr. HOWARD.

[From Dr. Aikin's VIEW of the CHARACTER and public SERVICES of that great PHILANTHROPIST.]

"THE first thing that struck an observer on acquaintance with Mr. Howard, was a stamp of extraordinary vigour and energy on all his movements and expressions.

An eye lively and penetrating, strong and prominent features, quick gait, and animated gestures, gave promise of ardour in forming, and vivacity in executing his designs †. At no time of

† Mr. Howard, though frequently requested; would never sit for his picture; it is therefore no wonder that the portraits of him, given in various works, should be all totally unlike. The most resembling likeness, by much, is a head sketched by an

of his life, I believe, was he without some object of warm pursuit ; and in every thing he pursued, he was indefatigable in aiming at perfection. Give him a hint of any thing he had left short, or any new acquisition to be made, and while you might suppose he was deliberating about it you were surpris'd with finding it was done. Not Cæsar himself could better exemplify the poet's

*Ni actum credens, dum quid superesset  
agendum.*

" I remember that, having accidentally remarked to him that amongst the London prisons he had omitted *the Tower*, he was so struck with the deficiency (though of trifling consequence, since confinement there is so rare), that at his very first leisure he ran to London, and supplied it. Nor was it only during a short period of ardour that his exertions were thus awakened. He had the still rarer quality of being able, for any length of time, to bend all the powers and faculties of his mind to one point, unseduced by every allurement which curiosity or any other affection might throw in his way, and unsusceptible of that satiety and disgust which are so apt to steal upon a protracted pursuit. Though by his early travels he had shewn himself not indifferent to those objects of taste and information which strike the cultivated mind in a foreign country, yet in the tours expressly made for the purpose of examining prisons and hospitals, he appears to have had eyes and ears

for nothing else ; at least he suffered no other object to detain him or draw him aside †. Impressed with the idea of the importance of his designs, and the uncertainty of human life, he was impatient to get as much done as possible within the allotted limits. And in this disposition consisted that *enthusiasm*, by which the public supposed him actuated ; for otherwise, his cool and steady temper gave no idea of the character usually distinguished by that appellation. He followed his plans, indeed, with wonderful vigour and constancy, but by no means with that heat and eagerness, that inflamed and exalted imagination, which denote the enthusiast. Hence, he was not liable to catch at partial representations, to view facts through fallacious mediums, and to fall into those mistakes which are so frequent in the researches of the man of fancy and warm feeling. Some persons, who only knew him by his extraordinary actions, were ready enough to bestow upon him that sneer of contempt, which men of cold hearts and selfish dispositions are so apt to apply to whatever has the shew of high sensibility. While others, who had a slight acquaintance with him, and saw occasional features of phlegm, and perhaps harshness, were disposed to question his feeling altogether, and to attribute his exertions either merely to a sense of duty, or to habit and humour. But both these were erroneous conclusions. He felt as a man should feel ; but not so as to mislead him, either in the estimate he formed of objects of utility, or in his reasonings

an artist in London, engraved in Dublin, and copied for this work. It is somewhat of a caricature, but has very exactly the expression of his countenance when in a very serious attentive mood. After his death, prince Potemkin had two plaster casts taken from his face, one for himself, the other for the servant of Mr. Howard."

"† He mentioned being once prevailed upon, in Italy, to go and hear some extraordinary fine music ; but, finding his thoughts too much occupied by it, he would never repeat the indulgence."

concerning the means by which they were to be brought into effect. The reformation of abuses, and the relief of misery, were the two great purposes which he kept in view in all his undertakings; and I have equally seen the tear of sensibility start into his eyes on recalling some of the distressful scenes to which he had been witness, and the spirit of indignation flash from them on relating instances of baseness and oppression. Still, however, his constancy of mind and self-collection never deserted him. He was never, agitated, never off his guard; and the unspeakable advantages of such a temper in the scenes in which he was engaged, need not be dwelt upon.

"His whole course of action was such a trial of intrepidity and fortitude, that it may seem altogether superfluous to speak of his possession of these qualities. He had them, indeed, both from nature and principle. His nerves were firm; and his conviction of marching in the path of duty made him fearless of consequences. Nor was it only on great occasions that this strength of mind was shown. It raised him above false shame, and that awe which makes a coward of many a brave man in the presence of a superior. No one ever less "feared the face of man," than he. No one hesitated less in speaking bold truths, or avowing obnoxious opinions. His con-

rage was equally passive and active. He was prepared to make every sacrifice that a regard to strict veracity, or rigorous duty, could enjoin; and it cannot be doubted, that had he lived in an age when asserting his civil and religious rights would have subjected him to martyrdom, not a more willing martyr would ever have ascended the scaffold, or embraced the stake.

"The resolute temper of Mr. Howard displayed itself in a certain peremptoriness, which, when he had once determined, rendered him unyielding to persuasion or dissuasion, and urged him on to the accomplishment of his purpose, regardless of obstacles. He expected prompt obedience in those from whom he had a right to require it, and was not a man to be treated with negligence and inattention. He was, however, extremely considerate, and sufficiently indulgent to human frailties; and a good-will to please him could scarcely fail of its effect. That his commands were reasonable, and his expectations moderate, may be inferred from the long continuance of most of his servants with him, and his steady attachment to many of those whom he employed. His means of enforcing compliance were chiefly rewards; and the withholding them was his method of showing displeasure †.

"The spirit of independence by which

† The following characteristic anecdote was communicated to me by a gentleman who travelled in a chaise with him from Lancashire to London in 1777: Mr. Howard observed, that he had found few things more difficult to manage than post-chaise drivers, who would seldom comply with his wishes of going slow or fast, till he adopted the following method. At the end of a stage, when the driver had been perverse, he desired the landlord to send for some poor industrious widow, or other proper object of charity, and to introduce such person and the driver together. He then paid the latter his fare, and told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requests as to the manner of being driven, he should not make him any present; but, to show him that he did not withhold it out of a principle of parsimony, he would give the poor person present double the sum usually given to a postilion. This he did, and dismissed the parties. He had not long practised this mode, he said, before he experienced the good effects of it on all the roads where he was known.

which he was ever distinguished, had in him the only foundation to be relied on, *moderate desires*. Perfectly contented with the competence which Providence had bestowed on him, he never had a thought of increasing it; and, even when in a situation to expect a family, he made it a rule with himself to lay up no part of his annual income, but to expend in some useful or benevolent scheme the superfluity of the year. Lest this should be converted into a charge of carelessness in providing for his own, it may be proper to mention, that he had the best-grounded expectations, that any children he might have, would largely partake of the wealth of their relations. Thus he preserved his heart from that contamination, which (taking in the whole of life) is perhaps the disease most frequently attendant on a state of prosperity,—*the lust of growing rich*; a passion, which is too often found to swallow up liberality, public spirit, and, at last, that independency, which it is the best use of wealth to secure. By this temper of mind he was elevated to an immeasurable distance above every thing mean and sordid; and in all his transactions he displayed a spirit of honour and generosity, that might become the “blood of the Howards”; when flowing in its noblest channels.

“Had Mr. Howard been less provided with the goods of fortune,

his independency would have found a resource in *the fewness of his wants*; and it was an inestimable advantage which he brought to his great work, an advantage perhaps more uncommon in this country than any of those already mentioned, that he possessed a command over all corporeal appetites and habitudes, not less perfect than that of any ancient philosopher, or modern ascetic. The strict regimen of diet which he had adopted early in life from motives of health, he afterwards persevered in through choice, and even extended its rigour, so as to reject all those indulgences which even the most temperate consider as necessary for the preservation of their strength and vigour. Animal foods, and fermented and spirituous drinks, he utterly discarded from his diet. Water and the plainest vegetables sufficed him. Milk, tea, butter, and fruit, were his luxuries; and he was equally sparing in the quantity of food, and indifferent as to the stated times of taking it. Thus he found his wants supplied in almost every place where *man* existed, and was as well provided in the posadas of Spain and caravanseras of Turkey, as in the inns and hotels of England and France. Water was one of his principal necessities, for he was a very Muf-fulman in his ablutions; and if nicety or delicacy had place with him in any respect, it was in the perfect cleanliness of his whole person. He

“A more extraordinary instance of his determined spirit has been related to me. Travelling once in the king of Prussia’s dominions, he came to a very narrow piece of road, admitting only one carriage, where it was enjoined on all positions entering at each end, to blow their horns by way of notice. He did so; but, after proceeding a good way, they met a courier travelling on the king’s business, who had neglected this precaution. The courier ordered Mr. Howard’s position to turn back; but Mr. Howard remonstrated that he had complied with the rule, while the other had violated it; and therefore that he should insist on going forwards. The courier, relying on an authority to which, in that country, every thing must give way, made use of high words, but in vain. As neither was disposed to yield, they sat still a long time in their respective carriages: at length the courier gave up the point to the sturdy Englishman, who would on no account renounce his rights.”

was equally tolerant of heart, cold, and all the vicissitudes of climate; and, what is more wonderful, not even sleep seemed necessary to him, at least at those returns and in those proportions in which mankind in general expect it. How well he was capable of enduring fatigue, the amazing journies he took by all modes of conveyance, without any intervals of what might be called repose (since his only baiting places were his proper scenes of action), abundantly testify. In short, no human body was probably ever more perfectly the servant of the mind by which it was actuated; and all the efforts of the strongest constitution, not inured to habits of self-denial, and moral as well as corporeal exercise, would have been unequal to his exertions †.

“ With respect to the character of his understanding, that, too, was as happily adapted to the great business in which he engaged. He had not, in a high degree, that extensive comprehension, that faculty of generalizing, which is said to distinguish the man of genius, but which, without a previous collection of authentic materials, is ever apt to lead into

erroneous speculations. He was rather a man of detail; of laborious accuracy and minute examination; and therefore he had the proper qualities for one who was to lead the way in researches where all was ignorance, confusion, and local custom. Who but such a man could have collected a body of information, which has made even professional men acquainted with interesting facts that they never before knew; and has given the English reader a more exact knowledge of practices followed in Russia and Spain, than he before had of those in his own country? This minuteness of detail was what he ever regarded as his peculiar province. As he was of all men the most modest estimator of his own abilities, he was used to say, “ I am the *plouder*, who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make use of.” Let those who look with fastidiousness upon long tables of rules and orders, and measurements of cells and work-rooms, given in feet and inches, consider, that when a scheme is brought into practice, these small circumstances *must* have their place; and that the most

“ † The following account of his mode of travelling, communicated to me by a gentleman in Dublin, who had much free conversation with him, and the substance of which I well recollect to have heard from himself, will, I doubt not, prove interesting. When he travelled in England or Ireland, it was generally on horseback, and he rode about forty English miles a day. He was never at a loss for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland; he used to stop at one of the poor cabins that stick up a rag by way of sign, and get a little milk. When he came to the town he was to sleep at, he bespoke a supper, with wine and beer, like another traveller, but made his man attend him, and take it away, whilst he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, postillions, &c. liberally, because he would have no discontent or dispute, nor suffer his spirits to be agitated for such a matter; saying, that in a journey that might cost three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds addition was not worth thinking about. When he travelled on the continent, he usually went post in his own chaise, which was a German one that he bought for the purpose. He never stopped till he came to the town he meant to visit, but travelled all night, if necessary; and from habit could sleep very well in the chaise for several nights together. In the last tour but one he travelled twenty days and nights together without going to bed, and found no inconvenience from it. He used to carry with him a small teakettle, some cups, a little pot of sweet meats, and a few loaves. At the post-house he could get his water boiled, send out for milk, and make his repast, while his man went to the *auberge*.”

ingenious plans often fail in their execution for want of adjustment in the nicer parts. Perhaps even the great Frederic of Prussia was more indebted for success to the exactness of his dispositions in every minute particular connected with practice, than to deep and sublime views of general principle.

"From a similar cast of mind, Mr. Howard was a friend to subordination, and all the decorums of regular society; nor did he dislike vigorous exertions of civil authority, when directed to laudable purposes. He interfered little in disputes relative to the theory of government; but was contented to take systems of sovereignty as he found them established in various parts of the world, satisfied with prompting such an application of their powers as might promote the welfare of the respective communities. A state of imprisonment being that in which the rights of men are, in great part, at least suspended, it was natural that his thoughts should be more conversant with a people as the subjects, than as the source, of authority. Yet he well knew, and properly valued, the inestimable blessings of political freedom, as opposed to despotism; and, among the nations of Europe, he considered the Dutch and Swiss as affording the best examples of a strict and steady police, conducted upon principles of equity and humanity. To the character of the Dutch he was, indeed, peculiarly partial; and frequently asserted, that he should prefer Holland for his place of residence, to any other foreign country. I can add, from undoubted authority, that Mr. Howard was one of those who (in the language of the great lord Chatham) "rejoiced that America had resisted," and triumphed in her final success; that he was principally attached to the popular part of our

constitution; and that in his own country he distinguished himself himself by a spirited opposition to aristocratical influence.

"His peculiar habits of life, and the exclusive attention he bestowed in his latter years on a few objects, caused him to appear more averse to society than I think he really was; and it has been mentioned as an unfortunate circumstance, that his shyness and reserve frequently kept him out of the way of persons from whom he might have derived much useful information. But it is vain to desire things incompatible. Mr. Howard can scarcely be denied to have chosen the best way, upon the whole, of conducting his enquiries; and if he had been a more *companionable* man, more ready to indulge his own curiosity, and gratify that of others, he would no longer have possessed one of the chief advantages he brought to his great work. Yet while he assiduously shunned all engagements which would have involved him in the forms and dissipation of society, he was by no means disinclined to enter into conversations on his particular topics; on the contrary, he was often extremely communicative, and would enliven a small circle with the most entertaining relations of his travels and adventures.

"Mr. Howard had in a high degree that respectful attention to the *female sex* which so much characterizes the *gentleman*. Perhaps, indeed, I may here be referring to rules of politeness which no longer exist. But he was as thoroughly impressed with the maxim of *placere uxoribus* as any Frenchman, though without the strain of light and complimentary gallantry which has accompanied it in the individuals of that nation. His was a more serious sentiment, connected with the uniform practice of giving up his own ease and accom-

modation, for the sake of doing a real kindness to any female of decent character. It is excellently illustrated by an anecdote related in a magazine, by a person, who chanced to sail with him in the packet from Holyhead to Dublin, when, the vessel being much crowded, Mr. Howard resigned his bed to a servant-maid, and took up with the cabin floor for himself. It is likewise displayed throughout his works, by the warmth with which he always censures the practice of putting female prisoners in irons, and exposing them to any harsh and indelicate treatment. He was fond of nothing so much as the conversation of women of education and cultivated manners, and studied to attach them by little elegant presents, and other marks of attention. Indeed, his soft tones of voice, and gentleness of demeanour, might be thought to approach somewhat to the effeminate, and would surprise those who had known him only by the energy of his exertions. In his judgment of female character, it was manifest that the idea of his lost Harriet was the standard of excellence; and, if ever he had married again, a resemblance to her would have been the principal motive of his choice. I recollect to this purpose a singular anecdote, which he related to us on his return from one of his tours. In going from one town in Holland to another in the common passage boat, he was placed near an elderly gentleman, who had in company a young lady of a most engaging manner and appearance, which very strongly reminded him of his Harriet. He was so much struck with her, that, on arriving at the place of destination, he caused his servant to follow them. It was not without some disappointment that he learned, that the old gentleman was an eminent merchant, and the young lady,—*his wife*.

“ Mr. Howard’s predilection for female society, was in part a consequence of his abhorrence of every thing gross and licentious. His own language and manners were invariably pure and delicate; and the freedoms which pass uncensured or even applauded in the promiscuous companies of men, would have affected him with sensations of disgust. For a person possessed of such feelings, to have brought himself to submit to such frequent communication with the most abandoned of mankind, was perhaps a greater triumph of duty over inclination than any other he obtained in the prosecution of his designs. Yet the nature of his errand to prisons probably inspired awe and respect in the most dissolute; and I think he has recorded, that he never met with a single insult from the prisoners in any of the gaols he visited.

“ As Mr. Howard was so eminent-ly a *religious* character, it may be expected that somewhat more should be said of the peculiar tenets he adopted. But, besides that this was a topic which did not enter into our conversations, I confess, I do not perceive how his general plan of conduct was likely to be influenced by any *peculiarity* of that kind. The principle of *religious duty*, which is nearly the same in all systems, and differs rather in strength than in kind in different persons, is surely sufficient to account for all that he did and underwent in promoting the good of mankind, by modes which Providence seemed to place before him. It has been suggested, that he was much under the influence of the doctrine of *predestination*; and I know not what of *sternness* has been attributed to him as its natural consequence. For my own part, I am not able to discover in what those notions of Providence, general and particu-  
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lar, which make part of the profession of all religions, differ essentially from the opinions of the predestinarians; and, from manifold observation, I am certain, that the reception of the doctrine of predestination, as an article of belief, does not necessarily imply those practical consequences which might seem deducible from it. The language, at least, of our lower classes of people is almost universally founded upon it; but when one of them dies of an infectious disease, notwithstanding the bystanders all speak of the event as fated and inevitable, yet each, for himself, does not the less avoid the infection, or the less recur to medical aid, if attacked by it. With respect to Mr. Howard, he never seemed to adopt the idea that he was moved by an irresistible impulse to his designs; for they were the subject of such thought and discussion: nor did he confront dangers because he had a persuasion that he should be preserved from their natural consequences, but because he was elevated above them. This sentiment he has himself more than once expressed in print; and surely none could be either more rational, or more adequate to the effects produced. "Being in the way of my duty (says he), I fear no evil." I may venture to affirm, that those of the medical profession, whose fearlessness is not merely the result of habit, must reason upon the same principle, when they calmly expose themselves to similar hazards. They, for the most part, use no precautions against contagion: Mr. Howard *did* use some; though their effects were probably trifling compared with that of his habitual temperance and cleanliness, and his untroubled serenity of mind. On the whole, his religious confidence does not appear to have been of a nature different from that of other pious men; but to be

so steadily and uniformly under its influence, and to be elevated by it to such a superiority to all worldly considerations, can be the lot of none but those who have formed early habits of referring every thing to the divine will, and of fixing all their views on futurity.

"From Mr. Howard's connections with those sects who have ever shewn a particular abhorrence of the frauds and superstitions of popery, it might be supposed, that he would look with a prejudiced eye on the professors and ministers of that persuasion. But such was his veneration of true vital religion, that he was as ready to pay it honour when he met with it in the habit of a *monk*, as under the garb of a *teacher*: and throughout his works, as well as in conversation, he ever dwelt with great complacency on the pure zeal for the good of mankind, and genuine Christian charity, which he frequently discovered among the Roman catholic clergy, both regular and secular. He was no friend to that hasty dissolution of convents and monasteries which formed part of the multifarious reforms of the late emperor of Germany. He pitied the aged inmates, male and female, of these quiet abodes, who were driven from their beloved retreats into the wide world, with a very slender and often ill paid pittance for their support. "Why might not they (he would say) be suffered gradually to die away, and be transplanted from one religious house to another as their numbers lessened?" Those orders which make it the great duty of their profession to attend with the kindest assiduity upon the sick and imprisoned, and who therefore came continually within his notice, seemed to conciliate his good-will to the whole fraternity; and the virtues of order, decency, sobriety, and charity, so much akin to his

## [30] VIEW of the CHARACTER of JOHN WESLEY.

own, naturally inclined him to a kind of fellowship with them. He rigorously, however, abstained from any compliances with their worship which he thought unlawful; and gave them his esteem as men, without the least disposition to concur with them as theologians.

“Such were the great lines of Mr. Howard’s character;—lines strongly marked, and sufficient to discriminate him from any of those who have appeared in a part somewhat similar to his own on the theatre of the world. The union of qualities which so peculiarly fitted him for the post he undertook, is not likely, in our age, again to take place; yet different combinations

may be employed to effect the same purposes; and, with respect to the objects of police and humanity concerning which he occupied himself, the information he has collected will render the repetition of labours like his unnecessary. To propose as a model, a character marked with such singularities, and, no doubt, with some foibles, would be equally vain and injudicious; but his firm attachment to principle, high sense of honour, pure benevolence, unshaken constancy, and indefatigable perseverance, may properly be held up to the view of all persons occupying important stations, or engaged in useful enterprises, as qualities not less to be imitated, than admired.”

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## VIEW of the CHARACTER of JOHN WESLEY.

[From the MEMOIRS of the late Reverend JOHN WESLEY. With a Review of his Life and Writings, &c. by JOHN HAMPSON, A. B.]

“THE figure of Mr. Wesley was remarkable. His stature was of the lowest: his habit of body in every period of life, the reverse of corpulent, and expressive of strict temperance, and continual exercise; and notwithstanding his small size, his step was firm, and his appearance, till within a few years of his death, vigorous and muscular. His face, for an old man, was one of the finest we have seen. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and the most piercing that can be conceived, and a freshness of complexion, scarcely ever to be found at his years, and impressive of the most perfect health, conspire to render him a venerable and interesting figure. Few have seen him, without being struck with his appear-

ance: and many, who had been greatly prejudiced against him, have been known to change their opinion, the moment they were introduced into his presence. In his countenance and demeanour, there was a cheerfulness mingled with gravity; a sprightliness, which was a natural result of an unusual flow of spirits, and was yet accompanied with every mark of the most serene tranquility. His aspect particularly in profile, had a strong character of acuteness and penetration.

“In dress, he was a pattern of neatness and simplicity. A narrow, plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar, no buckles at his knees, no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as snow, gave an idea of something primi-

primitive and apostolical : while an air of neatness and cleanliness was diffused over his whole person.

"His rank, as a preacher, is pretty generally understood. His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy ; his action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive : his voice not loud, but clear and manly ; his style neat, simple, perspicuous : and admirably adapted to the capacity of his hearers.

"His discourses, in point of composition, were extremely different, on different occasions. When he gave himself sufficient time for study, he succeeded ; and when he did not, he frequently failed. A clear proof, that the employments, in which he was engaged, were too numerous, and the oeconomy, to which he gave himself up, too tedious and minute, for a man who generally appeared in the pulpit twice or thrice a-day. We have frequently heard him, when he was excellent ; acute and ingenious in his observations, accurate in his descriptions, and clear and pointed in his expositions. Not seldom however have we found him the reverse. He preached too frequently ; and the consequence was inevitable. On some occasions, the man of sense and learning was totally obscured. He became flat and infipid. His observations were trite and common ; his expositions of scripture forced and unnatural, and the whole substance of his sermons disjointed and out of course. He often appeared in the pulpit, when totally exhausted with labour and want of rest : for, wherever he was, he made it a point to preach, if he could stand upon his legs. Many have remarked, that when he fell into anecdote and story-telling, which was not seldom, his discourses were little to the purpose. The remark is true. We have scarcely ever heard from

him a tolerable sermon, in which a story was introduced. Whether he observed this custom in his youth, we are not informed ; but it has been generally considered, as an infirmity of "garrulous old age ;" a mixture of the familiar with the sacred, little worthy the dignity of the pulpit ; and though very proper, and perhaps useful in common life, by no means fit for the instruction or entertainment of a judicious audience.

"The constant employment of Mr. Wesley, in writing letters, or composing, or visiting the sick, was not the only reason he sometimes did not succeed in public. He seems to have thought too little of the preparation, which, in an extemporary speaker, is indispensibly necessary. He regarded the general discipline and oeconomy of the societies, as of the greatest moment and difficulty, and the public exercise of his ministry, as the least arduous part of his office : and he informs us in one place, that he could "preach three or four times a day, without any trouble ;" but that the care of the societies was a burden he could "scarcely bear."

"Never was the contrast greater between public characters, than between Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitfield. The former, when he was himself, had an easy fluency of expression, and an address and manner particularly chaste and natural. He was often logical and convincing, and sometimes descriptive : but he never soared into sublimity, or descended into the pathetic. His style was the calm, equal flow of a placid stream, gliding gently within it's banks, without the least ruffle or agitation upon its surface. The eloquence of Mr. Whitefield was of another kind. It was more various ; and yet, with all its variety, in him, it was strictly natural. He was a preacher, who alternately thundered and lightened upon his

his audience ; now filling them with terror, and now touching and affecting them with all the softer and more pleasing emotions. He knew how to inspire them with whatever passion he was desirous to call forth ; and the smiles or tears of his hearers were equally at his command. Though not so accurate a speaker as Mr. Wesley ; he was more popular. He had a louder and more musical voice ; his tones were more varied ; his action much more diversified, and his whole address in public, was that of a master in all the arts of popularity. Mr. Wesley preached to the learned ; Mr. Whitefield to the people. The former gave more satisfaction to a critical hearer ; but the latter was a greater favorite with the public. This was evident in their respective congregations. Each was accustomed to the largest assemblies in the nation : but the difference was considerable. Mr. Whitefield's congregations were frequently twenty or thirty thousand : Mr. Wesley's scarcely ever amounted to one third of the number.

“ Many have represented him as a man of slender capacity ; but certainly with injustice. Of the futility of such representations, his writings, particularly those which are controversial, are a sufficient proof. To this may be added, the office he filled with such distinction at Oxford, and his great address in the management of his people. As a scholar, he was certainly respectable. He was well acquainted with the Latin and Greek classics ; and had a tolerable knowledge of the Hebrew, as well as of French, German, Spanish, and Italian. He had studied Euclid, during his residence in college, and had attended with a good deal of assiduity the philosophic lectures. In philosophy, however, he was a sceptic. He did not believe in any system.

He denied the calculations of the planetary distances, and the plurality of worlds. But his philosophical knowledge seems to have been rather general, than profound ; and in his answers to an opponent who attacked him in the papers on these subjects, we discover no deep research, no acuteness : in a word, nothing that can incline us to suppose, he had made himself master of the arguments, for or against the different systems, which have been adduced by the various advocates, or that he had formed any new arguments of his own.

“ To suppose him no very profound philosopher, is no impeachment of his capacity. We have never yet found a man who excelled in every thing : and he who attempts every thing, must in many instances, be superficial. In philosophical enquiries, a minute and critical attention, frequent repetition of experiment and observation, and the most patient spirit of investigation, are absolutely necessary to distinguished eminence and success : and we need not say, that, to all these, the genius and employments of Mr. Wesley were insuperably averse.

“ As a writer, he certainly possessed talents, both from nature and education, which had he composed with care, and allowed himself sufficient time, could scarcely fail to have procured him a considerable reputation. But writing, as he did, on the spur of particular occasions, he often dismissed his pieces in a crude, imperfect state, and defective in accuracy and extent of information ; which, in the present state of knowledge, cannot be dispensed with, in candidates for literary fame.

“ In the bloom of youth, his taste seems to have been more just and discriminating than in his more mature age : whence we conclude, that either

ther the company, with whom he conversed, or the books which he chiefly read, after his commencing itinerant, were not favourable to elegance and refinement. We have seen nothing of his, equal to the translations of Horace, which he wrote in his youth. And it is remarkable, that his Essay on Taste, and his Criticisms on Pope and Prior, published in the Arminian Magazine, are jejune, trifling, and contradictory.

"In social life, Mr. Wesley was lively and conversible; and of exquisite companionable talents. He had been much accustomed to society; was well acquainted with the rules of good breeding; and, in general, perfectly attentive and polite. The abstraction of a scholar did not appear in his behaviour. He spoke a good deal in company: and as he had seen much of the world, and, in the course of his travels, through every corner of the nation, had acquired an infinite fund of anecdote and observation, he was not sparing in his communications; and the manner in which he related them, was no inconsiderable addition to the entertainment they afforded.

"His manner, in private life, was the reverse of cynical or forbidding. It was sprightly and pleasant, to the last degree; and presented a beautiful contrast to the austere deportment of many of his preachers and people, who seem to have ranked laughter among the mortal sins. It was impossible to be long in his company, without partaking his hilarity. Neither the infirmities of age, nor the approach of death, had any apparent influence on his manners. His cheerfulness continued to the last; and was as conspicuous at fourscore, as at one and twenty.

"A remarkable feature in Mr.  
1791.

Wesley's character, was his placability. His temper was naturally warm and impetuous. Religion had, in a great degree, corrected this; though it was by no means eradicated. Generally, indeed, he preserved an air of sedateness and tranquillity, which formed a striking contrast to the liveliness, so conspicuous in all his actions. Persecution from without, he bore not only without anger, but without the least apparent emotion. But it was not the case in contests of another kind. Opposition from his preachers or people he could never brook. His authority he held sacred; and, when that was called in question, we have known him repeatedly transported into a high degree of indignation. But what he said of himself was strictly true. He had a great facility in forgiving injuries. Submission, on the part of an offender, presently disarmed his resentment, and he would treat him with great kindness and cordiality. If he ever deviated from this amiable conduct, we ascribe it not to him. It was foreign to himself. It arose from the misrepresentations of sycophants, by one or other of whom, in his latter days, he was perpetually besieged.

"The temperance of Mr. Wesley was extraordinary. In early life, he seems to have carried it too far. Whether there were some particular reasons, in his case, as some have supposed, from warmth of constitution, or from any other cause, which might induce him to think it necessary, it were too much, without proper authority, to determine. However this may be, he was for many years, temperate to an excess. Even Dryden's parish priest did not exceed him. He made "almost a sin of abstinence."

"The practice of fasting, with other instances of self-denial, he began at college, when about three or  
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four and twenty. And as old men generally retain a partiality for the customs of youth, so Mr. Wesley, when obliged, for the sake of his health, to observe a more generous regimen, did not fail to inculcate, both in public and private, the most rigid temperance. An œconomy, which possibly might suit some few constitutions; but, to the majority of mankind, must be dangerous, if not fatal. And it is particularly observed, that there is no period of life, in which a generous diet is more necessary, than when the body is advancing to maturity.

"Among other things, he was particular in the article of sleep. One of his maxims was, "without fasting and early rising, it is impossible to grow in grace." With such views, we need not wonder, that he was so attentive to this himself, and so assiduous and peremptory in enforcing it on others. His notion of sleep cannot be better explained, than in his own words:

"Healthy men require a little above six hours sleep; healthy women a little above seven, in four and twenty. If any one desires to know exactly what quantity of sleep his own constitution requires, he may very easily make the experiment which I made about sixty years ago. I then waked every night about twelve or one, and lay awake for some time. I readily concluded, that this arose from my being longer in bed than nature required. To be satisfied, I procured an alarm, which waked me the next morning at seven (near an hour earlier than I rose the day before) yet I lay awake again at night. The second morning I rose at six; but notwithstanding this, I lay awake the second night. The third morning I rose at five; but nevertheless, I lay awake the third night. The fourth morning

I rose at four, as, by the grace of God, I have done ever since. And I lay awake no more. And I do not now lie awake, taking the year round, a quarter of an hour together in a month. By the same experiment, rising earlier and earlier every morning, may any one find, how much sleep he really wants."

"Toward the close of life, he relaxed a little. The sleep he had allowed himself, was not sufficient; so that he was obliged, after dinner, to take a nap in his chair. For some years before his death, he lived, as every man ought, who can afford it, generously, yet temperately. He took two or three glasses of wine after dinner, and two after supper: and eat heartily, and with a good appetite. We much doubt whether he ever drank a pint of wine, at one sitting, in his whole life: and this regularity was rewarded with such a vigour of constitution, as scarcely any one has known but himself. In thirty-five years he never kept his bed one day. In his youth indeed, he was subject to the tooth-ach, and, in his latter years, to the cramp: but, upon the whole, his health was firm and robust, to the utmost degree that can be conceived. Twice or thrice in his life, in consequence of severe colds, and excessive labour, he was supposed to be consumptive. He had also two or three fevers; which however seem rather to have strengthened than impaired his constitution. By a violent shock against the pommel of his saddle, he contracted a hydrocele, for which he underwent several operations. But, in June 1775, being seized, in the north of Ireland, with a severe fever, it effectually cured him of this complaint.

"Perhaps the most charitable man in England, was Mr. Wesley. His liberality to the poor knew no bounds. He gave away, not merely

by a certain part of his income, but all that he had. His own necessities provided for, he devoted all the rest to the necessities of others. This is a good work, in which he engaged at a very early period. In the seventh volume of his Sermons, is an account of the charities of one of the first methodists. The name is not mentioned: but we suppose it to be spoken of himself. "When he had thirty pounds a year, he lived on twenty-eight, and gave away forty shillings. The next year, receiving sixty pounds, he still lived on twenty-eight, and gave away two and thirty. The third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away sixty-two. The fourth year, he received a hundred and twenty pounds. Still he lived on twenty-eight, and gave to the poor ninety-two." In this ratio he proceeded during the rest of his life: and we are persuaded, that, upon a moderate calculation, he gave away, in about fifty years, twenty or thirty thousand pounds; which, almost any other than himself, would have taken care to put out at interest, upon good security. Had the money he gave away fallen into the hands of some of his principal favourites, and were they to live as long as he did, the sum would certainly have accumulated to sixty or seventy thousand pounds.

"Mr. Wesley's charity had the fate, in some instances, to be misinterpreted. Some years ago, appeared in the metropolis, Erasmus, bishop of Crete. His episcopal character in the Greek church, was authenticated by a letter from the patriarch of Smyrna; who added, that the Turks had driven him from his see, for baptizing a mussulman into the faith of Christ. That Mr. Wesley's known liberality should induce him to be kind to this venerable stranger,

it is easy to conceive; but the report, circulated in the Gospel Magazine, and other publications of that period, that forty guineas had been offered him by Mr. Charles Wesley, to make his brother a bishop, has no appearance of probability. To have wished for so unsubstantial a thing as a Greek consecration, does no credit, either to his head or his heart; and is indeed as little likely, as the assertion of a certain reverend gentleman, that no one knew "whether the said bishop was a pick-pocket, or a wandering Jew," was liberal and christian. But some people will never learn to keep within the bounds of decency. It is to be observed, that several of Mr. Wesley's preachers were ordained by this bishop. This must have been a curious ordination: and when it is considered, that neither did the bishop understand English, nor his candidates Greek, we may presume, that the examination, and the rest of the ceremony, on that occasion, must have been particularly instructive and interesting!

"The travels of Mr. Wesley were incessant; and almost without a precedent. Brainerd, the missionary to the American Indians, and Xavier, the apostle of the east, seem more nearly to have resembled him in this instance, than any minister we have heard of, in ancient or modern times. His prodigious labours, without great punctuality and care in the management of his time, had been impossible. He had stated hours for every purpose. His times of business and relaxation, were not suffered to interfere with each other. He retired to rest between nine and ten, and rose soon after four: and no company, no conversation, however pleasing; in short, nothing but stern necessity could induce him to relax. His rules were like the laws of the

Medes and Persians, absolute and irrevocable. He wrote, he travelled, he visited the sick, he did every thing in certain hours, which he had prescribed for himself: and those hours were inviolable.

"To determine the precise measure of Mr. Wesley's labours, were too much to attempt. His public ministrations were but a part of them: but from these we may form some conception of the rest. During fifty-two years, he generally delivered two sermons a day; very frequently four or five. Calculating therefore, at twice a day, and allowing fifty sermons annually for extraordinary occasions, which is the lowest computation that can be made, the whole number, in fifty-two years, will be forty thousand, four hundred and sixty. To these may be added an infinite number of exhortations to the societies, after preaching, and other occasional meetings at which he assisted.

"In his younger days, he travelled on horseback. He was a hard, but unskilful rider; and his seat was as ungraceful, as it appeared uneasy. With a book in his hand, and his hands up to his head, he frequently rode from fifty to sixty or seventy miles a day: and from a strange notion he had taken up, of riding with the bridle on his horse's neck, many were the tumbles they had together. Of his travels, the lowest calculation we can make, is four thousand miles annually, which, in fifty-two years, will give two hundred and eight thousand miles. An almost incredible degree of labour: and which nothing, but the best constitution, informed by the most active spirit, could have enabled him to support!

"Of the fatigue of writing we think not so much. In origin a composition, there is a pleasure, which none but writers know. Had he indeed

copied the books he abridged, it were a miserable drudgery! But he took a much shorter method. He just looked over his author, and drew his pen across the passages he disapproved; and this with so little accuracy, that he frequently left sentiments directly contrary to his own principles.

"The temper of Mr. Wesley was as disinterested, so far as related to money, as it was charitable. Every one knows the apostrophes in which, more than once, he addressed the public on this subject; declaring, that his own hands should be his executors; that, though he gained all he could by writing, and wasted not even so much as a sheet of paper; yet, by giving all he could, he was effectually preserved from laying up "treasures upon earth:" and that, if he died worth above ten pounds, independent of his books, and the arrears of his fellowship, he would give the world leave to call him "a thief and a robber." In this, as all who knew him expected, he has kept his word. His carriage and horses, his clothes, and a few trifles of that kind, are all, his books excepted, that he has left. The value of the books may be easily ascertained. But their value is of no sort of consequence; since they are entirely left to the conference; his relations deriving no advantage from them, except a rent charge of eighty-five pounds, to be paid to his brother's widow, during her life. If he even had acquired a fortune by his writings, we see no impropriety in it. As things are, we commend his disinterested conduct. Had they been otherwise, we should not have condemned him.

"Among other excellencies of Mr. Wesley, we cannot but remark the general moderation of his controversial pieces. Never was there a more

scurrilous



scurrilous race, than the greater part of his antagonists. Mr. Church, and a Mr. Thompson, with perhaps one or two more, are the only disputants he engaged with, who preserved the temper and manners, we will not say of christians, but of gentlemen. Considering the illiberal behaviour of these disciples of Zoilus, we almost wonder he should have honoured them with a reply. The little roughness which now and then appears in his writings, was certainly nothing, in comparison of the provocation; and, for the most part, when he "scourged them with whips, he should have fashed them with scorpions." Whether fond of controversy or not, he was forced into it; and what he said of one, was true of most of his opponents: "*torquebis, ut vapules.*" They teased him into debate; and he generally dismissed them with a sound drubbing.

"Mr. Wesley possessed, during his whole life, a contempt of infidels and free-thinkers, which some may conceive, bordered upon asperity. Infidelity was frequently the subject of his satire. In conversation and in public, he delighted to attack it; and many of his remarks were lively and convincing. But his opposition, now and then, favoured of illiberality; nor does he seem to have had just conceptions of the proper antidote. "A pert, shallow, conceited infidel, two degrees below Voltaire," is neither proper language, nor in any respect descriptive of the elegant and ingenious Rousseau. We dislike his infidelity: but we revere his eloquence and his genius. The circulation of stories, concerning witchcraft and apparitions, which equally disgrace the journals and the magazines, is no remedy for deism: and whatever Mr. Wesley might have thought of their agency, the

deists will scarcely accept them for argument. Be they ever so true they are not that mode of proof which is proper in this case: for to those, who are believers in revelation, they are unnecessary; and those who deny the scriptures, are pre-determined to reject them. "If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

"Mr. Wesley, with many excellencies, had also his singularities. In this class, we reckon his excessive attachment to particular opinions. Like many polemics, who contend for victory, rather than truth, he paid little attention, and gave little weight to arguments, which combated his peculiar sentiments. Frequently, he refused them a hearing. Hence, when any thing was propounded, which he disapproved, or any attempt made to go into a debate on his favourite doctrines, it was common with him to begin a story, or to give out a hymn, and put an end to the conversation. It is said, every man has his hobby-horse. Mr. Wesley's was perfection: and he rode it sufficiently. For many years, it was the Shibboleth of methodism. He shewed the most marked attention to those who professed, and an equal coldness to those who opposed it. Perfectionists and anti-perfectionists were the grand divisions of methodism. The wags laughed merrily at the witnesses of perfection. Even their brethren, in the societies, "eyed them askance," and set a mark upon them: while the Calvinian methodists, in songs and madrigals, and heroics, alternately vented their mirth and their indignation.

"A considerable defect in Mr. Wesley, is what we would call his superstition. Of this something has been hinted already. Another in-

stance, is his notion of drawing lots. We cannot suppress a smile, at his enumeration of the good effects of his voyage to America. One of these, is the use of the lot. This custom he borrowed from the Moravians, and in dubious cases, frequently adopted it. This is one thing in which Mr. Whitefield and he differed: and it was in consequence of drawing lots, to determine whether he should write against predestination, that the Calvinists charged him with drawing lots for his creed.

"From the munificence of Mr. Wesley, it might be supposed, that he was a man of much softness and sensibility. And yet this does not appear to have been the case. His charities rather seem to have been the result of a sense of duty, than of any peculiar tenderness of nature. He had no attachments, so far as we have been able to discover, that partook of the genius of friendship. His regard for some individuals, proceeded less from personal, than public considerations. All his views were of this kind. His first object, was the success of methodism: and, as he never doubted, that the plans he had formed, were the best that could be devised; so, when any of the preachers were of a different opinion, and refused to concur in his measures, he treated them as the mariners treated Jonah. He threw them overboard with the most perfect indifference: or, to borrow his own phraseology, he "commended them to God."

"This disposition, whether it be called apathy, or firmness, or by whatever other name, was not peculiar to Mr. Wesley. Many great men, especially in the political world, have piqued themselves upon it. Perhaps they think it necessary, that public characters should be su-

perior to the sensations of common life. How far this may be true, we shall not attempt to determine: but we thank God, that we have never had any temptation to adopt the principle.

"Mr. Wesley was, in some respects, a man of penetration. In one, he certainly was not. His choice of confidants and favourites, did little honour to his sagacity. Whatever knowledge he might have had of the general motives and principles of human nature, he does not seem to have been happy in penetrating into the views and characters of individuals. Like other favourites, he was surrounded by flatterers; and like them too, he often mistook the incense of adulation, for the cordial offering of sincerity and truth. Frequently he forgot, that, wherever power is lodged, all who have any thing to hope, and are not too spirited and independent to fear, will crowd the levee. - The consequence, in his case, was much the same as in all others. When such persons insinuated themselves into his good graces, the point was effectually to prejudice him against those who were formidable, by their wisdom and integrity: and in many instances, they succeeded.

"We now come to the last feature in Mr. Wesley's character; his love of power. He has been often charged with this propensity; and the charge is not yet refuted. We will say more. We challenge any man to refute it.

"Something of this has been intimated before; but as it is a matter of some consequence, and a capital blemish in a character, in other respects estimable, it is necessary to establish it by a candid appeal to facts. It is easy to accuse; and it is equally so to deny; but a series of plain facts, are such decided proofs of

of the disposition of the agent, that it is impossible to mistake them.

"The power, for which Mr. Wesley contended, was absolute. It was a power to receive or exclude preachers or people; to call a conference, to appoint the preachers, who should attend it, and, in general, to do what he pleased, by his own proper authority. There is no trace of such a power in the first minutes of conference, in 1744. By those minutes, equal liberty was established, as a fundamental article: and, in a subsequent conference, Mr. Wesley and the preachers mutually "signed an agreement, not to act independently of each other." As the minute, we have just mentioned, is remarkable for its good sense and liberality, we transcribe the passage.

"Question. How far does each agree to submit to the judgment of the majority?

"Answer. In speculative things, each can only submit so far as his judgment shall be convinced: in every practical point, each will submit so far as he can, without wounding his conscience.

"Question. Can a christian submit any farther than this, to any man, or number of men upon earth?

"Answer. It is plain he cannot, either to bishop, or convocation, or general council. And this is that grand principle of private judgment, on which all the reformers proceeded: "Every man must judge for himself; because every man must give an account of himself unto God."

"In this quotation, which we call the *original compact* between the preachers and Mr. Wesley, it is remarkable, that the first question supposes the submission of every preacher, and that only so far as is

consistent with a good conscience, not to him individually, but to the majority. Most of the *ex post facto* laws, which he established, or endeavoured to establish in the sequel, were so many violations of this compact. It was violated by his introduction of his notes on the New Testament and his volumes of sermons into the deeds of the preaching-houses, as the test of sound doctrine, and the rule, on their conformity to which, should depend the admission or continuance of preachers in the connexion. It was violated by the requisition, that the preachers should promise to serve him "as sons in the gospel," and that they should read such books only as he recommended. It was still farther violated, by his making it a rule, that they should print no books without his permission: and lastly, by the arbitrary selection of one hundred preachers as the only members of conference, and by the rasure of the compact itself, from the minutes of conference, on their republication in 1780.

"Against this last act, one preacher having remonstrated, was answered; "I have not made so bad a use of my power, as to render this clause necessary:" to which it was very properly returned, "I had rather hold my liberties by the law, than by the favour of any man." A motion was made, that the minute concerning the right of private judgment should be reinserted in its proper place. It was voted in, without one dissentient voice; but he took care not to insert it, to the day of his death. To this it may be added, that, at the conference in 1783, Dr. Coke attempted, in his name, to introduce a minute, signifying the concurrence of conference, to Mr. Wesley's giving *absolute* power to a *select committee*, to conduct

duct the affairs of the societies, after his decease ; and another, to call for the deeds of the several preaching-houses, out of the hands of the trustees, and to lodge them in an iron safe, under the New Chapel, City Road ; of which safe, the doctor kept the key ! In both these, he was out-voted by a very large majority.

“ Such are the principles, on which we ground the assertion, that Mr. Wesley was fond of power, and that his temper was despotic. When any man attempts the subversion of customs and regulations, as much distinguished by their excellence as their antiquity, it is a natural conclusion, that he is fond of absolute rule, and would substitute others instead of them, less excellent and unexceptionable ; and in this case, whoever that man may be, he ought to be opposed in the attempt. In such a contest, he may, if he pleases brand opposition with the name of rebellion ; but we say, it is virtue.

“ On the authority of the above facts, (and if more were necessary, we can easily produce them) as well as upon the sanction of some personal knowledge of the man, we must in-

sist, that Mr. Wesley was, during the last ten or fifteen years of his supremacy, the most absolute of monarchs. His will was the law. If he ever receded from a resolution, or rescinded a favourite measure, it was not choice, but necessity. If he retreated, it was only for the moment. He never thought his authority secure, but when exerted to the utmost : and therefore, if ever surprised into a concession, he took the first opportunity of measuring his steps back again ; and, by frequently returning to the attack, he was sure, sooner or later, to carry his point. In a word, the love of power was the chief misery of his life ; the source of infinite disgusts ; and the most frequent cause of the defections of his friends. Had not his virtues been sullied by this and some other defects, he had avoided many errors and inconsistencies, into which he has fallen ; and we should have given him, without deduction or reserve, the praise, to which his piety, his labours, his learning, and his general ability in the management of his people, had so justly entitled him.”

# MANNERS OF NATIONS.

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REMARKS on the ISLAND of HINZUAN, or JOHANNA, and the CUSTOMS and MANNERS of it's INHABITANTS, By Sir WILLIAM JONES.

[From the Second Volume of the ASIATIC RESEARCHES.]

"HINZUAN, (a name, which has been gradually corrupted into *Anzuame*, *Anjuan*, *Juanny*, and *Jobanna*) has been governed about two centuries by a colony of Arabs, and exhibits a curious instance of the slow approaches toward civilization, which are made by a small community, with many natural advantages, but with few means of improving them. An account of this African island, in which we hear the language and see the manners of Arabia, may neither be uninteresting in itself, nor foreign to the objects of inquiry proposed at the institution of our Society.

"On Monday the 28th of July, 1783, after a voyage, in the Crocodile, of ten weeks and two days, from the rugged islands of Cape Verd, our eyes were delighted with a prospect so beautiful that neither a painter nor a poet could perfectly represent it, and so cheering to us, that it can justly be conceived by such only, as have been in our preceding situation. It was the sun rising in full splendour on the isle of Mayáta (as the seamen called it) which we had joyfully distinguished the preceding afternoon by the height of its peak,

and which now appeared at no great distance from the windows of our cabin; while Hinzuàn, for which we had so long panted, was plainly discernible a-head, where its high lands presented themselves with remarkable boldness. The weather was fair; the water smooth; and a gentle breeze drove us easily before dinner-time round a rock, on which the Brilliant struck just a year before, into a commodious road, where we dropped our anchor early in the evening: we had seen Mobila, another sister island, in the course of the day.

"The frigate was presently surrounded with canoes, and the deck soon crowded with natives of all ranks, from the high born chief, who washed linen, to the half-naked slave, who only paddled. Most of them had letters of recommendation from Englishmen, which none of them were able to read, though they spoke English intelligibly; and some appeared vain of titles, which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their supposed stations; we had lords, dukes, and princes on board, soliciting our custom, and importuning us for presents.

sents. In fact, they were too sensible to be proud of empty sounds, but justly imagined, that those ridiculous titles would serve as marks of distinction; and by attracting notice, procure for them something substantial. The only men of real consequence in the island, whom we saw before we landed, were the governor Abdullah, second cousin to the king, and his brother Alwî, with their several sons; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned: they understood Arabic, seemed zealous in the Mohammedan faith, and admired my copies of the Alkoran; some verses of which they read, whilst Alwî perused the opening of another Arabian manuscript, and explained it in English more accurately than could have been expected.

"The next morning showed us the island in all its beauty; and the scene was so diversified, that a distinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the best pencil: you must, therefore, be satisfied with a mere description, written on the very spot, and compared attentively with the natural landscape. We were at anchor in a fine Bay, and before us was a vast amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion, by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in size and figure, and then supposing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artless symmetry, in all imaginable positions. The back ground was a series of mountains, one of which is pointed, near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the sea, and little more than three from the shore: all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquisite verdure. I had seen many a mountain of a stupendous height in Wales and Switzerland, but never saw one

before, round the bosom of which the clouds were almost continually rolling, while its green summit rose flourishing above them, and received from them an additional brightness. Next to this distant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren; but the contrast of colours changed even this nakedness into a beauty: nearer still were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach; so that every shade of green, the sweetest of colours, was displayed at one view by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting prospect, than the many rows of palm-trees, especially the tall and graceful areca's, on the shores, in the valleys, and on the ridges of the hills, where one might almost suppose them to have been planted regularly by design. A more beautiful appearance can scarce be conceived, than such a number of elegant palms in such a situation, with luxuriant tops, like verdant plumes, placed at just intervals, and showing between them part of the remoter landscape, while they left the rest to be supplied by the beholder's imagination. The town of Matsamudó lay on our left, remarkable at a distance for the tower of the principal mosque, which was built by Halimah, a queen of the island, from whom the present king is descended: a little on our right was a small town, called Bantáni. Neither the territory of Nice, which its olives, date-trees, and cypresses, nor the isles of Hieres, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared so charming, to me, as the view from the road of Hinzuan; which, nevertheless, is far surpassed, as the captain of the Crocodile assured us,

us, by many of the islands in the southern ocean. If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, publick and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties !

"We hastened to tread on firm land, to which we had been so long refused, and went on shore, after breakfast, to see the town, and return the governor's visit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives, I surprized them by reading aloud an Arabic inscription over the gate of a mosque, and still more, when I entered it, by explaining four sentences, which were written very distinctly on the wall, signifying, "that the world was given us for our own edification, not for the purpose of raising sumptuous buildings ; life, for the discharge of moral and religious duties, not for pleasurable indulgences ; wealth, to be liberally bestowed, not avaritiously hoarded ; and learning, to produce good actions, not empty disputes." We could not but respect the temple even of a false prophet, in which we found such excellent morality : we saw nothing better among the Romish trumpery in the church at Madera. When we came to Abdullah's house, we were conducted through a small court-yard into an open room, on each side of which was a large and convenient sofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark recess, over which a chintz counterpane hung down from the ceiling : this is the general form of the best rooms in the island ; and most of the tolerable houses have a similar apartment

on the opposite side of the court, that there may be at all hours a place in the shade for dinner or for repose. We were entertained with ripe dates from Yemen, and the milk of cocoa-nuts ; but the heat of the room, which seemed accessible to all, who chose to enter it, and the scent of musk or civet, with which it was perfumed, soon made us desirous of breathing a purer air ; nor could I be detained long by the Arabick manuscripts, which the governor produced, but which appeared of little use, and consequently of no value, except to such as love mere curiosities : one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the Mohammedans, I would gladly have purchased at a just price ; but he knew not what to ask ; and I knew that better books on that subject might be procured in Bengal. He then offered me a black boy for one of my Alkorans, and pressed me to barter an Indian dress, which he had seen on board the ship, for a cow, and calf : the golden slippers attracted him most, since his wife, he said, would like to wear them ; and, for that reason, I made him a present of them ; but had destined the book and the robe for his superior. No high opinion could be formed of Sayyad Abdullah, who seemed very eager for gain, and very servile where he expected it.

"Our next visit was to Shaikh Salim, the king's eldest son ; and, if we had seen him first, the state of civilization in Hinzuan would have appeared at its lowest ebb : the worst English hackney, in the worst stable, is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent ; but, though his mien and apparel were extremely savage, yet allowance should have been made for his illness ; which, as we afterwards

afterwards learned, was an abscess in the spleen, a disorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the Arabian practice, by the actual cautery. He was incessantly chewing pieces of the areca-nut with shell-lime; a custom borrowed, I suppose, from the Indians, who greatly improve the composition with spices and betel-leaves, to which they formerly added camphor; all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to so great an excess. Prince Sálím from time to time gazed at himself with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glass, which was glued on a small board; a specimen of wretchedness, which we observed in no other house; but many circumstances convinced us, that the apparently low condition of his royal highness, who was not on bad terms with his father, and seemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from his avarice. His brother Hamdullah, who generally resides in the town of Domóni, has a very different character, being esteemed a man of worth, good sense, and learning: he had come, the day before, to Matsamúdo, on hearing that an English frigate was in the road; and I, having gone out for a few minutes to read an Arabick inscription, found him, on my return, devouring a manuscript, which I had left with some of the company. He is a Kádî, or Mohammedan judge; and, as he seemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned, that I had so little conversation with him. The king, Shaikh Ahmed, has a younger son, named Abdullah, whose usual residence is in the town of Wání, which he seldom leaves, as the state of his health is very infirm. Since the succession to the title and authority of Sultán is not un-

alterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the chiefs of the island, it is not improbable, that they may hereafter be conferred on prince Hamdullah.

“A little beyond the hole, in which Sálím received us, was his haram, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to see, not through politeness to strangers, as we believed at first, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a present: we saw only two or three miserable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we supposed, stood behind a coarse curtain, and showed her ankles under it loaded with silver rings; which, if she was capable of reflection, she must have considered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beast, exposed to perils and hunger in a forest, to the splendid misery of being wife or mistress to Sálím.

“Before we returned, Alwí was desirous of showing me his books; but the day was too far advanced, and I promised to visit him some other morning. The governor, however, prevailed on us to see his place in the country, where he invited us to dine the next day: the walk was extremely pleasant from the town to the side of a rivulet, which formed in one part a small pool very convenient for bathing, and thence, through groves and alleys, to the foot of a hill; but the dining-room was little better than an open barn, and was recommended only by the coolness of its shade. Abdullah would accompany us on our return to the ship, together with two Musti's, who spoke Arabick indifferently, and seemed eager to see all my manuscripts; but they were very moderately learned, and gazed with



with stupid wonder on a fine copy of the *Hamāsah*, and on other collections of ancient poetry.

“Early the next morning a black messenger, with a tawny lad as his interpreter, came from prince Sâlim; who, having broken his perspective-glass, wished to procure another by purchase or barter: a polite answer was returned, and steps taken to gratify his wishes. As we on our part expressed a desire to visit the king at Domoni, the prince’s messenger told us, that his master would, no doubt, lend us palanquins (for there was not a horse in the island) and order a sufficient number of his vassals to carry us, whom we might pay for their trouble, as we thought just: we commissioned him, therefore, to ask that favour, and begged, that all might be ready for our excursion before sunrise; that we might escape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of winter, we had found excessive. The boy, whose name was Combo Madi, stayed with us longer than his companion: there was something in his look so ingenuous, and in his broken English so simple, that we encouraged him to continue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read Arabick tolerably well, and set down at my desire the names of several towns in the island, which, he first told me, was properly called *Hinzuan*. The fault of begging for whatever he liked, he had in common with the governor and other nobles; but hardly in a greater degree: his first petition for some lavender-water was readily granted: and a small bottle of it was so acceptable to him, that, if we had suffered him, he would have kissed our feet: but it was not for himself that he rejoiced so extravagantly: he told us with tears starting from his eyes, that his mother would be pleased with it, and

the idea of her pleasure seemed to fill him with rapture: never did I see filial affection more warmly felt or more tenderly, and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expressed; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother’s name, he said, was *Fâtima*; and he importuned us to visit her; conceiving, I suppose, that all mankind must love and admire her: we promised to gratify him; and, having made him several presents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of *Aladdin* in the Arabian tale, I designed to give him that name in a commendatory letter, which he pressed me to write, instead of *St. Domingo*, as some European visitor had ridiculously called him; but, since the allusion would not have been generally known, and since the title of *Alâ’-l-din*, or Eminence in Faith, might have offended his superiors, I thought it advisable for him to keep his African name. A very indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the house of the governor, whom we did not see the whole day, as it was the beginning of *Ramadan*, the Mohammedan Lent, and he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuse; but his eldest son sat by us, while we dined, together with *Mûsa*, who was employed, jointly with his brother *Husain*, as purveyor to the captain of the frigate.

“Having observed a very elegant shrub, that grew about six feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleasure, that it was *hinnâ*, of which I had read so much in Arabian poems, and which European botanists have ridiculously named *Lawsonia*: *Mûsa* bruised some of the leaves, and, having moistened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in  
a short

a short time became of a dark orange-scarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was used by the Arabs to imitate the natural redness of those parts in young and healthy persons, which in all countries must be considered as a beauty: perhaps a less quantity of henna, or the same differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in Arabia used the same dye to conceal their grey hair, while their daughters were dying their lips and gums black, to set off the whiteness of their teeth; so universal in all nations and ages are personal vanity, and a love of disguising truth; though in all cases, the farther our species recede from nature, the farther they depart from true beauty; and men at least should disdain to use artifice or deceit for any purpose, or on any occasion: if the women of rank at Paris, or those in London who wish to imitate them, be inclined to call the Arabs barbarians; let them view their own head-dresses and cheeks in a glass, and, if they have left no room for blushes, be inwardly at least ashamed of their censure.

"In the afternoon I walked a long way up the mountains in a winding path, amid plants and trees no less new than beautiful, and regretted exceedingly, that very few of them were in blossom; as I should then have had leisure to examine them. Curiosity led me from hill to hill; and I came at last to the source of a rivulet, which we had passed near the shore, and from which the ship was to be supplied with excellent water. I saw no birds on the mountains but Guinea-fowl, which might have been easily caught; no insects were troublesome to me, but mosquitos; and I had no fear of venomous reptiles, having been assured, that the air was too

pure for any to exist in it; but I was often unwillingly a cause of fear to the gentle and harmless lizard, who ran among the shrubs. On my return I missed the path, by which I had ascended; but, having met some blacks laden with yams and plantains, I was by them directed to another, which led me round, through a charming grove of cocoa-trees, to the governor's country seat, where our entertainment was closed by a sillabub, which the English had taught the Muselmans to make for them.

"We received no answer from Salim; nor, indeed, expected one; since we took for granted, that he could not but approve our intention of visiting his father; and we went on shore before sunrise, in full expectation of a pleasant excursion to Domoni: but we were happily disappointed. The servants at the prince's door told us coolly, that their master was indisposed, and, as they believed, asleep; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durst not disturb him. Alwi soon came to pay us his compliments; and was followed by his eldest son, Ahmed, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two princes Salim and Hamdullah; the situation was naturally good, but wild and desolate; and, in Salim's garden, which we entered through a miserable hovel, we saw a convenient bathing-place, well built with stone, but then in great disorder, and a shed, by way of summer-house, like that under which we dined at the governor's, but smaller and less neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle about six feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twisted in a sort of clumsy network, with a long thick bambu fixed to each side of it: this, we heard with surprise, was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles, in which we were to have

have been rocked on men's shoulders over the mountains. I had much conversation with Ahmed, whom I found intelligent and communicative: he told me, that several of his countrymen composed songs and tunes; that he was himself a passionate lover of poetry and musick; and that, if we would dine at his house, he would play and sing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner; as we had made a conditional promise, if ever we passed a day at Matfamúdo, to eat our curry with Bânà Gibu, an honest man, of whom we purchased eggs and vegetables, and to whom some Englishmen had given the title of *lord*, which made him extremely vain: we could, therefore, make Sayyad Ahmed only a morning visit. He sung a hymn or two in Arabick, and accompanied his drawing, though pathetick, psalmody, with a kind of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill: the instrument was very imperfect, but seemed to give him delight. The names of the strings were written on it in Arabian or Indian figures, simple and compounded; but I could not think them worth copying. He gave captain Williamson, who wished to present some literary curiosities to the library at Dublin, a small roll containing a hymn in Arabick letters, but in the language of Mombaza, which was mixed with Arabick; but it hardly deserved examination, since the study of languages has little intrinsic value, and is only useful as the instrument of real knowledge, which we can scarce expect from the poets of the Mozambique. Ahmed would, I believe, have heard our European airs (I always except French melody) with rapture, for his favourite tune was a common Irish jig, with which he seemed wonderfully affected."

"So bad an account had been given me of the road over the mountains, that I dissuaded my companions from thinking of the journey, to which the captain became rather disinclined; but, as I wished to be fully acquainted with a country which I might never see again, I wrote the next day to Salim, requesting him to lend me one palanquin, and to order a sufficient number of men: he sent me no written answer; which I ascribe rather to his incapacity than to rudeness: but the governor, with Alwi and two of his sons, came on board in the evening, and said, that they had seen my letter; that all should be ready; but that I could not pay less for the men than ten dollars. I said I would pay more, but it should be to the men themselves, according to their behaviour. They returned somewhat dissatisfied, after I had played at chess with Alwi's younger son, in whose manner and address there was something remarkably pleasing.

"Before sun-rise on the 2d of August I went alone on shore, with a small basket of such provisions as I might want in the course of the day, and with some cushions to make the prince's palanquin at least a tolerable vehicle; but the prince was resolved to receive the dollars, to which his men were entitled; and he knew, that as I was eager for the journey, he could prescribe his own terms. Old Alwi met me on the beach, and brought excuses from Salim; who, he said, was indisposed. He conducted me to his house, and seemed rather desirous of persuading me to abandon my design of visiting the king; but I assured him, that, if the prince would not supply me with proper attendants, I would walk to Domòni with my own servants and a guide. 'Shaikh Salim,' he said, was miserably avaritious; "that

“ that he was ashamed of a kind-  
 “ man with such a disposition; but  
 “ that he was no less obstinate than  
 “ covetous; and that, without ten  
 “ dollars paid in hand, it would be  
 “ impossible to procure bearers.”  
 I then gave him three guineas, which he carried, or pretended, to carry, to Sálím, but returned without the change, alledging that he had no silver, and promising to give me on my return the few dollars that remained. In about an hour the ridiculous vehicle was brought by nine sturdy blacks, who could not speak a word of Arabick; so that I expected no information concerning the country through which I was to travel; but Alwi assisted me in a point of the utmost consequence. “ You cannot go, said he, without  
 “ an interpreter; for the king  
 “ speaks only the language of this  
 “ island; but I have a servant,  
 “ whose name is Tumuni, a sensible  
 “ and worthy man, who understands  
 “ English, and is much esteemed by  
 “ the king: he is known and valued all over Hinzuan. This man  
 “ shall attend you; and you will  
 “ soon be sensible of his worth.”

“ Tumuni desired to carry my basket, and we set out with a prospect of fine weather, but some hours later than I intended. I walked, by the gardens of the two princes, to the skirts of the town, and came to a little village, consisting of several very neat huts, made chiefly with the leaves of the cocoa-tree; but the road a little farther was so stony that I sat in the palanquin, and was borne with perfect safety over some rocks: I then desired my guide to assure the men, that I would pay them liberally; but the poor peasants, who had been brought from their farms on the hills, were not perfectly acquainted with the use of money, and

treated my promise with indifference.

“ About five miles from Matamádo lies the town of Wani, where Shaikh Abdullah, who has already been mentioned, usually resides: I saw it at a distance, and it seemed to be agreeably situated. When I had passed the rocky part of the road, I came to a stony beach, where the sea appeared to have lost some ground, since there was a fine sand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which resembled that of Weymouth, and seemed equally convenient for bathing; but it did not appear to me, that the stones, over which I was carried, had been recently covered with water. Here I saw the frigate, and, taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coast into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and consisting partly of hillocks exquisitely green, partly of plains, which were then in a gaudy dress of rich yellow blossoms: my guide informed me, that they were plantations of a kind of vetch, which was eaten by the natives. Cottages and farms were interspersed all over this gay champaign, and the whole scene was delightful: but it was soon changed for beauties of a different sort. We descended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there, finding my vehicle uneasy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their ease, I bade them set me down, and walked before them all the rest of the way. Mountains, clothed with fine trees and flowering shrubs, presented themselves on our ascent from the vale; and we proceeded for half an hour through pleasant wood-walks, where I regretted the impossibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new blossoms, which succeeded

needed one another at every step, and the virtues, as well as names, of which seemed familiar to Tumuni. At length we descended into a valley of greater extent than the former: a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell down a steep declivity at the end of it, where it seemed to be lost among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of their owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable spot I had not before seen even in Switzerland or Merionethshire; but it was followed by an assemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a little island twelve degrees to the south of the line. I was not sufficiently pleased with my solitary journey to discover charms, which had no actual existence, and the first effect of the contrast between St. Jago and Hinzuan had ceased; but, without any disposition to give the landscape a high colouring, I may truly say, what I thought at the time, that the whole country, which next presented itself, as far surpassed Ermenonville, or Blenheim, or any other imitations of nature, which I had seen in France or England, as the finest hay surpasses an artificial piece of water. Two very high mountains, covered to the summit with the richest verdure, were at some distance on my right hand, and separated from me by meadows diversified with cottages and herds, or by vallies resounding with torrents and waterfalls: on my left was the sea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods; and the road was a smooth path naturally winding through a forest of spicy shrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were spangled with white blossoms equal in fragrance to orange flowers: my guide called them monongo's, but the day was declining so fast, that it

was impossible to examine them: the variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a transient view in this magnificent garden, would have supplied a naturalist with amusement for a month; but I saw no remarkable insect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diversified by a few pleasant glades, and new prospects were continually opened: at length a noble view of the sea burst upon me unexpectedly; and, having passed a hill or two, we came to the beach, beyond which were several hills and cottages. We turned from the shore; and, on the next eminence, I saw the town of Domoni at a little distance below us: I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom spoke Arabic, and thinking it a convenient place for repose, I sent my guide to apprise the king of my intended visit. He returned in half an hour with a polite message; and I walked into the town, which seemed large and populous. A great croud accompanied me, and I was conducted to a house built on the same plan with the best houses at Matfamudo: in the middle of the court-yard stood a large monongotree, which perfumed the air; the apartment on the left was empty; and, in that on the right, sat the king on a sofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He rose when I entered, and, grasping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but, as he could speak only the language of Hinzuan, I had recourse to my friend Tumuni, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not have been found. I presented the king with a very handsome Indian dress of blue silk with golden flowers, which had been worn only once at a masquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the Koran, from which I read a few verses to him:

he took them with great complacency, and said, "he wished I had come by sea, that he might have loaded one of my boats with fruit and with some of his finest cattle. He had seen me, he said, on board the frigate, where he had been, according to his custom, in disguise, and had heard of me from his son Shaikh Hamdullah." I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many questions concerning mine, and professed great regard for our nation. "But I hear," said he, that you are a magistrate, and consequently profess peace: why are you armed with a broad sword?" "I was a man, I said, before I was a magistrate; and, if it should ever happen, that law could not protect me, I must protect myself." He seemed about sixty years old, had a very chearful countenance, and great appearance of good nature mixed with a certain dignity, which distinguished him from the crowd of ministers and officers who attended him. Our conversation was interrupted by notice, that it was the time for evening prayers; and, when he rose, he said, "this house is yours, and I will visit you in it, after you have taken some refreshment." Soon after, his servants brought a roast fowl, a rice-pudding, and some other dishes, with papayas and very good pomegranates: my own basket supplied the rest of my supper. The room was hung with old red cloth, and decorated with pieces of porcelain and festoons of English bottles; the lamps were placed on the ground in large sea-shells; and the bed place was a recess, concealed by a chintz hanging, opposite to the sofa, on which we had been sitting: though it was not a place that invited repose, and the gnats were inexpress-

sibly troublesome, yet the fatigue of the day procured me very comfortable slumber. I was waked by the return of the king and his train, some of whom were Arabs; for I heard one of them say *buwarakid*, or *he is sleeping*: there was immediate silence, and I passed the night with little disturbance, except from the unwelcome songs of the mosquitos. In the morning all was equally silent and solitary; the house appeared to be deserted; and I began to wonder what had become of Tumuni: he came at length with concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night; but that the king, who wished to see me in another of his houses, would supply me with bearers, if he could not prevail on me to stay till a boat could be sent for. I went immediately to the king, whom I found sitting on a raised sofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with sentences from the Koran in very legible characters: about fifty of his subjects were seated on the ground in a semicircle before him; and my interpreter took his place in the midst of them. The good old king laughed heartily, when he heard the adventure of the night, and said, "you will now be my guest for a week, I hope; but seriously, if you must return soon, I will send into the country for some peasants to carry you." He then apologized for the behaviour of Shaikh Salim, which he had heard from Tumuni, who told me afterwards, that he was much displeased with it, and would not fail to express his displeasure: he concluded with a long harangue on the advantage which the English might derive, from sending a ship every year from Bombay to trade with his subjects, and on the wonderful cheapness of their commodities, especially

of their cowries. Ridiculous as this idea might seem, it showed an enlargement of mind, a desire of promoting the interest of his people, and a sense of the benefits arising from trade, which could hardly have been expected from a petty African chief, and which, if he had been sovereign of Yemen, might have been expanded into rational projects proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I answered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of India; but that I would report the substance of his conversation, and would ever bear testimony to his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildness with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to pass a second night in the island, I requested leave to return without waiting for bearers: he seemed very sincere in pressing me to lengthen my visit, but had too much Arabian politeness to be importunate. We, therefore, parted; and, at the request of Tumuni, who assured me that little time would be lost in showing attention to one of the worthiest men in Hinzuan, I made a visit to the governor of the town, whose name was Mutekka; his manners were very pleasing, and he showed me some letters from the officers of the Brilliant, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the strongest eulogies of his courtesy and liberality. He insisted on filling my basket with some of the finest pomegranates I had ever seen; and I left the town, impressed with a very favourable opinion of the king and his governor. When I re-ascended the hill, attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in Arabic, that I was going to receive the highest mark of distinction, that it was in the king's power to show me; and he had scarce ended, when I heard

the report of a single gun: Shaikh Ahmed had saluted me with the whole of his ordnance. I waved my hat, and said, "Allah acbar:" the people shouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from excessive heat and the fatigue of climbing rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleasant: I sometimes rested in the valleys and forded all the rivulets, which refreshed me with their coolness, and supplied me with exquisite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occasionally with brandy. We were overtaken by some peasants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the king's present of a cow with her calf, and a she-goat with two kids: they had apparently been selected for their beauty, and were brought safe to Bengal. The prospects, which had so greatly delighted me the preceding day, had not yet lost their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty; but I must confess, that the most delightful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I discerned at sunset from a rock near the prince's gardens. Close to the town I was met by a native, who, perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoonut, which afforded me a delicious draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been punished that afternoon for a theft on board the Crocodile; and added, that, in his opinion, the punishment was no less just, than the offence was disgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family, who had married a daughter of old Alwi, but, being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and seeing a pair of blue morocco slippers, could not resist the temptation, and concealed

them so ill under his gown, that he was detected with the mainer. This proves, that no principle of honour is instilled by education into the gentry of this island: even Alwi, when he had observed, that, "in the month of Ramadan, it was not lawful to paint with hinna or to tell lies;" and when I asked, whether both were lawful all the rest of the year, answered, that "lies were innocent, if no man was injured by them." Tumuni took his leave, as well satisfied as myself with our excursion: I told him, before his master, that I transferred also to him the dollars, which were due to me out of the three guineas; and that, if ever they should part, I should be very glad to receive him into my service in India. Mr. Roberts, the master of the ship, had passed the day with Sayyad Ahmed, and had learned from him a few curious circumstances concerning the government of Hinzuan; which he found to be a monarchy limited by an aristocracy. The king, he was told, had no power of making war by his own authority; but, if the assembly of nobles, who were from time to time convened by him, resolved on a war with any of the neighbouring islands, they defrayed the charges of it by voluntary contributions, in return for which they claimed as their own all the booty and captives that might be taken. The hope of gain or the want of slaves is usually the real motive for such enterprizes, and ostensible pretexts are easily found: at that very time, he understood, they meditated a war, because they wanted hands for the following harvest. Their fleet consisted of sixteen or seventeen small vessels, which they manned with about two thousand five hundred islanders armed with muskets

and cutlasses, or with bows and arrows. Near two years before they had possessed themselves of two towns in Mayata, which they still kept and garrisoned. The ordinary expences of the government were defrayed by a tax from two hundred villages; but the three principal towns were exempt from all taxes, except that they paid annually to the chief multi a fortieth part of the value of all their moveable property, and from that payment neither the king nor the nobles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their constitution, was considered as elective, though the line of succession had not in fact been altered since the first election of a sultan. He was informed, that a wandering Arab, who had settled in the island, had, by his intrepidity in several wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king, with limited powers; and that he was the grandfather of Shaikh Ahmed. I had been assured that queen Halimah was his grandmother, and that he was the sixth king; but it must be remarked, that the words *jedd* and *jeddah* in Arabick, are used for a male and female ancestor indefinitely; and, without a correct pedigree of Ahmed's family, which I expected to procure, but was disappointed, it would scarce be possible to ascertain the time when his forefather obtained the highest rank in the government. In the year 1600 captain John Davis, who wrote an account of his voyage, found Mayata governed by a king, and Ansuame, or Hinzuan, by a queen, who showed him great marks of friendship: he anchored before the town of Demos (does he mean Dononi?) which was as large, he says, as Plymouth; and he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been



been a place of strength and grandeur. I can only say, that I observed no such ruins. Fifteen years after, captain Peyton and sir Thomas Roe touched at the Comara islands, and from their several accounts it appears, that an old sultaness then resided in Hinzuan, but had a dominion paramount over all the isles, three of her sons governing Mohila in her name: if this be true, Sobaili and the successors of Halimah must have lost their influence over the other islands; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it suits their convenience, they may always be furnished with a pretence for hostilities. Five generations of eldest sons would account for an hundred and seventy of the years, which have elapsed. since Davis and Peyton found Hinzuan ruled by a sultaness; and Ahmed was of such an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a generation. It is probable, on the whole, that Halimah was the widow of the first Arabian king, and that her mosque has been continued in repair by his descendants; so that we may reasonably suppose two centuries to have passed, since a single Arab had the courage and address to establish in that beautiful island a form of government, which, though bad enough in itself, appears to have been administered with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in Hinzuan, which, we may venture to pronounce, were not excited by any cruelty or violence of Ahmed, but were probably occasioned by the insolence of an oligarchy, naturally hostile to king and people. That the mountains in the Comara islands contain diamonds, and the precious metals, which are studiously concealed by the policy of the several governments, may be

true, though I have no reason to believe it, and have only heard it asserted without evidence; but I hope, that neither an expectation of such treasures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an European power to violate the first principles of justice, by assuming the sovereignty of Hinzuan, which cannot answer a better purpose than that of, supplying our fleets with seasonable refreshment; and, although the natives have an interest in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wish their attachment to be unfeigned and their dealings just, we must set them an example of strict honesty in the performance of our engagements. In truth, our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of Hinzuan, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few instances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an European, who had been hospitably received and liberally supported at Matfamudo, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a street in the evening: her husband ran to protect her, and resented the rudeness, probably with menaces, possibly with actual force; and the European is said to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the scuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder, which the law of nature would have justified the magistrate in punishing with death, was reported to the king, who told the governor (I use the very words of Alwi) that "it would be wiser to hush it up." Alwi mentioned a civil case of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coast of Africa in the dominions of a very savage prince, a small European vessel was wrecked;

and the prince not only seized all that could be saved from the wreck, but claimed the captain and the crew as his slaves, and treated them with ferocious insolence. Alwi assured me, that, when he heard of the accident, he hastened to the prince, fell prostrate before him, and by tears and importunity prevailed on him to give the Europeans their liberty; that he supported them at his own expence, enabled them to build another vessel, in which they sailed to Hinzuan, and departed thence for Europe or India: he showed me the captain's promissory notes for furs, which to an African trader must be a considerable object, but which were no price for liberty, safety, and, perhaps, life, which his good, though disinterested, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in

in my situation, it was wholly out of my power to assist Alwi in obtaining justice; but he urged me to deliver an Arabic letter from him, enclosing the notes, to the governor-general, who, as he said, knew him well; and I complied with his request. Since it is possible, that a substantial defence may be made by the person thus accused of injustice, I will not name either him or the vessel which he had commanded; but if he be living, and if this paper should fall into his hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people, whom we call savage, but who administer to our convenience, may have no just cause to reproach us with a violation of our contracts."

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## DESCRIPTION of CARNICOBAR and its INHABITANTS.

By MR. G. HAMILTON.

[ From the same Work.]

"THE island, of which I propose to give a succinct account, is the northernmost of that cluster in the Bay of Bengal, which goes by the name of the Nicobars. It is low, of a round figure, about forty miles in circumference, and appears at a distance, as if entirely covered with trees: however, there are several well-cleared and delightful spots upon it. The soil is a black kind of clay, and marshy. It produces in great abundance, and with little care, most of the tropical fruits, such as pine-apples, plantains, papayas, cocoa-nuts, and areca-nuts; also excellent yams, and a root cal-

led cachu. The only four-footed animals upon the island are hogs, dogs, large rats, and an animal of the lizard kind, but large, called by the natives *tolonqui*; these frequently carry off fowls and chickens. The only kind of poultry are hens, and those not in great plenty. There are abundance of snakes of many different kinds, and the inhabitants frequently die of their bites. The timber upon the island is of many sorts, in great plenty, and some of it remarkably large, affording excellent materials for building or repairing ships.

"The natives are low in stature but

but very well made, and surprizingly active and strong; they are copper-coloured, and their features have a cast of the Malay; quite the reverse of elegant. The women in particular are extremely ugly. The men cut their hair short, and the women have their heads shaved quite bare, and wear no covering but a short petticoat, made of a sort of rush or dry grass, which reaches half way down the thigh. This grass is not interwoven, but hangs round the person something like the thatching of a house. Such of them as have received presents of cloth-petticoats from the ships, commonly tie them round immediately under the arms. The men wear nothing but a narrow strip of cloth about the middle, in which they wrap up their privities so tight that there hardly is any appearance of them. The ears of both sexes are pierced when young, and by squeezing into the holes large plugs of wood, or hanging heavy weights of shells, they contrive to render them wide, and disagreeable to look at. They are naturally disposed to be good humoured and gay, and are very fond of sitting at table with Europeans, where they eat every thing that is set before them; and they eat most enormously. They do not care much for wine, but will drink bumpers of arak, as long as they can see. A great part of their time is spent in feasting and dancing. When a feast is held at any village, every one, that chuses, goes uninvited, for they are utter strangers to ceremony. At those feasts they eat immense quantities of pork, which is their favourite food. Their hogs are remarkably fat, being fed upon the cocoa-nut kernel and sea water; indeed all their domestick animals, fowls, dogs, &c. are fed

upon the same. They have likewise plenty of small sea fish which they strike very dextrously with lances, wading into the sea about knee deep. They are sure of killing a very small fish at ten or twelve yards distance. They eat the pork almost raw, giving it only a hasty grill over a quick fire. They roast a fowl, by running a piece of wood through it, by way of spit, and holding it over a brisk fire, until the feathers are burnt off, when it is ready for eating, in their taste. They never drink water; only cocoa-nut milk and a liquor called toura, which oozes from the cocoa-nut tree after cutting off the young sprouts or flowers. This they suffer to ferment before it is used, and then it is intoxicating, to which quality they add much by their method of drinking it, by sucking it slowly through a small straw. After eating, the young men and women, who are fancifully dressed with leaves, go to dancing, and the old people surround them smoking tobacco and drinking soura. The dancers, while performing, sing some of their tunes which are far from wanting harmony, and to which they keep exact time. Of musical instruments they have only one kind, and that the simplest. It is a hollow bamboo about 2½ feet long and three inches in diameter, along the outside of which there is stretched from end to end a single string made of the threads of a split cane, and the place under the string is hollowed a little to prevent it from touching. This instrument is played upon in the same manner as a guitar. It is capable of producing but few notes; the performer however makes it speak harmoniously, and generally accompanies it with the voice.

"What they know of physick is small and simple. I had once occasion to see an operation in surgery performed on the toe of a young girl, who had been stung by a scorpion or centipede. The wound was attended with a considerable swelling, and the little patient seemed in great pain. One of the natives produced the under jaw of a small fish, which was long, and planted with two rows of teeth as sharp as needles; taking this in one hand, and a small stick by way of hammer in the other, he stuck the teeth three or four times into the swelling, and made it bleed freely: the toe was then bound up with certain leaves; and next day the child was running about perfectly well.

"Their houses are generally built upon the beach in villages of fifteen or twenty houses each; and each house contains a family of twenty persons and upwards. These habitations are raised upon wooden pillars about ten feet from the ground; they are round, and, having no windows, look like bee-hives, covered with thatch. The entry is through a trap door below, where the family mount by a ladder, which is drawn up at night. This manner of building is intended to secure the houses from being infested with snakes, and rats, and for that purpose the pillars are bound round with a smooth kind of leaf, which prevents animals from being able to mount; besides which, each pillar has a broad flat piece of wood near the top of it, the projecting of which effectually prevents the further progress of such vermin as may have passed the leaf. The flooring is made with thin strips of bamboos laid at such distances from one another, as to leave free admission for light and air, and the inside is neat-

ly finished and decorated with fishing lances, nets, &c.

"The art of making cloth of any kind is quite unknown to the inhabitants of this island; what they have is got from the ships that come to trade in cocoa-nuts. In exchange for their nuts (which are reckoned the finest in this part of India) they will accept of but few articles; what they chiefly wish for is cloth of different colours, hatchets, and hanger blades, which they use in cutting down the nuts. Tobacco and arak they are very fond of, but expect these in presents. They have no money of their own, nor will they allow any value to the coin of other countries, further than as they happen to fancy them for ornaments; the young women sometimes hanging strings of dollars about their necks. However they are good judges of gold and silver, and it is no easy matter to impose baser metals upon them, as such.

"They purchase a much larger quantity of cloth, than is consumed upon their own island. This is intended for the Choury market. Choury is a small island to the southward of theirs, to which a large fleet of their boats sails every year about the month of November, to exchange cloth for canoes; for they cannot make these themselves. This voyage they perform by the help of the sun and stars, for they know nothing of the compass.

"In their disposition there are two remarkable qualities. One is their entire neglect of compliment and ceremony, and the other, their aversion to dishonesty. A Carnicobarian travelling to a distant village upon business or amusement, passes through many towns in his way without perhaps speaking to any one: if he is hungry or tired, he goes up into the

the nearest house, and helps himself to what he wants, and sits till he is rested, without taking the smallest notice of any of the family, unless he has business or news to communicate. Theft or robbery is so very rare amongst them, that a man going out of his house, never takes away his ladder, or shuts his door, but leaves it open for any body to enter that pleases, without the least apprehension of having any thing stolen from him.

"Their intercourse with strangers is so frequent, that they have acquired in general the barbarous Portuguese, so common over India; their own language has a sound quite different from most others, their words being pronounced with a kind of stop, or catch in the throat, at every syllable.

"They have no notion of a God, but they believe firmly in the devil, and worship him from fear. In every village there is a high pole erected with long strings of ground-rattans hanging from it, which, it is said, has the virtue to keep him at a distance. When they see any signs of an approaching storm, they imagine that the devil intends them a visit, upon which many superstitious ceremonies are performed. The people of every village march round their own boundaries, and fix up at different distances small sticks split at the top, into which split they put a piece of cocoa-nut, a wisp of tobacco, and the leaf of a certain plant: whether this is meant as a peace offering to the devil, or a scarecrow to frighten him away, does not appear.

"When a man dies, all his live stock, cloth, hatchets, fishing lances, and in short every moveable thing he possessed is buried with him, and his death is mourned by the whole village. In one view this is an ex-

cellent custom, seeing it prevents all disputes about the property of the deceased among his relations. His wife must conform to custom by having a joint cut off from one of her fingers; and, if she refuses this, she must submit to have a deep notch cut in one of the pillars of her house.

"I was once present at the funeral of an old woman. When we went into the house, which had belonged to the deceased, we found it full of her female relations; some of them were employed in wrapping up the corpse in leaves and cloth, and others tearing to pieces all the cloth which had belonged to her. In another house hard by, the men of the village, with a great many others from the neighbouring towns, were sitting drinking sou-ra and smoking tobacco. In the mean time two stout young fellows were busy digging a grave in the sand near the house. When the women had done with the corpse, they set up a most hideous howl, upon which the people began to assemble round the grave, and four men went up into the house to bring down the body; in doing this they were much interrupted by a young man, son to the deceased, who endeavoured with all his might to prevent them, but finding it in vain, he clung round the body, and was carried to the grave along with it: there, after a violent struggle, he was turned away and conducted back to the house. The corpse being now put into the grave, and the lashings, which bound the legs and arms cut, all the live stock, which had been the property of the deceased, consisting of about half a dozen hogs, and as many fowls, was killed, and flung in above it; a man then approached with a bunch of leaves

leaves stuck upon the end of a pole, which he swept two or three times gently along the corpse, and then the grave was filled up. During the ceremony, the women continued to make the most horrible vocal concert imaginable: the men said nothing. A few days afterwards, a kind of monument was erected over the grave, with a pole upon it, to which long strips of cloth of different colours were hung.

"Polygamy is not known among them; and their punishment of adultery is not less severe than effectual. They cut, from the man's offending member, a piece of the foreskin proportioned to the frequent commission or enormity of the crime.

"There seems to subsist among them a perfect equality. A few persons, from their age, have a little more respect paid to them; but there is no appearance of authority one over another. Their society seems bound rather by mutual obligations continually conferred and received; the simplest and best of all ties.

"The inhabitants of the Andamans are said to be cannibals. The people of Carnicobar have a tradi-

tion among them, that several canoes came from Andaman many years ago, and that the crews were all armed, and committed great depredations, and killed several of the Nicobarians. It appears at first remarkable, that there should be such a wide difference between the manners of the inhabitants of islands so near one another; the Andamans being savage canibals, and the others, the most harmless inoffensive people possible. But it is accounted for by the following historical anecdote, which, I have been assured, is matter of fact. Shortly after the Portuguese had discovered the passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope, one of their ships, on board of which were a number of Mozambique negroes, was lost on the Andaman islands, which were till then uninhabited. The blacks remained in the island and settled it; the Europeans made a small shallop in which they sailed to Pegu. On the other hand, the Nicobar islands were peopled from the opposite main, and the coast of Pegu; in proof of which, the Nicobar and Pegu languages are said, by those acquainted with the latter, to have much resemblance."

## ACCOUNT of the EMPIRE of BORNOU, and of the CUSTOMS, MANNERS, and GOVERNMENT of the INHABITANTS.

[From the Proceedings of the Association for promoting the Discovery of the interior Parts of Africa.]

"BORNOU, the name which the natives give to the country, is distinguished in Arabic by the appellation of Bernou or Bernoa, a word that signifies the land of Noah, for the Arabs conceive that, on the first

first retiring of the deluge, its mountains received the ark.

"The climate, as may naturally be expected in a kingdom which seems to be bounded by the 16th and the 26th parallels of latitude, is characterised by excessive, though not by uniform heat. Two seasons, the one commencing soon after the middle of April, the other at the same period of October, may be said to divide the year. The first is introduced by violent winds that bring with them, from the south-east and south, an intense heat, with a deluge of sultry rain, and such tempests of thunder and lightning as destroy multitudes of the cattle, and many of the people. During the rainy period (the continuance of which is from three to nine successive days, with short intervals, from the occasional changes of the wind to the north or west) the inhabitants confine themselves closely to their dwellings; but the rest of the first season, however sultry and however occasionally wet, is not incompatible with the necessary labours of the husbandman and the shepherd.

"At the commencement of the second season in the latter part of October, the ardent heat subsides; the air becomes soft and mild; the weather continues perfectly serene; and as the year declines, an unwelcome coolness precedes the rising of the sun.

"The inhabitants, though consisting of such a multitude of nations, that thirty languages are said to be spoken in the empire, are alike in their complexion, which is entirely

black; but they are not of the Negro cast.

"In a climate so warm, the chief recommendations of dress are decency and ornament: among the poorest, therefore, by whom the first only is regarded, a kind of girdle for the waist is sometimes the only covering; but in general a turban, consisting, as in Barbary, of a red woollen cap, surrounded by folds of cotton, together with a loose robe of coloured cotton of a coarser kind, are also worn\*.

"The grain that constitutes the principal object of culture in Bornou is Indian corn, of two different kinds, which are distinguished in this country, by the names of the gassob, and the gamphuly.

"The gassob, which in its general shape resembles the common reed, is of two species. The first grows with a long stalk that bears an ear, which in length is from eight to twelve inches, and contains, in little husks or cavities, from three to five hundred grains, of the size of small pease. The second species, which is common in Tripoli, differs no otherwise from the first than in the shorter size of the ear.

"The gamphuly is distinguished from the gassob, by the bulk of the stalk; for that of the gamphuly is much thicker, by the number of its ears, for it has several on the same reed, and by the size of the grain, which is considerably larger. This kind of corn is frequently seen in Spain, and is there called maize.

"\* The dress of the greatest part of the people is composed of shirts of blue cotton, which is manufactured in the country; of a red cap, which is imported from Tripoli; and of a white muslin turban, which is brought from Cairo by the pilgrims who return through that City from Mecca. Nose-rings of gold are worn by the principal people as a mark of distinction. *Ben Ali.*"

"Wheat and barley are not raised in Bornou; but the horse-bean of Europe and the common kidney-bean are cultivated with great assiduity, as they are used for food, both by the slaves and by the cattle \*.

"In the culture of these different grains, the hoe alone is employed, as the use of the plough is still unknown to the people. The women divide with the men the labours of their husbandry; for while the latter, with their hoes, open the ground, and form the trenches in straight lines parallel to each other, the women follow and throw in the seed: nor is this the only part which they take in the business of the field; for to them, as soon as the weeds begin to rise on the ridges of the lines in which the grain is sowed, the hoe is constantly transferred.

"The sowing season commences at the end of the periodical rains of April; and such in that climate is the rapid vegetation, that on the 9th of July the gassob is reaped; but the gamphuly, a grain of slower growth, is seldom cut till the month of August or September.

"Such are the several species of corn that, among the people of Bornou, supply the place of the wheat, the barley, and the oats of Europe. Two species of roots are also used as wholesome and substantial food: the one, which is called the Dondoo, produces a low plant, with branches that spread four or five feet upon the ground, and leaves that resemble those of the garden-bean. At the

end of five months, from the time of its being planted, the leaves fall off, and the root is taken from the ground, and being cut into small pieces, is dried in the sun, in which state it may be kept for two years. Its farther preparation consists in reducing it to a fine powder, and mixing it with palm oil till it assumes the consistency of paste.

"The other root is that of a tree of which the name had escaped the Shereef's recollection: boiling is the only process that is requisite in preparing it for use.

"The same character of sufficiency which marks the catalogue of the different kinds of grain in Bornou, belongs also to the list of its various fruits; for though neither olives nor oranges are seen in the empire, and even figs are rare; and though the apples and plumbs of its growth deserve no commendation, and the dates are as indifferent as they are scarce, yet grapes, and apricots, and pomegranates, together with lemons and limes, and the two species of melons, the water and the musk, are produced in large abundance†. But one of the most valuable of its vegetable stores, is a tree which is called kedeynah, that in form and height resembles the olive, is like the lemon in its leaf, and bears a nut, of which the kernel and the shell are both in great estimation, the first as a fruit, the last on account of the oil which it furnishes when bruised, and which supplies the lamps of the people of Bornou with a substitute for the oil of olives.

"\* The country in the neighbourhood of the city of Bornou is fertile in Indian corn and rice. Of barley and wheat the quantity raised is small. A species of bean, which resembles the horse-bean of Europe, though larger, and of a darker hue, is a much more common produce. Gum-trees are thinly scattered. Cotton, hemp, and indigo are also among the various produce of its soil. *Ben Alli.*"

"† The country abounds in different species of fruit-trees, but that which produces the date is not of the number. *Ben Alli.*"



" To this competent provision of such vegetables as are requisite to the support, or grateful to the appetite of man, must be added a much more ample and more varied supply of animal food. Innumerable flocks of sheep, and herds of goats and cows, (for there are no oxen) together with multitudes of horses, buffaloes, and camels, (the flesh of which is in high estimation) cover the vales or pasture on the mountains of Bornou\*.

" The common, though not the Guinea fowl, is also reared by the inhabitants; and their hives of bees are so extremely numerous, that the wax is often thrown away as an article of no value in the market.

" Their game consists of the hu-adde, and other species of antelopes, of the partridge, the wild-duck and the ostrich, the flesh of which they prize above every other.

" Their other wild animals are, the lion, the leopard, the civet-cat, the small wolf, the fox, the wild dog that hunts the antelope; the elephant, which is not common, and of which they make no use; the crocodile, the hippopotamus, which is often killed on the banks of the river that runs from the Neel Shem, (the Nile of Egypt) to the desert of Bilma; and a large and singular animal, which is distinguished by the name of zarapah, which is described as resembling the camel in its head and body, as having a long and slender neck like the ostrich, as being much taller at the shoulders than the haunches,

and as defended by so tough a skin as to furnish the natives with shields that no arrow or javelin can pierce †.

" Bornou, like other countries that approach the equinoctial, is much infested with different kinds of dangerous or disgusting reptiles, especially snakes and scorpions, centipedes and toads.

" Of its beasts of burthen the variety is as ample as the numbers are abundant; for the camel, the horse, the ass, and the mule, are common in the empire.

" The dog, with which the inhabitants pursue their game, appears to be their only domestic animal."

" Two different religions divide the sentiments, without disturbing the peace of the kingdom.

" The ruling people profess the Mahometan faith ‡; and though the ancient Paganism of the dependent nations does not appear to subject them to any inconvenience, a considerable part are converts to the doctrines of the prophet.

" An elective monarchy constitutes the government of Bornou ||, and like the similar system of Cassina, endangers the happiness, while it acknowledges the power of the people. On the death of the sovereign, the privilege of choosing among his sons, without regard to priority of birth, a successor to his throne, is conferred by the nation on three of the most distinguished men, whose age and character for wisdom are denoted by their title, of elders;

\* \* Horses and horned cattle, goats and sheep, and camels, are the common animals of the country. *Bornou Ali.*"

† Giraffa is the name by which the camelopardalis is called, in the old zoological books. The description here inserted, seems to have arisen from a blended recollection of that animal, and of the hippopotamus, whose hide is extremely tough."

‡ The Sultan and his subjects are Musselmén. *Bornou Ali.*"

|| Bornou is governed by a king, who takes the title of Sultan. *Bornou Ali.*"

and whose conduct in the state has invested them with the public esteem. Bound by no other rule as to their judgment, or restraint as to their will, than that which the expressed or implied instruction of electing the most worthy may form, they retire to the appointed place for their secret deliberation, the avenues to which are carefully guarded by the people: and while the contending suggestions of private interest, or a sense of the real difficulty of chusing where judgment may easily err, and error may be fatal to the state, keeps them in suspense, the princes are closely confined in separate chambers of the palace. Their choice being made, they proceed to the apartment of the sovereign elect, and conduct him, in silence, to the gloomy place in which the unburied corpse of his father, that cannot be interred till this awful ceremony is passed, awaits his arrival. There the elders point out to him the several virtues and the several defects which marked the character of his departed parent; and they also forcibly describe, with just panegyric, or severe condemnation, the several measures which raised or depressed the glory of his reign. "You see before you the end of your mortal career: the eternal, which succeeds to it, will be miserable or happy in proportion as your reign shall have proved a curse or a blessing to your people."

"From this dread scene of instruction, the new sovereign, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, is conducted back to the palace, and is there invested by the electors with all the slaves, and with two thirds of all the lands and cattle of his father; the remaining third being always detained as a provision for the other children of the deceased monarch.

No sooner is the sovereign invested with the ensigns of royalty, than such of his brothers as have reached the age of manhood prostrate themselves at his feet, and in rising press his hands to their lips—the two ceremonies that constitute the declaration of allegiance.

"If any doubt of their sincerity suggests itself to the king, or to the elders, death or perpetual imprisonment removes the fear; but if no suspicion arises, an establishment of lands and cattle from the possessions of their father, together with presents of slaves from the reigning monarch, are liberally bestowed upon them.

"Often, however, the most popular, or the most ambitious of the rejected princes, covering his designs with close dissimulation, and the zeal of seeming attachment, creates a powerful party; and assured of foreign aid, prepares, in secret, the means of successful revolt. But, stained with such kindred blood, the sceptre of the victorious rebel is not lastingly secure—one revolution invites and facilitates another; and till the slaughter of the field, the sword of the executioner, or the knife of the assassin, have left him without a brother, the throne of the sovereign is seldom firmly established.

"Such, in the Mahometan empires of Bornou and of Cashna, is the rule of succession to the monarchy; but the Pagan kingdoms adjoining, with obviously less wisdom, permit the several sons of the late sovereign, attended by their respective partizans, to offer themselves in person, to the choice of the electors, and to be actually present at the decision; an imprudence that often brings with it the interference of other states, and unites the different cala-

calamities or foreign and intestine war.

" Those of the royal children of Bornou, who are too young to take a share in the reserved part of their deceased father's possessions, are educated in the palace till the age of maturity arrives: at which time their respective portions of lands and cattle are assigned them.

" To the four lawful wives of the late sovereign, a separate house, with a suitable establishment, is granted by the reigning monarch; and such of his numerous concubines as were not slaves, are at liberty to return to their several friends: and, together with leave to retain their cloaths, and all their ornaments, which are often valuable, have free permission to marry.

" In the empire of Bornou, as in all the Mahometan states, the administration of the provinces is committed to governors appointed by the crown; and the expences of the sovereign are partly defrayed by his hereditary lands, and partly by taxes levied on the people.

" The present sultan, whose name is Alli, is a man of an unostentatious plain appearance; for he seldom wears any other dress than the common blue shirt of cotton or of silk, and the silk or muslin turban, which form the usual dress of the country. Such, however, is the magnificence of his seraglio, that the ladies who inhabit it are said to be five hundred in number; and he himself is described as the reputed father of three hundred and fifty children, of whom three hundred are males; a disproportion which naturally suggests the idea, that the mother, preferring to the gratifica-

tion of natural affection, the joy of seeing herself the supposed parent of a future candidate for the empire, sometimes exchanges her female child for the male offspring of a stranger.

" Equally splendid in his stable; he is said to have 500 horses for his own use, and for that of the numerous servants of his household.

" In many of the neighbouring kingdoms, the monarch himself is the executioner of those criminals on whom his own voice has pronounced sentence of death: but the sultan of Bornou, too polished, or too humane, to pollute his hands with the blood of his subjects, commits the care of the execution to the *cadi*, who directs his slaves to strike off the head of the prisoner.

" The military force of the sultan of Bornou consists in the multitude of his horsemen; for his foot soldiers are few in number, and are scarcely considered as contributing to the strength of the battle\*. The sabre, the lance, the pike, and the bow, constitute their weapons of offence; and a shield of hides composes their defensive armour. Fire-arms, though not entirely unknown to them, (for those with which the merchants of Fezzan occasionally travel, are sufficient to give them an idea of their importance and decisive effect) are neither used nor possessed by the people of Bornou.

" When the sovereign prepares for war, and levies an army for the purpose, he is said to have a custom, (the result of idle vanity or of politic ostentation) of directing a date tree to be placed as a threshold to one of the gates of his capital, and of commanding his horsemen to en-

\* " The sultan of Bornou commands a vast army of horsemen, and is a much more powerful monarch than the emperor of Morocco. *Ben Alli*."

ter the town one by one, that the parting of the tree in the middle, when worn through by the trampling of the horses, may enable him to judge of the sufficiency of their numbers, and operate as a signal that his levy is complete.

“ In their manners, the people of Bornou are singularly courteous and humane. They will not pass a stranger on the road till they have stopped and saluted him: the most violent of their quarrels are only contests of words; and though a part of the business of their husbandry is assigned to the women, yet as their employment is confined to that of dropping the seed in the furrows, and of removing the weeds with a hoe, it has more of the amusement of occasional occupation, than of the harshness of continued labour.

“ Passionately attached to the tumultuous gratifications of play, yet unacquainted with any game but drafts, they often sit down on the ground, and forming holes to answer the purpose of squares, supply the place of men with dates, or the meaner substitute of stones, or of camel's dung. On their skill in the management of these rude instruments of the game, they stake their gold dust, their brass money, and even their very clothes; and as the bye-standers on these occasions constantly obtrude their advice, and sometimes make the moves for the person whose success they wish, their play is usually accompanied by that conflict of abuse, and vehemence of scolding, which mark and terminate the sharpest of their quarrels.

“ Such is the amusement of the lower classes of the people: those of a superior rank are devoted to the

more difficult and more interesting game of chess, in which they are eminently skilled.

“ In countries that afford without cultivation, or that give in return for slight exertions of labour, the principal requisites of life, few articles of export are likely to be found. Those of the Bornou empire consist of gold dust\*, slaves, horses, ostrich feathers, salt, and civet.

“ By what means the gold dust, that appears to be a principal article of trade, is procured by the inhabitants, whether from mines in the country, or by purchase from other nations, the shereef has not explained. But of their mode of obtaining the slaves, who constitute another extensive branch of their commerce, he gives the following account:

“ South east of Bornou, at the distance of about twenty days travelling, and separated from it by several small deserts, is situated an extensive kingdom, of the name of Begarmee, the inhabitants of which are rigid Mahometans, and though perfectly black in their complexions, are not of the Negro cast. Beyond this kingdom to the East are several tribes of Negroes, idolaters in their religion, savage in their manners, and accustomed, it is said, to feed on human flesh. They are called the Kardee, the Serrowah, the Showwa, the Battah, and Mulgui. These nations the Begarmee, who fight on horseback, and are great warriors, annually invade; and when they have taken as many prisoners as the opportunity affords, or their purpose may require, they drive the captives, like cattle, to Begarmee. It is said that if any of

\* At Bornou I exchanged for gold dust and ostrich feathers the merchandize which I brought from Tripoli. *See Anti.*

them,

them, weakened by age or exhausted by fatigue, happen to linger in their pace, one of the horsemen seizes on the oldest, and cutting off his arm, uses it as a club to drive on the rest.

"From Begarmee they are sent to Bornou\*, where they are sold at a low price; and thence many of them are conveyed to Fezzan, where they generally embrace the mussulman faith, and are afterwards exported by the way of Tripoli to different parts of the Levant.

"Such is the mode of obtaining the greatest part of the slaves who are annually sold in Bornou: but as several of the provinces of the empire are inhabited by Negroes, their insurrections, real or pretended, afford to the sovereign an opportunity of increasing his income by their sale.

"A more politic and more effectual mode of aiding his finances is fruitlessly offered by the salt lakes of the province of Dombou: for, as the great empire of Cashna is entirely destitute of salt, and none is found in the dominions of the Negroes, the sole possession of this article might insure to the king of Bornou a constant and ample revenue of the best kind, a revenue collected from the subjects of foreign states. But such is the prevalency of ancient custom over the obvious suggestions of policy, that the people of Agadex, a province of the Cashna Empire, are annually permitted to load their immense caravans with the salt of Bornou, and to engross

the profits of this invaluable trade. The salt is collected on the shores of the several lakes which produce it, and the only acknowledgement that the merchants of Agadez give in return for the article, is the trifling price which they pay in brass and copper; (the currency of Bornou) to the neighbouring peasants.

"The civet, which forms another article of the export trade of Bornou, and the greatest part of which is sent to the Negro states who inhabit far to the south, is obtained from a species of wild cat that is common in the woods of Bornou and of Cashna.

"This animal is taken alive in a trap prepared for the purpose, is placed in a cage, and is strongly irritated till a copious perspiration is produced. Its sweat, and especially the moisture that appears upon the tail, is then scraped off, is preserved in a bladder, and constitutes the much valued perfume. After a short interval, the operation is renewed, and is repeated, from time to time, till at the end of twelve or fourteen days the animal dies of the fatigue and continual torment. The quantity obtained from one cat is generally about half an ounce.

"Of manufactures, none for exportation are furnished by the people of Bornou; but the thereof remarks that, for their own consumption, they fabricate from the iron ore of their country, though with little skill, such slight tools as their husbandry requires†."

\* The Sultan of Bornou is continually at war with the various idolatrous tribes of Blacks who border on his dominions. Those who are taken prisoners are sold to the Arabs, and this traffic constitutes the principal commerce of the country.

Slaves are every day brought to him; for the acquisition of this sort of plunder is his constant occupation. *Ben Ali.*

† From the hemp of the country, a coarse linen is manufactured by the people of Bornou. Their cotton, which is also a native produce, is spun to a thread of remarkable fineness, and is then converted to calicoes and muslins of about nine inches in breadth,

The present State of SAMAR, one of the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, and of its native INHABITANTS.

[From the first volume of Travels round the World, by M. De Pagés.]

“THE natives, especially such as reside on the sea coast, were formerly Mahometans; but the missionary jesuits having converted them to the religion and allegiance of Spain, now exercise over them an authority almost unlimited. For the most trivial offences, infants, children, men, women, old and young, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, are subjected to the discipline of the whip; and the ascendancy acquired by the clergy over the minds of the people in their respective parishes is such, that the Indian, having received his stripes with the most humble submission, thanks the jesuit for his good offices, and departs fully satisfied of the necessity of a punishment which nothing but an honest zeal for his welfare could have induced him to inflict. The censure of the church is in general attended with real penitence on the part of the offender; who, as I was assured, is rarely known to relapse into the same fault. Punishment is always executed in public; and each individual being aware that by reason of human frailty he is equally liable to the rod of discipline with his neighbour, it stamps no disgrace, in the estimation of others, on the character of the delinquent. The jesuits are at great pains to instruct them in matters of religion; and hence, besides the ordinary festivals

of the church, two days of the week are set apart for divine service, in which the Indian celebrates the praises of his Creator with such melody, unction, and ingenuous simplicity, as bestow real sublimity on the exercises of his devotion. I happened to be present at the parochial feast, which was observed with much apparent piety by the Indians, though in a manner consonant to the genius of the Spaniards. In the morning the banners of the Virgin, and St. Francis, are displayed from the bastions of the castle, and saluted at the rising and setting of the sun by a discharge of artillery. On this occasion it had been formerly customary to give the Indians a ball in the church, but this religious dance having been found to terminate sometimes in certain irregularities, it was now abolished. — I return to the character of the parochial clergy.

“The jesuit, by means of confession, has access to the most secret thoughts of the Indian; who repairs, in the simplicity of his heart, to submit not only his offences, but every thing that is either the object of his hope or fear, to the ear of his pastor. Advice and admonition on the part of the priest, is always accompanied with some small present, consisting in wine, medicine, liquor or animal food; and thus, by mingling kindness with severity, and

and of a length which varies from fifteen to twenty yards. Such of these cotton manufactures as are enriched with the blue dye of the country, which from the superiority of the indigo, is preferable to that of the East Indies, are valued more highly than silk; yet their only supply of the latter is that which the merchants of Barbary convey.

They also fabricate a species of carpet, as a covering for their horses. Tents, from wool and the hair of goats and of camels, are made for the use of the army.

The little silver they have is converted by their own artists into rings.

rewards

rewards with punishment, the natives are gradually reclaimed from their ignorance and misconduct. Like good children, they learn to regard the missionary as one sent from heaven to conduct them by the path of peace and innocence to temporal as well as eternal happiness. He acquires in their minds all the rights and consequence of an earthly parent, whom nature authorizes to establish the principles of virtue and good order in his family. Hence, in situations of common danger, he is their leader by sea and land; and, on account of his superior wisdom and courage, is looked up to as a strong tower against the invasion and inroads of the Mahometans. It is competent to each missionary in his own parish to issue orders for building or repairing the fort, for providing it in cannon and ammunition, and for the construction of war-canoes, which he frequently commands in person. He appoints all subordinate officers, presides over the discipline of the militia, regulates the number of the guards, and even directs the sentinel to his proper post. In fine, the clergy of Samar are the friends as well as the pastors, the temporal as well as the spiritual leaders of the flock; amongst whom I was unable to discover either the imperious bigot, or the low Levite who earns the emoluments of his profession by a studied accommodation of his life to the taste and humour of his superiors.

"I am no friend to the exorbitant power of the church; but whatever be the ultimate views of monastic policy, good perhaps in some respects, and bad in others, I must say, that on this island it seems to have a happy influence on the real interests of the people. The maxims of the jesuits conduct here seem, in matters both of a civil and spiritual

nature, much to resemble those exercised by their brethren in the missions of Paraguay; though the product of the people's industry being permitted to remain in their own hands, and at their own disposal, is a circumstance much to the credit of the former. I cannot conclude the just encomium of these men, without observing, that in a situation where the extreme attachment of the natives to their pastors might with little encouragement have given occasion to all the evils of violence and insurrection, I saw them meet the edict for the abolition of their order with the deference due to civil authority, but at the same time with a strength and firmness of mind truly manly and heroic. There now only remain in the dominions of Spain the jesuits of the Marian isles, whom we had no authority to molest; and in America, those of California, whom the natives, under different pretences, had hitherto contrived to retain in the country. As to such as were formerly scattered over the other parts of New Spain, they had long since taken their passage for Europe.

"In this island the soil is extremely fertile, easily cultivated, and rewards the industry of the labourer with at least forty fold. Besides other grain, the Indians sow a considerable quantity of rice, but which is wholly intended for the use of the parochial clergy, the settlement of Manilla, and the governor of the province. The common food of the natives consists chiefly in a species of potatoe, yams, and a root named *gaby*. Agreeably to the example of the Indians, I lived here entirely on roots, whose sugary taste is much more pleasant than the uniform insipidity of boiled rice. At first they seemed heavy and flatulent, but they soon became familiar to my stomach; and I was satisfied in the end that

they are more nutritious to the constitution, as well as more relishing to the taste. I ate likewise a good deal of pork, which is less in size, and runs more in filaments, than ours. This flesh, though black, and consisting of strong fibres, like those of the ox, is much sweeter, and by no means difficult of digestion. The Indian has a surprising dexterity at discovering the tabon's nest, and is sometimes so lucky as to light upon no fewer than forty in one hoard; but from the short experience I had of this aliment, I thought it heavy and indigestible. From the sap of the cocoa, nipe, and cabonegro-trees, they obtain the materials for an excellent species of brandy. The last of these owes its name to the black colour of its fibres, which are manufactured by the natives into cables, and different kinds of cordage. Another article of Indian food, is the substance of the cocoa nut, which is eaten in the first stage of congelation; for after it becomes solid, and acquires, in some degree, the taste of a fresh almond, it ceases to be equally digestible.

"The only instrument used by the Indian, either for the purposes of war or industry, is a kind of *couteau-de-chasse*, named, as is above mentioned, *cris*, or *campilan*; an instrument which, after serving him against the enemy, enables him to cut down the largest tree of the wood, to be formed into a canoe, or split into deals for more ordinary uses. When the *campilan* has been so much worn as to be of little further service to him, it is still employed by his wife to grub up a light soil, in which she plants yams, potatoes, and other roots. In the space of two months they are dug up in a state of maturity, and of a wonderful size, inasmuch that within

the compass of eighty yards, the Indian finds his annual supply of these articles for the maintenance of a numerous family.

"The sugar-cane, cabbages, garlic, onions, melons, the Chinese-orange, lemons, vegetables, and, though in small quantity, several other kinds of fruit little known in Europe, are cultivated on this island. It abounds in figs, of which I reckoned no fewer than thirteen or fourteen different species, with a great variety of perfumes. The natives are instructed to give particular attention to the culture of the cocoa-tree, which grows here to an uncommon size. Their woods produce the *pamplemou*, a species of orange near five inches in-diameter, pepper, honey, and wax. Indeed, all these islands are eminently distinguished by the labours of the bee; and hence, I have seldom made an excursion into the woods, without meeting numbers of bee-hives, suspended in the form of oblong gourds from the branches of the trees.

"The bounty of nature in Samar is no less visible in the variety and excellence of its game. The woods swarm with birds of almost every description, particularly the common fowl, which is distinguished, however, from ours by the shortened proportions of her body and legs. The colour of the hen is grey, with feathers spotted like a partridge. There are three different species of turtle-dove; the first grey, and as large as a pullet; the second seems, however, to be only a dwarfish breed of the first; the third is green, and when prepared for the table affords delicate eating. I met with a kind of bird, peculiar, I believe, to these islands, named *calao*, as large as a goose, and agreeable to the taste, but extremely shy and difficult of approach. He frequents low fenny grounds,



grounds, perches on the tallest tree in their vicinity, and flits through the air with a flight singularly rapid. This bird may be distinguished by a large red oblong crown, which seems to be of the same substance with, and indeed only a continuation of his bill. This ornament, added to his size, gives him a kind of majestic air. The feathers are black, mixed with a dusky red. I had the good fortune to obtain a very beautiful head of the calao, which I had the honour to present to the academy of sciences at Paris. The parroquet, cockatoo, and another pretty little species of the same genus, no larger than a linnet, are surprisingly common. There is also found here a very small bird, of the diminutive size of a wasp, whose colours, consisting in a shade of yellow, mixed with red and blue, are peculiarly vivid and beautiful. Many kinds of monkeys, one of which is remarkably large, roe-bucks, wild buffaloes, and other quadrupeds, abound in the woods. I was told a great deal concerning the difference of size, and peculiar qualities, of their serpents; but I confess I saw none either so extremely large, or surprisingly small, as to justify the reports of the natives.

"In these favoured isles, nature seems to have been providentially mindful of the cloathing, as well as of the subsistence of the inhabitants. The foot of a tall species of the *fig-bannan* consists in numberless folds of bark, which, in a certain period of putrefaction, are separable without art or difficulty. These pierced together afford them a species of fine linen, harsh indeed, and disagreeable to the skin, in its natural state, but which they have learned to render sufficiently soft and pliable, by a preparation of lime. Besides serving them as the materials of linen cloth, it is like-

wise useful to them for the purposes of cordage.

"Man, in fine, is fed, clothed, and lodged, in Samar, at little expence of toil, either in mind or body. His rivers are every where shaded with the bamboo, and his woods supply him with the nipe and routan, two shrubs which are made to answer all the purposes of nails; and such is the dexterity of the Indians in uniting the different pieces of bamboo, that in the whole construction of his hut neither iron or any other metal is to be found. Two months industry in the course of the year suffice to provide for the wants of a people, whose innocent and gentle manners are to me the strongest proofs of the real happiness they enjoy.

"The deportment of the men is easy, open, and affable; the women are gay and lively. and possess in some degree the flippancy of the coquette, without, however, being inclined to the vice of prostitution. The Indian has little propensity to labour, but he cannot be accused of avoiding it when any emergency renders it expedient. Vanity and lying are the only immoralities I could discover among them; and, though I have not found them prone either to jealousy or theft, they seemed, however, considerably keen in their dealings with Europeans. I am disposed to believe that sensibility of mind in the Indian is particularly nice and delicate, having observed in the exercise of his friendships a warmth and openness of heart which I have not discovered in an equal degree in any other people.

"A salute, the common token of love betwixt the sexes, and of affection among relations, is here preceded by a gentle aspiration of incense on that part of the face to which the lips are meant to be applied,

plied. The Bissayan Indians in general discover a natural taste for music, and a propensity to the mechanic arts; and I am convinced nothing but want of experience prevents their attaining a very high degree of eminence in these pursuits. The flexibility of their nerves and muscles may, perhaps scarcely be credited: but the fact is, that they handle small objects with their feet with equal ease and dexterity as we do with our hands; and can exert a force in pinching with their toes, not less than that of an European when he pinches with his fingers. With the assistance of his campilan alone the Indian makes his fiddle or guitar, cuts down the largest tree in the forest, and shapes and excavates it into the form of a canoe. At one time it is used to carve on the bamboo, designs of no mean effect, for the ornament of his house; at another, it is turned against the enemy for his personal defence. This, in short, seems to be the only edged tool known, or at least in use, among the Indians of Samar.

"Among their productions of art, the Indian mat merits particular notice, which is a species of manufacture of such fineness, that a piece of six feet went easily into my pocket. It is executed in various handsome designs, and painted with very lively and elegant colours, which they have the art of extracting from different trees.

"Silk, cotton, and the fibres of the fig-bannan above mentioned, furnish the Indian with the raw materials of his best manufactures in cloth. He makes a kind of lace, and embroiders his silk stuffs with surprising elegance and address. Each family is provided in a loom, for its own domestic purposes. At sea you find the Indian a ship's carpenter, sail-maker, and caulker;

on land, a rope-maker, and ship-builder: but though he exercises occasionally almost all the mechanic arts for his own amusement or convenience, he is never found to prosecute any one of them, exclusively of the rest. I was informed, but with what degree of certainty I will not pretend to say, that even the art of writing with a kind of pencil on the leaves of the cocoa-tree, once existed in this island.

"They have a custom, implied in the word *massarer*, of cracking the joints, and pinching the flesh in different parts of the body, which, as they conceive, tends to promote the free circulation of the blood and humours. That of rubbing the children's limbs with oil is likewise common; usages which, as they are not peculiar to them, but prevalent over the whole continent of Asia, may be presumed to have long been found to have a salutary effect. In place of cupping they use severe pinchings on the neck and shoulders, which they continue to exercise until they are satisfied they have attained their end. They let blood by means of incisions made in the skin; and as to physic, they are wonderfully versant in the virtues of many flowers, balms, and plants, the use and application of which they owe to nature and their own experience alone.

"Large breeches, which descend below the calf of the leg, a shirt falling over them to the middle of the thigh, and a handkerchief twisted round the head in the manner of a turban, constitute their ordinary dress. On occasions of ceremony they appear in their round hat, and a kind of bed-gown consisting of silk and cotton. Thick short fingers, and long nails on the middle and little ones, are esteemed highly becoming, inasmuch that I have observed them

them on different persons full two inches in length. The women wear a kind of apron, which, after passing several times round the waist, falls down to the toe; and some of them a petticoat of so very fine and transparent a texture, that a sense of modesty obliges them to tuck up a corner of it to the fore part of the girdle, whereby one leg is completely exposed. Their shift descends only to the top of the hip; and the head-dress differs but little from that of the men, except that they roll their hair high on the head, so as in some degree to give it the appearance of a crown. If to these we add a gown worn only on extraordinary occasions, I have mentioned every article of their apparel.

"The hair of both sexes is remarkably fine, particularly that of the women, which they are accustomed to comb with great care, and to anoint frequently with oil of the cocoa-nut, in order to strengthen and render it of a deep black. Their nose is short and depressed, but the nostrils are by no means dilated like those of the negro; nor, indeed, have I often observed an ugly or ill-favoured woman on those islands. The features are small, and not always regular; but they have beautiful eyes, and faces uncommonly interesting and expressive. They use pitchers of the bamboo; and some of them have a light sort of leaf hat, similar to what is worn by Indians of the first distinction. One of the most beautiful objects, in my opinion, that can meet the eye of a painter, is a fine young Indian on her way to fetch water from the well. The large leaf hat, the delicate arrangement of the thin transparent petticoat, and a light bamboo-pitcher in each hand, bestow a surprising grace and dignity on her person. In the remote parts of the

country, and especially at a distance from the missionaries, persons of both sexes appear almost naked.

"The natives of Samar have fish in plenty and variety from their rivers, as well as the sea-coast, the latter of which supplies them likewise in very elegant pearls; and their manner of fishing, from its singularity, merits notice:—There is a certain pea of an intoxicating quality, named *coco*, found in the island, which being reduced to a powder, is scattered by the Indian, at low water, all over the sand. Upon the return of the tide, the fish which have eaten the bait, appear floating in a state of insensibility on the surface of the water, and are picked up with ease in what numbers the fisherman judges convenient.

"The iron-tree, ebony, and dying-wood, grow in every part of the island; and gold-dust is found in some quantity in its more interior regions; but the monks, in their concern for the morals of the people, have been careful to get this dangerous branch of traffic into their own hands. The Spaniards themselves are forbidden to reside in the Indian villages, under the pretext of protecting the innocence of the natives against the corruption of European manners. The council at Manila, however, has lately restrained, by various regulations, the exorbitant power assumed by the clergy in those islands.

"It would require the elegant genius of a Virgil or Theocritus, to make the reader conceive the natural advantages of Samar—the country, of all those I have yet seen, or that perhaps exist in this planet, the most eminently beautiful. How often have I envied the Bissayans (for, except the natives of Luconia, it is thus they name all the inhabitants of the Philippine isles) the happy re-

tirement of this little insular paradise! If in the province of Tegas, the mind of the traveller is constantly roused and agitated by objects of grandeur and magnificence, in the island Samar, he is soothed and enchanted with an elegant and rich display of simple beauty. In the former the eye flits in succession over nature's stupendous works, from the noble but gloomy forest to the widely extended plain, bounded by the distant horizon; and thence to rivers and lakes, the noise and vast surface of whose waters are formed to impress the mind with the awful majesty of the Creator. In the latter are the emanations of his goodness, springs, fountains, and rivulets; landscapes elegantly composed by various blendings of woods and lawns, curiously intersecting each other as they seem to float over the varied aspect of the soil. Woods, it is true, without the extent and magnitude of the Tegan forest, but which, enlivened by the blossoms of spring, or loaded with their autumnal fruits, yield balm for the wounds, and odours for the refreshment of the natives. The wild beehive hanging from the branches; the air highly perfumed with a very fragrant species of wild jessamy, and the sweet roses of China; every thing, in fine, presents nature in adolescence, such as she exists before the folly and caprice of man have learned to disfigure or efface her native charms.

"Here I was often at a loss to determine which had the most claim to my admiration, the beauty of the country, or the gentle and innocent manners of the natives. Having continued my travels half round the globe, I had become less addicted to local and illiberal partialities, and in some measure sensible how little the narrow prejudices of education ac-

cord with the sentiments of an open and candid mind. Hence, if I envied the Bissayan's country, I was still more covetous of his society, of that sincerity visible in the whole tenour of his conduct, and above all of that calm serenity of mind but little exhibited by the more polished circles in modern Europe. I surveyed with satisfaction the smallest of nature's works, which the levity of a refined imagination has in no instance taught the Bissayan either to impair or destroy. My heart was enchanted in my attendance on their religious worship, which is accompanied with a very simple but interesting and expressive species of music. Under these and similar impressions, I became particularly disposed to acknowledge the goodness of divine providence, which had led me as it were by the hand through all my wanderings; and my thoughts being turned towards religion in general, I gave more attention than usual to the consideration of my own.

"The language of christianity teaches us to ascribe to the divine mind an attribute of excellence unknown in any other religious system. In the new Testament he is represented equally transcending in meekness, gentleness, and humility, as in power, wisdom, and majesty; and not less great and adorable for the examples of his condescension, than for that astonishing grandeur displayed in the number and magnitude of his works. By other religions he has been portrayed as the object of awe and terror; by this he is revealed in the amiable character of brother and friend, as well as of law-giver and judge. Qualified, therefore, to quiet the fears, to encourage the hopes, and in one word to constitute the happiness of all who submit to its precepts in the same honesty

honesty and simplicity with the good Bissayans, the elements of the christian scheme establish, in their uniform spirit and tendency, an unquestionable claim to the universal belief and acceptance of mankind."

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CHARACTER of the PEASANTRY of NORWAY, with a SHORT ACCOUNT of the PRESENT STATE of that COUNTRY.

[From the third volume of Coxe's Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.]

THE Norwegians, being the same race with the Danes, and so long connected with them in religion and government, speak the same language, with a necessary mixture of provincial expressions. Wilse, a native of Norway, informs us, that the gentry and inhabitants of the principal towns, allowing for a few provincial expressions, speak purer Danish than is usual even in Denmark, not excepting Copenhagen; that the inhabitants of the eastern confines bordering on Sweden naturally blend many Swedish words; that throughout the whole country the general accent and cadence is more analogous to the Swedish than to the Danish pronunciation; and that the inhabitants on the western coasts, who have a more constant communication with the Danes, partake less of this peculiarity.

"The Norwegians maintain their own army, which consists of 24,000 infantry, and 6,000 cavalry. The troops are much esteemed for their bravery, and like the Swiss mountaineers, exceedingly attached to their country.

"The horses which supply their cavalry are small, but strong, active, and hardy.

"Every peasant (those excepted, who inhabit the coasts, and are

classed as sailors) not born in a town, or upon some noble estate, is by birth a soldier, and enrolled for service at the age of sixteen. From that year until he has attained the age of 26, he is classed in the young militia. At 26 he enters into the old militia, and continues to serve till 36, at which period he receives his discharge. The militia take the field every year in the month of June, and remain encamped about a month.

"Norway is blessed with a particular code, called the Norway Law, compiled by Grieffelsfeld, at the command of Christian the Fifth, the great legislator of his country. By this law, the palladium of Norway, the peasants are free, a few only excepted on certain noble estates near Frederickstadt. But the virtue of this law extends itself even to those serfs, for no proprietor can have more than one of these privileged estates; and unless he possesses a title or certain rank, and resides on his estate, he loses his privilege, and the peasants are free.

"The benefits of the Norway code are so visible in its general effects on the happiness and in the appearance of the peasants, that a traveller must be blind who does not instantly perceive the difference between the free peasants of Norway and

and the enslaved vassals of Denmark, though both living under the same government.

"Many of the peasants pretend to be descended from the antient nobles, and some even from the royal line: they greatly pride themselves upon this supposed descent, and are careful not to give their children in marriage but to their equals in birth and blood.

"A curious custom prevails in Norway, called *odels right*, or right of inheritance, by which the proprietor of certain freehold estates may re-purchase his estate, which either he or any of his ancestors have sold, provided he can prove the title of his family. But in order to enforce this claim, his ancestors, or he, must have declared every tenth year, at the sessions, that they lay claim to the estate, but that they want money to redeem it; and if he, or his heirs are able to obtain a sufficient sum, then the possessor must, on receiving the money, give up the estate to the *odels-man*. For this reason, the peasants who are freeholders, keep a strict account of their pedigree. This custom is attended with advantages and disadvantages. As to the advantages, it fixes the affections of the peasant on his native place, and he improves with pleasure those possessions which are so strongly secured to him: it increases the consequence and excites the industry of his family. On the contrary, the estate loses its value when sold to another person, because, as he possesses only a precarious estate, which he may be obliged to resign, he is not inclined to improve the lands, as if they were irrecoverably his own.

"The Norwegian peasants possess much spirit and fire in their manner, are frank, open, and undaunted, yet not insolent; never fawning

to their superiors, yet paying proper respect to those above them.

"Their principal mode of salute is by offering their hand; and when we gave them or paid them a trifle, the peasants, instead of returning thanks by words or by a bow, shook our hands with great frankness and cordiality.

"The peasants of Norway are well clothed and well lodged, and appear to possess more comforts and conveniencies of life than any which I have seen in the course of my travels, excepting in some parts of Switzerland.

"They weave their ordinary cloth and linen; they make also a kind of stuff like a Scotch plaid. The cloth which the men use for their coats is principally of a stone colour, with red button holes, and white metal buttons.

"The women, while employed in their household affairs, frequently, as in Sweden, appear only with a petticoat and a shift, with a collar reaching to the throat, and a black sash tied round the waist. Their linen is remarkably fine: and as they are usually well made, this mode of dress sets off their shapes to the highest advantage.

"The common food of the peasant is milk, cheese, dried or salted fish, and sometimes, but rarely, flesh or dried meat, oat-bread called *sladbrod*, baked in small cakes about the size and thickness of a pancake; it is usually made twice a year. I observed a woman employed in preparing it: having placed over the fire a round iron plate, she took a handful of dough, and rolled it out with a rolling-pin to the size of the iron plate; she then placed it on the plate, and baked it on one side, then turned it on the other with a small stick. In this manner she baked an astonishing number in less

than a quarter of an hour; and I was informed that one woman, in one day, can bake sufficient for the family during a whole year. The peasants also, in times of scarcity, mix the bark of trees, usually of the fir tree, with their oatmeal; then dry this bark before the fire, grind it to powder, mix it with some oatmeal, then bake it, and eat it like bread: it is bitterish, and affords but little nourishment.

"As a luxury, the peasants eat sharke, or thin slices of meat, sprinkled with salt, and dried in the wind, like hung beef; also a soup made like a hasty-pudding, of oatmeal or barley-meal, and in order to render it more palatable, they put in it a pickled herring or salted macerel.

"The use of potatoes has been lately introduced, but those roots do not grow to any size in a country where the summer is so short.

"Fabricius strongly recommends, in times of scarcity, the mosses and lichens, and particularly the *lichen islandicus*, which yields a very nourishing sustenance, and is commonly used for food in Iceland.

"According to a series of meteorological observations taken by Mr. Wilse, pastor of Sydeborg, it snows most in December and in the middle of January. It rains most in April, October, and August. The clearest weather is from the middle of June to the middle of July, and during the whole month of March. Winds are most violent in the middle and latter end of April, May, and October. The stillest season is in January; from the tenth of June to the eleventh of July, and in the middle of August, a circumstance very profitable to the oat-harvest, which of all corn is more easily subject to cast its ripe grain in windy weather. If we compare the cli-

mate of Norway with the climate of London, March at London is like April and the beginning of May in Norway; and the March of Norway is our January. On account of the frequent spring frosts, seeds ought not to be sown in gardens before the twentieth of May, and the frosts of the latter end of August are no less detrimental.

"The heat and cold varies so much in Norway, that in June or July, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, as observed by Mr. Wilse at Sydeborg, near Frederickshall, not unusually rises to 88, and on the first of January 1782, fell to -22, or 54 degrees below the freezing point. At Eger, according to professor Stroem's observations, it fell on that same day to -36½; and at Kongsberg to -40, or 72 below freezing point, a degree of cold by which quicksilver is congealed. This extreme rise and fall of the quicksilver makes a difference of 110 degrees between the greatest heat and greatest cold at the same place; a difference much more considerable than is observed at Upsala or Stockholm, which lie nearly in the same latitude as Sydeborg.

"In some places vegetation is so quick, that the corn is sown and cut in six or seven weeks.

"Tillage cannot generally be very flourishing in a country, which is in many parts so rocky as to defy the plough; where the climate is so severe, that the hoar-frosts begin in September, and where the cold in the highlands prevents the maturity of the corn. It is true, indeed, that the small vallies, and the intervals between the rocks, are usually provided with a fruitful soil, and that the industry of the peasants covers the naked rocks, and the sandy grounds with a new earth; yet the arable grounds are few, and no parts  
of

Norway yield sufficient corn for interior consumption, the districts of Hedemark, Toten, and Ringerike, excepted.

" This deficiency is occasioned by the nature of the climate and soil. In spring, and in the first summer months, the drought and heat are frequently so intolerable, and the vegetable mould so thin, that the roots of the corn and grass are burned up, if a few days of sunshine succeed each other without rain. Also the greatest part of the soil is so much blended with sand, that too much rain cannot fall in spring and summer. In autumn, on the contrary, the decreased warmth, and the great quantity of rain, prevents the corn from ripening, and it is frequently cut green. Not unusually, when a favourable season has ripened the corn, the frequent and violent autumnal rains hinder the carrying of it in until it is almost spoiled. Also the small quantity of arable land seldom lies fallow, but is sowed every year, and therefore requires more manure than can be easily procured.

" All these circumstances so much counteract the industry of the Norwegian farmers, that even in the most favourable seasons, a considerable importation of corn is annually necessary; and in unfavourable harvests the utmost dearth is experienced in all the inland parts, as the transport of the corn from the sea coasts is highly expensive.

" In order to dry the corn exposed to the heavy rains, the peasants fix forked poles, about ten feet high, place rows of other poles transversely, on which they file the sheaves, the lowermost row hanging about two feet from the ground. They are also frequently obliged to bake the corn in wooden sheds, heated by means of stoves,

" As Norway, therefore, does not produce sufficient corn for its own consumption, Denmark enjoys the exclusive privilege of supplying with grain that part called Sudenfields, comprehending the two governments of Aggerhuus and Christianland. This monopoly frequently occasions a scarcity of corn; but though sometimes attended with great inconveniences and occasional distress, yet will not be abolished without great difficulty, because the Danish nobles, who are always at the head of affairs, find their interest in its continuance.

" But Norway, however deficient in arable land, is exceedingly rich in pasture, and consequently produces much cattle. The mode of keeping the cows is similar to that practised in the mountains of Switzerland. About the middle of May they are driven to the meadows; towards the middle of June are sent to pasture on the heights, or in the midst of the forests, where they continue till autumn. The cows are usually attended by a woman, who inhabits a small hut, milks them twice a day, and makes butter and cheese on the spot. On their return the cattle are pastured in the meadows, until the snow sets in about the middle of October, when they are removed to the stables, and fed during winter with four-fifths of straw, and one-fifth of hay. The horses are usually foddered with hay during winter, and are seldom pastured before the beginning of June. In some places the cattle are fed also with salted fish.

" Agriculture has been of late years greatly improved in these parts, and the landed estates are increased within these last fifty years near one third in their value. This improvement is considerably owing to the labours and encouragement of the patriotic



triotic society, which gives premiums for the best improvements and instructions in every part of farming.

"The fisheries, particularly on the western coast, furnish employment and wealth to the natives, and are the means of supplying the finest sailors for manning the Danish fleet in times of war.

"The principal fish, which, dried and salted, furnish so considerable an article of exportation, are the cod, the ling, and the whiting: their livers, besides, yield train oil, and the smallest are given as winter fodder to the cattle.

"The herring-fishery is not so profitable as formerly, as these fish, which used to frequent the coasts of Norway, in their progress from the north pole, now keep at a greater distance from these shores, and first approach the rocks of Marstrand and Stroemstrand, which has transferred to the Swedes the principal herring-fishery in these parts, though still sufficient profit accrues to those enterprising fishermen who venture further from the coasts.

"The salmon are taken partly in the bays, and partly in the rivers, the streams of which they ascend for the purpose of spawning in spring. This is the most costly fish in these parts, and is cured by salting and smoking.

"Mackerel might also be taken in much larger quantities, if many of the Norwegians were not prejudiced against eating them, from a strange notion, that shoals of mackerel often attack and devour the human species, when bathing in the sea.

"The extensive forests of Norway, which furnish riches to the proprietors, and so much employment to the natives, are applied to the following purposes:

"1. For spars, beams, and planks, which are exported in such large quantities. 2. For charcoal, which is required for the smelting of the ores, for the glass furnaces, and other manufactures. The wood used for this purpose is usually of an inferior sort, and chiefly in the inner parts, where the transport of the planks is too expensive. 3. For building, the greatest part of the houses in Norway being constructed of wood; for although there is plenty of stone, yet the transporting of the materials, and the lime, are too expensive for common use. 4. For the roads, which, in the more northern parts, are almost entirely formed with wood. 5. For turpentine, for which the oldest trees are mostly used. 6. For fencing and enclosing the fields, quickset hedges being almost unknown. The wood used for enclosures is chiefly pine or fir, and must be renewed every three or four years. 7. For fuel. 8. For manure, by the same process of burning the trees and manuring the soil with the ashes, which is practised in Sweden, and is so destructive to the forests.

"Besides these general uses derived from the forests, the particular trees are beneficially employed to the following purposes:

"The bark of the pine or fir, and also of the elm, which is not common in Norway, is dried, ground, and mixed among meal, and is boiled up with other food, to feed swine, who thrive much upon it.

"The birch, which flourishes in these northern regions, is particularly useful for various purposes. It is more generally used for fuel than any other wood. The outer bark, or the white rind, on account of its firmness and sap, easily escapes putrefaction

refraction even in the dampest places: and for this reason is employed for covering the roofs of the houses, in order to keep out the rain.

"This mode of roofing occasions such a large consumption of the outward bark, that the birch, which are felled, would not supply a sufficient quantity; it is, therefore, not unusual to strip off the outward bark while the tree is standing, and if peeled with care, it always grows again.

"The inner bark of the birch is applied like the bark of oaks for tanning hides, fishing nets, and sails, which it renders more durable.

"This tree also supplies a kind of wine by the following process: a hole is bored in the trunk, and the wine distils into a flask placed under it. The tree suffers little damage, if the hole is immediately closed by a wooden peg. The twigs of the birch, as well as the elder and aspen

are given to horses in scarcity of fodder. A decoction of oak leaves in beer is used by the peasants as a cure for the rheumatism, by applying a cloth dipped in the decoction to the part affected.

"The general exports of Norway are tallow, butter, salt, dried fish, timber and plank, horses and horned cattle, silver, allum, Prussian blue, copper, of which the celebrated mine of Roras yields annually to the value of £. 67,500; and iron, of which the most productive mine is near Arendal.

"Norway abounds in lakes and rivers, more than any country I ever visited excepting Switzerland. It is remarkable for the number and beauty of the bays fringed with wood. Many of the lakes are so large, that they appear like inlets of the sea: and the bays are so small, that they appear like lakes: but I am anticipating my journal."

## CHARACTER, MANNERS, and CUSTOMS of the PEOPLE of MOROCCO.

[From Lempriere's Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Moggadore, &c.]

"TO think justly and with candour of the Moorish character, we must take into our consideration the natural effects of a total want of education, a most rigidly arbitrary government, and a climate calculated, as far as climate has influence, to stimulate and excite the vicious passions, as well as by its debilitating and relaxing influence to weaken and depress the nobler energies of the mind. To these we may add the disadvantages arising from the want of a free intercourse with other nations, and the influence of

an absurd and uncharitable religion.

"In such a state of things the traveller is not to be surprised if he observes most of the vices of savage nations grafted upon those of luxury and indolence; if he observes superstition, avarice, and lust, the leading features of character, with their natural concomitants, deceit and jealousy; he is not to be surprised if he finds but little of the amiable attachments and propensities, little of friendship or social union with each other, since the nature of the government, and the habits

habits of his private life, are calculated to inspire each man with a distrust and suspicion of his neighbour.

"I will not assert, however, that this character will universally apply. —However the customs and government of a nation may militate against virtue and excellence, there are always splendid exceptions to the prevalent vices of every society. There are certainly among the Moors many whose private virtues would do honour to any civilized nation; but I am sorry to add, that those characters are not numerous. Groaning under the severest oppressions of despotism, they lose all spirit for industry and improvement, and suffer indolence and ignorance to reign without controul. Sensible of the uncertainty of enjoying the fruits of labour and ingenuity, the great majority of the people remain content with the bare necessities of life, or when in power, endeavour to enrich themselves by the same means which had before kept them in a state of poverty.

"Arts and sciences seem to be almost unknown here, or, if at all cultivated, it is only by the Jews, who indeed are the only industrious and ingenious people in the country. The Moors in general may be considered as existing in the pastoral state, following only a few mechanical trades, and leaving every thing that requires invention to the Jews, who have likewise the principal management of their commercial and pecuniary matters; and even those few of the Moors who are merchants, are obliged to have Jew agents for the purpose of transacting their business.

"Fearful of having it discovered that they are rich, sooner than part with money, which, under such circumstances, is of little or no use to

them, they deprive themselves of the luxuries and even comforts of life; they hoard up and conceal their treasures, though seldom so artfully but they are at length detected, and consequently plundered by the bashaw, the prince, or the emperor. To conceal more effectually their riches, they are obliged to have recourse to every form of dissimulation and deceit; and being exercised in these qualities during the early part of life, at a more advanced period they become an established part of their character.

"The Moors are naturally of a grave and pensive disposition, fervid in professions of friendship; but very insincere in their attachments. They have no curiosity, no ambition of knowledge; an indolent habit, united to the want of mental cultivation renders them perhaps even more callous than other unenlightened people to every delicate sensation, and they require more than ordinary excitement to render them sensible of pleasure or of pain. This languor of sentiment is, however, unaccompanied with the smallest spark of courage or fortitude. When in adversity, they manifest the most abject submission to their superiors, and in prosperity, their tyranny and pride is insupportable. They frequently smile, but seldom are heard to laugh loud. The most infallible mark of internal tranquillity and enjoyment is, when they amuse themselves with stroking or playing with their beard. When roused by resentment, their disputes rarely proceed further than violently to abuse each other in the most opprobrious language. They never fight or box with their fists, like our peasantry; but when a quarrel proceeds to great extremities, they collar each other, and sometimes terminate a dispute by assassination.

"It has been somewhere remarked, that whatever debases the human spirit corrupts at the same time and depraves the heart. That abjectness of disposition, which a state of slavery induces, eradicates every noble, every generous sentiment. The Moors are dishonourable and unfair in all their dealings; nor are the greatest among them exempt from propensities which would disgrace the meanest of the civilized inhabitants of Europe. When the late emperor's army was at Tangier, one of the consuls invited the Moorish general and his particular friend to tea. Soon after their departure the consul missed one of his tea-spoons, and knowing the dispositions of the Moors, sent to the general for it; who immediately returned it, and simply apologized, by saying he had put it into his pocket by mistake.

"When we treat of national genius or character, it were to be wished that language supplied us with some term which might serve to indicate that habit or custom is the great framer of the characters of nations. Of this truth there can be no stronger evidence than Morocco affords. Torpid and insensible as I have represented the Moors in general to be, this character is by no means applicable to them in early life. In the state of childhood they possess an uncommon share of vivacity and acuteness, but they sink gradually into indolence and stupidity as they advance in life. It is evident, therefore, that to the want of education only this circumstance is to be attributed. While at school they are scarcely less remarkable for attention than ability; and as they commit their lessons to memory, no small share of application is required. This course is, however, extremely limited, and continues for a very short period; it consists at most of

being instructed in certain parts of the Koran, and perhaps learning to write. After this all attention to learning ceases; and though their parents never indulge them, yet they are rarely chastised, and are left to themselves in general almost in a state of nature.

"A late eloquent writer has remarked, that "the antients did not, like Archimedes, want a spot on which to fix their engines, but they wanted an engine to move the moral world. The press is that engine,"—and to the want of it may fairly be attributed the ignorance, the stupidity, the slavery of the African nations. The art of printing is entirely prohibited and unknown in Barbary; and, from some inexplicable cause, most of the manuscripts which were possessed by their Saracen ancestors are lost to the present generation of Moors. A few indeed are still in being, which treat of astronomy, astrology, and physic; but those on astrology only are at present studied.

"If any thing could effect an important and beneficial change in these people, it would be the example of some great and magnanimous monarch, who by some singular revolution might be raised to the throne of Morocco. In so despotic a government, where religion conspires with habit in teaching the subject to consider his prince as something more than man, much more might be effected by example, than in a free country, where the sovereign is merely considered as an individual placed on the throne for the public good, subject to all the imperfections and frailties incident to human nature, and where the mind by being allowed a free scope for reflection, disdains all authority but that of reason and truth.

"The plan adopted, however,  
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for the education of the princes of Morocco, so far from tending to the improvement of their minds, or the enlargement of their ideas, serves, on the contrary, too frequently to render them still more remarkable for vice and brutality than even the worst of their subjects. As soon as they become of an age that renders it imprudent to trust them any longer within the walls of the harem, they are taken out, and put under the care of one of their father's confidential negroes, with whom they soon form a close intimacy, from whom they imbibe all the bad qualities which are inseparable from a state of slavery, and by whom they are also initiated in vices of every kind, in debauchery, cruelty, and oppression. Their education extends no further than to read and write; and their knowledge of the world is confined to what they can observe and learn in the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca. They are totally unacquainted with the political history of every foreign power; and their knowledge of their own government is confined principally to its worst parts. To acquaint themselves with the resources of the country, and the improvements which from its situation it would admit of, or to direct any part of their attention to those regulations in their government which might tend to the advantage and ease of their subjects, or to their own real aggrandizement, is as much out of the line of their education, as the Principia of Newton. Thus they ascend the throne with all the prejudices of ignorance, with all the vices of barbarism, with a pride that teaches them to look upon their fellow creatures as inferior beings, and without any sentiments of tenderness, compassion, or true policy, to restrain the arm of despotism from its most cruel and fa-

tal excesses. Thus ill-qualified in general are the sovereigns of Morocco for effecting a reformation in the manners and character of their people.

"The ignorance of the Moors is, however, no bar to their loquacity. They speak very loud, and generally two or three at a time, as they are not very exact in waiting for a reply. Useless as the forms of politeness may appear in the eye of the philosopher, there are some of them which probably conduce in no trifling degree to even our intellectual excellence and improvement.

"Personal cleanliness has been pointed out by modern philosophers as one of those circumstances which serve to mark and determine the civilization of a people. It was in vain that Mahomet enjoined the frequency of ablution as a religious duty to the Moors. Their dress, which should be white, is but seldom washed, and their whole appearance evinces that they perform this branch of their religious ceremonies in but a slovenly manner. With this degree of negligence as to their persons, we may be justly surprized to find united a most scrupulous nicety in their habitations and apartments. They enter their chambers barefooted, and cannot bear the slightest degree of contamination near the place where they are seated. This delicacy again is much confined to the insides of their houses. The streets receive the whole of their rubbish and filth, and by these means the ground is so raised in most parts of the city of Morocco, that the new buildings always stand considerably higher than the old.

"The persons of the Moorish men are so disguised by their dress, that it is impossible to acquire any good idea of their form or proportion. In height they are commonly

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above the middle size, and they are rather meagre than fat. Their complexions in general are sallow in the northern parts of the empire, but are darker in proportion to their situation towards the south. Their features have universally a great sameness. Their eyes are black and full, they have an aquiline nose, and in general a good set of teeth.

"The dress of the men consists of a short linen shirt, with large and loose sleeves hanging half-way down to the ground. A pair of loose linen drawers, reaching almost to the ankle; over which they wear another loose pair, made of woollen cloth. Over the shirt they wear two or three woollen cloth waistcoats of different colours, and of European manufacture; these garments are made full as loose as our great coats: they are connected before by very small buttons, and are fastened tight round the waist by a silk belt. Over these waistcoats they throw a velvet cord, which crosses the right shoulder, and suspends on the left side a curved dagger or knife, sheathed in a brass case. This is the dress the Moors wear when in their houses; but when they go abroad they cover it with the haik, a part of dress which has been already noticed. It is thrown over the whole of their other cloathing in a careless but easy manner, something similar to the Scotch plaid.

"Those Moors who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca are entitled to wear a turban, and are named *Ell-hach*. They are always treated with peculiar respect. Even those beasts of burden indeed which have performed this journey are held in great veneration, and upon their return are exempted from labour. The other class of Moors wear only plain red caps. The Moors in general shave their heads close, leaving

on the upper part a single lock, and wear their beards long. They use no stockings or shoes, but substitute in the place of the latter yellow slippers. They are very fond of beads, of which the better order always carry a rosary in their hands; but they use them more as a matter of amusement than for any religious purpose. Many also wear plain gold rings on their fingers; and those whose circumstances will allow them to go to that expence, possess likewise watches, which, like the rosary, they consider rather as an ornament than an article from which any great utility can be derived. Very few, in fact, are properly acquainted with their use.

"This may serve to give some idea of the dress of the rich; but among the poorer class of people some wear the linen drawers, shirt, and one woollen waistcoat, and over it the haik; and others have merely a coarse woollen frock, belted round the waist, and covered with the haik. When the weather is cold or rainy the Moors in general lay aside the use of the haik, and substitute the *fulam*, a loose cloak, made of white or blue woollen cloth of European manufacture, which reaches down to their feet, and has a hood to protect and cover the head.

"The houses in most of the towns in this empire appear at a little distance like vaulted tombs in a churchyard; and the entrance into the best of them has but a mean appearance. The rooms are generally on the ground floor, and whitened on the outside. As the roofs are quite flat, they serve as verandos, where the Moorish women commonly sit for the benefit of the air, and in some places it is possible to pass nearly over the whole town, without having occasion to descend into the street.

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"As the best apartments are all backwards, a stable, or perhaps something worse, is the place to which visitors are first introduced. Upon entering the house, the stranger is either detained in this place, or in the street, till all the women are dispatched out of the way; he is then allowed to enter a square court, into which four narrow and long rooms open by means of large folding doors, which, as they have no windows, serve likewise to introduce light into the apartments. The court has generally in its centre a fountain, and if it is the house of a Moor of property, it is floored with blue and white chequered tiling. The doors are usually painted of various colours in a chequered form, and the upper parts of them are frequently ornamented with very curious carved work. None of the chambers have fire-places, and their victuals are always dressed in the court-yard, in an earthen stove, heated with charcoal.

"When the visitor enters the room where he is received by the master of the house, he finds him sitting cross-legged and bare-footed on a mattress, covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor, or else on a common mat. This, with a narrow piece of carpeting, is in general the only furniture he will meet with in Moorish houses; though they are not destitute of other ornaments. In some, for instance, he will find the walls decorated with looking-glasses of different sizes. In others, watches and clocks in glass cases; and in some the apartments are hung with the skins of lions or tigers, or adorned with a display of muskets and sabres. In the houses of those who live in the very first style, an European mahogany bedstead, with one or two mattresses, covered with fine white linen, is some-

times placed at each end of the room. These, however, are only considered as ornaments, as the Moors always sleep on a mattress, or a mat placed upon the floor, and covered only with their haick, or perhaps a quilt.

"As the law of Mahomet strictly proscribes the use of pictures of every description, this delightful species of ornament finds no place in the houses of the Moors. I was, however, acquainted with a Moor at Morocco, who used to exhibit a rare-show to his friends and acquaintance, all of whom appeared to express infinite surprize and admiration at his exhibition. This, indeed, was not the only instance in which he was guilty of violating the Mahometan law. He scrupled not to drink very freely his bottle of port or claret, which, as it was manufactured by christians, was from that circumstance an aggravated offence. He employed me to procure for him from Mogodore three dozen of claret, which appeared to administer to him infinite comfort and satisfaction. This affection indeed for the productions of Europe made him perhaps more than usually favourable to its natives. However this may be, he was the only man who shewed me much attention during my residence at Morocco. He repeatedly took me to his house, and made me little presents of various kinds, which at that place proved very acceptable.

"When a Moor receives his guests he never rises from his seat, but shakes hands, enquires after their health, and desires them to sit down, either on a carpet or a cushion placed on the floor for that purpose. Whatever be the time of day, tea is then brought in on a tea-board with short feet. This is the highest compliment that can be offered by a Moor;

for tea is a very expensive and scarce article in Barbary, and is only drank by the rich and luxurious. Their manner of preparing it is by putting some green tea, a small quantity of tansey, the same portion of mint, and a large proportion of sugar (for the Moors drink their tea very sweet) into the tea-pot at the same time, and filling it up with boiling water. When these articles are infused a proper time, the fluid is then poured into remarkably small cups of the best India china, the smaller the more genteel, without any milk, and, accompanied with some cakes or sweetmeats, it is handed round to the company. From the great esteem in which this beverage is held by the Moors, it is generally drank by very small and slow sips, that its flavour may be the longer enjoyed; and as they usually drink a considerable quantity whenever it is introduced, this entertainment is seldom finished in less time than two hours.

"The other luxuries of the Moors are snuff, of which they are uncommonly fond, and smoking tobacco, for which the greater part use wooden pipes about four feet in length, with an earthen bowl; but the princes or emperor generally have the bowls made of solid gold. Instead of the indulgence of opium, which, from the heavy duty imposed upon that article by the emperor, is too expensive to be used by the Moors, they substitute the achicha, a species of flax. This they powder and infuse in water in small quantities. The Moors assert, that it produces agreeable ideas, but own that when it is taken to excess it most powerfully intoxicates. In order to produce this effect, they likewise mix with their tobacco an herb named in this country, khaf, which by smoking occasions all the inebriat-

ing effects of the achicha. The use of spirits as well as wine is strictly forbidden by the Koran; there are, however, very few among the Moors who do not joyfully embrace every private opportunity of drinking both to excess.

"With respect to the hours for eating, the people of this country are remarkably regular. Very soon after day-break they take their breakfast, which is generally a composition of flour and water boiled thin, together with an herb which gives it a yellow tinge. The male part of the family eat in one apartment, and the female in another. The children are not permitted to eat with their parents, but take their meals afterwards with the servants; indeed in most other respects they are treated exactly as servants or slaves by their parents. The mess is put into an earthen bowl, and brought in upon a round wooden tray. It is placed in the centre of the guests, who sit cross-legged either on a mat or on the floor, and who form a circle for the purpose. Having previously washed themselves, a ceremony always performed before and after meals, each person with his spoon attacks vigorously the bowl, while they diversify the entertainment by eating with it fruit or bread. At twelve o'clock they dine, performing the same ceremonies as at a breakfast. For dinner, from the emperor down to the peasant, their dish is universally cuscusoo, the mode of preparing which has been already described. I believe I have intimated more than once that neither chairs, tables, knives or forks, are made use of in this country. The dish is therefore brought in upon a round tray and placed on the floor, round which the family sit as at breakfast, and with their fingers commit a violent assault on its contents; they are at the same time,



time, however, attended by a slave or domestic, who presents them with water and a towel occasionally to wash their hands. From the want of the simple and convenient invention of knives and forks, it is not uncommon in this country to see three or four people pulling to pieces the same piece of meat, and afterwards with their fingers stirring up the paste or *cuscofoo*, of which they often take a whole handful at once into their mouth. Their manner of eating indeed was to me so disgusting, that though *cuscofoo* is in reality a very good dish, yet it required some time to get rid of my prejudice so far as to be induced to relish it. At sunset they sup upon the same dish, and indeed supper is their principal meal.

“Such is the general mode of living among the principal people in towns. There are considerable multitudes, however, who do not fare so well, but are obliged to content themselves with a little bread and fruit instead of animal food, and to sleep in the open streets. This kind of existence seems ill calculated to endure even in an inactive state; far more severe must it therefore be to those who exercise the laborious employment of couriers in this country, who travel on foot a journey of three or four hundred miles, at the rate of between thirty and forty miles a day, without taking any other nourishment than a little bread, a few figs, and some water, and who have no better shelter at night than a tree. It is wonderful with what alacrity and perseverance these people perform the most fatiguing journeys at all seasons of the year. There is a regular company of them in every town, who are ready to be dispatched at a moment's warning to any part of the country their employers may have occasion to send them. They

constitute in this empire the only mode of conveyance for all public and private dispatches; and as they are well known in the place to which they belong, they are very punctual in delivering every thing that is put into their hands. From their steady pace in travelling, at the rate of about four miles an hour, and from their being able to pass over parts which from the mountainous state of the country, and from the want of good roads, persons on horseback would find inaccessible, they are indeed by far the most expeditious messengers that could be employed. As a proof of the amazing exertions of which they are capable, I need only mention, that there have been repeated instances of a courier proceeding from Morocco to Tangier, which is a journey of about three hundred and thirty miles, in six days.

“As none but the very vulgar go on foot in this country; for the purpose of visiting, mules are considered as more genteel than horses; and the greatest pride of a Moor is to have such as walk remarkably fast, and keep his footmen; of which the number is proportionable to the rank and consequence of the master, on a continued run.

“As the Moors are not fond of admitting men into their houses, except upon particular occasions, if the weather is fine they place a mat, and sometimes a carpet, on the ground before their door, seat themselves upon it cross-legged, and receive their friends, who form a circle, sitting in the same manner, with their attendants on the outside of the groupe. Upon these occasions they either drink tea, or smoke and converse. The streets are sometimes crowded with parties of this kind; some engaged in playing at an inferior kind of chess or draughts, at which they

they are very expert; but the majority in conversation. The people of this country, indeed, are so decidedly averse to standing up, or walking about, that if only two or three people meet, they squat themselves down in the first clean place they can find, if the conversation is to hold but for a few minutes."

"The manner of salutation among the Moors, is, when two equals meet, by a quick motion they shake hands, and afterwards kiss each other's hand. When an inferior meets a superior, such as an officer of rank, a judge, or a governor, he kisses that part of his haick which covers the arm, and sometimes, as a higher mark of respect, he will kiss his feet. But the compliment due to the emperor, or any of the princes of the blood, is to take off the cap or turban, and to prostrate the head to the ground. When two particular friends or relations meet, they anxiously embrace and kiss each other's faces and beards for a few minutes, make a number of enquiries about the health of each party, as well as that of their families, but seldom allow time for a reply.

"The common topics for conversation among these people, are the occurrences of the place, religion, their women, and their horses. As curiosity is a quality which naturally attaches to all indolent people, it may easily be conjectured that the Moors are not deficient in this respect. It is incredible with what avidity they lay hold of any trifling circumstance which may occur in the neighbourhood; what pleasure and what pride they seem to take in communicating it; nor are they deficient in the arts of magnifying or adorning the tale with every addition which may serve to render it more

palatable, or give it a greater appearance of plausibility.

"Religion is also a favourite topic; but this subject is confined principally to those societies which are frequented by their talbs, or men of letters. As these gentlemen, however, are not a little proud of their acquirements in reading and writing, they do not fail to embrace every opportunity of manifesting their superiority over those who are not so happy as to be distinguished by those accomplishments.

"Decency of manners and delicacy in conversation are among the most certain marks of refinement and civilization, and the contrary vices are equally universal characteristics of ignorance and barbarism. The conversation of the Moors concerning their women is of the most trifling and disgusting description, and consists of absurd and vulgar observations, equally repugnant to decency and common sense.

"The subject, however, on which, like our young men of fashion in England, they appear most calculated to shine, is their horses. It would indeed be truly disgraceful not to be accomplished upon this topic, since it appears to occupy, both day and night, by far the greatest portion of their attention. I have formerly intimated that these animals are seldom kept in stables in Morocco. They are watered and fed only once a day, the former at one o'clock at noon, and the latter at sun-set; and the only mode which they use to clean them, is by washing them all over in a river two or three times a week, and suffering them to dry themselves.

"Notwithstanding the attachment which the Moors manifest to their horses, they most certainly use them with great cruelty. Their highest

highest pleasure, and one of their first accomplishments, is, by means of long and sharp spurs to make the horse go full speed, and then to stop him instantaneously; and in this they certainly manifest uncommon dexterity. The iron work of their bridles is so constructed that by its pressure on the horse's tongue and lower jaw, with the least exertion of the rider, it fills his mouth full of blood, and if not used with the utmost caution throws him inevitably on his back. The bridle has only a single rein, which is so very long that it serves the purpose of both whip and bridle. The Moorish saddle is in some degree similar to the Spanish, but the pommel is still higher and more peaked. Their stirrups, in which they ride very short, are so formed as to cover the whole of the foot. They either plate or gild them, according to the dignity, opulence, or fancy of the possessor. Their saddles, which are covered with red woollen cloth, or, if belonging to a person of consequence, with red satin or damask, are fastened with one strong girth round the body, in the European style, and another round the shoulders.

"The Moors frequently amuse themselves by riding with the utmost apparent violence against a wall; and a stranger would conceive it impossible for them to avoid being dashed to pieces, when just as the horse's head touches the wall, they stop him with the utmost accuracy. To strangers on horseback or on foot it is also a common species of compliment to ride violently up to them, as if intending to trample them to pieces, and then to stop their horses short and fire a musquet in their faces. This compliment I have experienced, and could very well

have dispensed with their politeness.

"There is another favourite amusement, which displays perhaps superior agility:

"A number of persons on-horseback start at the same moment, and accompanied with loud shouts, gallop at full speed to an appointed spot, when they stand up straight in the stirrups, put the rein, which I have just observed is very long, in their mouths, level their pieces and fire them off; throw their firelocks immediately over their right shoulders, and stop their horses nearly at the same instant. This I am told is their manner of engaging in an action.

"Though I am willing to allow the Moors the merit of sitting a horse well, and, as far as is necessary for the above-mentioned exercise, of having a great command over him, yet their horses are ill bred, and they entirely neglect to teach them those paces which in Europe are considered as the most agreeable for the common purposes of riding. As none of these animals in Morocco are geldings, and as the Moors are unacquainted with the use of the ring, they are obliged to break them in when very young by taking them long and fatiguing journies, particularly over the mountainous and rocky part of the country, where they soon reduce their spirit; they then take the opportunity of teaching them to rear up, stand fire, gallop, and stop short in the manner already related, and having accomplished this they are satisfied without any further qualification. For this reason a Barbary horse seldom can perform any other pace than a full gallop or a walk; and from being broken in and worked hard before they have acquired their full strength, these horses

in a very few years become unfit for service. The Moors seldom ride the mares, but keep them in the country for breeding; and, contrary to the general opinion in Europe, they consider them so much more valuable than horses, that they are never permitted to be exported.

"Like all barbarous nations, the Moors are passionately fond of music, and some few have a taste for poetry. Their slow airs, for want of that variety which is introduced when the science has attained a degree of perfection, have a very melancholy sameness; but some of their quick tunes are beautiful and simple, and partake in some degree of the characteristic melody of the Scotch airs. The poetry of their songs, the constant subject of which is love, though there are few nations perhaps who are less sensible of that passion, has certainly less merit than the music.

"Their instruments are a kind of hautboy, which differs from ours only in having no keys; the mandoline, which they have learnt to play upon from their neighbours the Spaniards; another instrument, bearing some resemblance to a violin, and played upon in a similar manner, but with only two strings; the large drum, the common pipe, and the tabor. These united and accompanied with a certain number of voices, upon many occasions form a band, though solo music is more common in this unsocial country."

"The Moors marry very young, many of their females not being more than twelve years of age at their nuptials. As Mahometans, it is well known that their religion admits of polygamy to the extent of four wives, and as many concubines as they please; but if we except the very opulent, the people seldom avail themselves of this indulgence, since it entails on them a vast additional

expence in house-keeping, and in providing for a large family. Whatever institution is contrary to truth and sound morality will in practice refute itself; nor is any further argument than this single observation wanting to answer all the absurdities which have been advanced in favour of a plurality of wives. In contracting marriage the parents of both parties are the only agents, and the intended bride and bridegroom never see each other till the ceremony is performed. The marriage settlements are made before the Cadi, and then the friends of the bride produce her portion, or if not, the husband agrees to settle a certain sum upon her, in case he should die, or divorce her on account of barrenness, or any other cause. The children of the wives have all an equal claim to the effects of the father and mother, but those of the concubines can each only claim half a share.

"When the marriage is finally agreed upon, the bride is kept at home eight days, to receive her female friends, who pay congratulatory visits every day. At the same time a talb attends upon her, to converse with her relative to the solemn engagement on which she is about to enter; on these occasions he commonly accompanies his admonitions with singing a pious hymn, which is adapted to the solemnity. The bride also with her near relations go through the ceremony of being painted afresh; the nature of which custom I shall describe when I speak of the harem.

"During this process the bridegroom on the other hand receives visits from his male friends in the morning, and in the evening rides through the town accompanied by them, some playing on hautboys and drums, while others are employed in firing volleys of musquetry.

In all their festivals the discharge of musquetry indeed forms a principal part of the entertainment. Contrary to the European mode, which particularly aims at firing with exactness, the Moors discharge their pieces as irregularly as possible, so as to have a continual succession of reports for a few minutes.

"On the day of marriage, the bride in the evening is put into a square or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, which is covered with fine white linen, and sometimes with gauzes and silks of various colours. In this vehicle, which is placed on a mule, she is paraded round the streets, accompanied by her relations and friends, some carrying lighted torches, others playing on the hautboys, and a third party again firing volleys of musquetry.

"In this manner she is carried to the house of her intended husband, who returns about the same time from performing similar ceremonies. On her arrival she is placed in an apartment by herself, and her husband is introduced to her alone for the first time, who finds her sitting on a silk or velvet cushion, supposing her to be a person of consequence, with a small table before her, upon which are two wax candles lighted. Her shift, or more properly shirt, hangs down like a train behind her, and over it is a silk or velvet robe with close sleeves, which at the breast and wrists is embroidered with gold; this dress reaches something lower than the calf of the leg. Round her head is tied a black silk scarf, which hangs behind as low as the ground. Thus attired, the bride sits with her hands over her eyes, when her husband appears and receives her as his wife, without any further ceremony: for the agreement made by the friends before the Cadi

is the only specific contract which is thought necessary.

"If the husband should have any reason to suspect that his wife has not been strictly virtuous, he is at liberty to divorce her and take another. For some time after marriage the family and friends are engaged in much feasting and a variety of amusements, which last a longer or shorter time, according to the circumstances of the parties. It is usually customary for the man to remain at home eight days and the woman eight months after they are first married; and the woman is at liberty to divorce herself from her husband if she can prove that he does not provide her with a proper subsistence. If he curses her, the law obliges him to pay her, for the first offence, eight ducats; for the second, a rich dress of still greater value; and the third time she may leave him entirely. He is then at liberty to marry again in two months.

"When any person dies, a certain number of women are hired for the purpose of lamentation, in the performance of which nothing can be more grating to the ear, or more unpleasant, than their frightful moans or rather howlings: at the same time these mercenary mourners beat their heads and breasts, and tear their cheeks with their nails. The bodies are usually buried a few hours after death. Previous to interment the corpse is washed very clean, and sewed up in a shroud, with the right hand under the head, which is pointed towards Mecca; it is carried on a bier, supported upon men's shoulders, to the burying place, which is always, with great propriety, on the outside of the town, for they never bury their dead in the mosques, or within the bounds of an inhabited place. The bier is accompanied by numbers of people, two abreast, who walk very fast,

## [90] ACCOUNT of a CYPRIAN HUNTING-MATCH.

fast, calling upon God and Mahomet, and singing hymns adapted to the occasion. The grave is made very wide at the bottom, and narrow at the top, and the body is deposited without any other ceremony than singing and praying in the same manner as on their way to the grave.

"They have no tombs in this country, but long and plain stones; and it is frequently customary for the female friends of the departed to weep over their graves for several days after their funeral.

"When a woman loses her hus-

band she mourns four months and eight days, during which period she is to wear no silver or gold; and if she happens to be pregnant, she is to mourn till she is brought to bed. For the above time the relations of her late husband are obliged to support her. I could not learn that any mourning was due from the husband for the loss of his wife; but it is customary, particularly among the great people, for a son to mourn for his father by not shaving his head or any part of his beard, and by not cutting his nails for a certain period."

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## ACCOUNT of a CYPRIAN HUNTING-MATCH.

[From the first Volume of the Abbé Mariti's Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine.]

"IN this place I had the pleasure of seeing a Cyprian hunting-match, a spectacle very common in the island; for, as I have already remarked, the Cypriots are remarkably fond of hunting. A sportsman here seldom goes out alone, to pursue a feeble animal, with his fufee and a couple of dogs. The Cypriots love exercise; but they wish to enliven these excursions with mirth and jollity: they therefore go out in large parties, mounted on horses, and accompanied by whole packs of dogs. The hunting-match at which I was present, was none of the least brilliant, as it was that of the governor. Having arrived at a spacious plain, interspersed with clumps of mulberry trees, some ruins, and thick bushes, the sportsmen began to form a ring, in order to inclose the enemy. The barrier consisted of guards on horse-back, with dogs placed in the intervals.

The ladies of the greatest distinction in Nicosia, with a multitude of other people, stood upon a little hill, which I ascended also; and from that eminence I enjoyed the amusement, without sharing in the fatigue. The governor and his suite were posted in different parts of the plain, and, as soon as the appointed moment arrived, the hunt was opened with the sound of musical instruments. Part of the dogs were then let loose; which, ranging through the bushes and underwood, sprung a great number of fairs, partridges, and woodcocks. The governor began the sport, by bringing down one of these birds; his suite followed his example; and the winged tribe, into whatever quarter they flew, were sure of meeting with instant death. I was struck with the tranquillity of the stationary dogs; for, notwithstanding the instinct by which they were spurred

spurred on, not one of them quitted his post: but the rest ran about in pursuit of the game, and the plain was cleared in an instant. The scene was now changed: a hare started up from a bush; the dogs pursued; and while the latter made a thousand turnings in order to escape, she every where found an enemy. She however often defeated the greyhounds: and I admired, in such cases, the sagacity of these animals; which, disdaining the assistance of those that were young and inexperienced, consequently liable to be deceived, waited until some of the cunning old ones opened the way for them; and then the whole plain was soon in motion. During this scene, the beauty of the season, and the cheerfulness by which I was surrounded, the barking of the dogs, repeated a thousand times by the echoes of the hills, the cries of the hunters, and the sound of the horns, exalted my imagination; and kept

me, as I may say, in a kind of enchantment. When the poor animal was just ready to become a prey to its enemies, the governor rushed forwards; and throwing a stick, which he held in his hand, before the dogs, they all stopped, and not one of them ventured to pass this signal. One of those swift greyhounds, of which I have spoken in the first chapter, being then let loose, pursued the hare; and having come up with it, carried it back, and jumping up on the neck of the governor's horse, placed it before him. The governor took it in his arms; and, delivering it to one of his officers, gave him orders, if it continued alive, to shut it up in his park, where he maintains a great many prisoners of the same kind. I admired, above all, the discipline of the dogs and the humanity of the governor, who thought it his duty to preserve an animal which had afforded him so much pleasure."

# CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

## CHARACTER of the TRAGEDIES of ÆSCHYLUS.

[From the sixth Volume of the Travels of Anacharsis the younger in Greece.]

**L**ET us continue to follow the immense strides he has made in the dramatic career, and examine the manner in which he has acquitted himself in the different parts of tragedy, that is to say in the fable, manners, sentiments, diction, decoration, and music.

“His plots are extremely simple; he disregarded or was not sufficiently acquainted with the art of avoiding improbabilities, complicating and developing an action, closely connecting its different parts, and hastening or retarding it by discoveries, and other unforeseen accidents. He sometimes only interests us by the recital of facts, and the vivacity of the dialogue; and at other times by the vigour of his style, and the terror of his scenes. He appears to have considered the unity of action and of time as essential, but that of place as less necessary. The chorus with him is no longer confined to chanting certain odes or songs, but makes a part of the whole. It is the comforter of the wretched, the counsellor of kings, the terror of tyrants, and the confidant of all. Sometimes it participates in the action during its whole continuance. This is what

the successors of Æschylus ought more frequently to have practised, and what he has not always practised himself.

“The character and manners of his personages are suitable, and rarely fail in consistency. He usually chose his models from the heroic times, and sustains his characters at the elevation to which Homer had raised his heroes. He delights in exhibiting vigorous and free minds, superior to fear, devoted to their country, animated by an insatiable thirst of glory and of combats, more noble than those of the present age, and such as he wished to form for the defence of Greece; for he wrote in the time of the Persian war.

“As he inclines more to excite terror than pity, far from endeavouring to soften the harsh features of certain characters, he seeks only to render them more ferocious; but without injury to the theatrical interest. Clytæmnestra, after having murdered her husband relates the atrocious deed with bitter derision, and the intrepidity of remorseless villany. Her crime would be horrible if it were not an act of justice in her eyes, if it were not decreed by Fate, and if it were not requi-



requisite, according to the received principles of the heroic ages, that blood unjustly shed should be washed away by blood. Clytæmnestra lets us see her jealousy of Cassandra, and her love for Ægisthus; but motives so feeble did not guide her hand. Nature and the gods have compelled her to take vengeance; and thus she addresses the chorus of Argives:

I tell thee, my firm soul disdains to fear.  
Be thou dispos'd t' applaud, or censure me,

I reckon it not: there Agamemnon lies;  
My husband, slaughter'd by this hand: I dare

Avow his death, and justify the deed.

—— I struck him twice, and twice

He groan'd, then died. A third time, as he lay

gored him with a wound, a grateful present

To the stern god, that in the realms below,

Reigns o'er the dead: there let him take his seat.

He lay; and spouting from his wounds a stream

Of blood, bedew'd me with these crimson drops;

I glory in them like the genial earth, When the warm shower's of heaven descend, and wake

The flowers to unfold their vermeil leaves.

—For Iphigenia, my lamented child, Whom he unjustly slew, he justly died.

—Thou say'st, and say'st aloud I did this deed:

Say not that I, that Agamemnon's wife Did it. The Fury fatal to this house,

In vengeance for Thyestes' horrid feast, Assum'd this form, and, with her ancient

rage, Hath for the children sacrificed the man.

POTTER.

“This idea will become more manifest from the following reflection. Among the disorders and mysteries of nature none made a more forcible impression on Æschylus than the strange destiny of the human race; with respect to man,

the crimes he commits, and the woes of which he is the victim; and with regard to the powers above him, celestial vengeance and blind fatality; by the former of which mortals are pursued when guilty, and by the latter impelled when unfortunate. Such is the doctrine which he had derived from his intercourse with the fates, which he has inculcated in almost all his dramas, and which, holding the minds of the audience in continual terror, incessantly exhorted them not to draw on them the anger of the gods, and to submit to the strokes of fate. Hence the sovereign contempt which he testifies for the illusive goods by which we are dazzled, and that force of eloquence with which he portrays the mischiefs of fortune. Cassandra exclaims with indignation:

This is the state of man: in prosperous fortune,

A shadow, passing light, throws to the ground

Joy's baseless fabric: in adversity,

Comes Malice with a sponge moistened in gall,

And wipes each beauteous character away:

More than the first this melts my soul to pity.

POTTER.

“In his time no other style was known for heroic composition but that of the epopœia and that of the dithyrambic. As they suited the elevation of his ideas and sentiments, Æschylus, without enfeebling them, transferred them to tragedy. Hurried away by an enthusiasm which he was unable to govern, he lavishes epithets, metaphors, every figurative expression of the emotions of the soul, and whatever may give weight, strength, and magnificence to language, or animate and render it impassioned. Beneath his vigorous

ous pencil, narrative, sentiments and maxims are changed into images, which are striking for their beauty or their singularity. In that tragedy, which may with propriety be called the offspring of Mars, the soldier who had been sent by Eteocles to reconnoitre the army of the Argives, thus addresses his sovereign:

"Illustrious king of Thebes, I bring thee tidings  
Of firm assurance from the foe; these eyes  
Beheld each circumstance. Seven valiant chiefs  
Slew on the black-orb'd shield the victim bull,  
And dipping in the gore their furious hands,  
In solemn oath attest the god of war,  
Bellona, and the carnage-loving power  
Of Terror, sworn from their firm base to rend  
These walls, and lay their ramparts in the dust;  
Or, dying, with their warm blood keep this earth."

POTTER.

"He says of a man of consummate prudence: "He reaps those sage and generous resolutions which spring in the deep furrows of his soul:" and elsewhere; "The intelligence by which I am animated has descended from heaven to earth, and cries to me incessantly: Bestow but a slight regard on what is mortal." He thus warns a free people early to watch over the conduct of a citizen dangerous from his abilities and his riches: "Beware how you nurse up a young lion, how you caress him while he yet fears you, or how you resist him when he is grown a stranger to fear."

"Yet these shining passages are accompanied, in some of his works, by an obscurity which arises not only from his extreme conciseness and the boldness of his figures, but

also from new words, with which he affected to enrich his style. Æschylus conceived that his heroes ought not to express their ideas like the crowd, and that their diction should be more elevated than vulgar language: it indeed frequently rises above all known language. To give it vigour, words of excessive length, harshly constructed from the fragments of several others, arise in the midst of a sentence, like those proud towers, to use the comparison of Aristophanes, which overlook the ramparts of a city.

"The eloquence of Æschylus was too nervous to submit to the refinements of elegance, harmony, and correctness; and his flights too daring not to expose him to frequent extravagance and failures. His style is in general noble and sublime, in certain parts grand to excess, and pompous to inflation; but sometimes degraded and disgusting by ignoble comparisons, a puerile play on words, and other defects which are common to this author with all those who possess more genius than taste. But notwithstanding his faults, he merits a distinguished rank among the most celebrated poets of Greece.

"It was not sufficient that the noble and elevated style of tragedy should leave in the minds of the auditors a strong impression of grandeur; to captivate the multitude, it was requisite that every part of the spectacle should concur to produce the same effect. It was then the general opinion that Nature, by bestowing on the ancient heroes a more lofty stature, had impressed on their persons a majesty which procured them as much respect from the people as the ensigns of dignity by which they were attended. Æschylus therefore raised his actors on high stilts or buskins. He covered their features, which were frequently

quently disagreeable, with a mask that concealed their irregularity. He clothed them in flowing and magnificent robes, the form of which was so decent, that the priests of Ceres have not blushed to adopt it. The inferior actors were also provided with masks and dresses suited to their parts.

"Instead of those wretched scaffolds which were formerly erected in haste, he obtained a theatre furnished with machines, and embellished with decorations. Here the sound of the trumpet was reverberated, incense was seen to burn on the altars, the shades of the dead to arise from the tomb, and the Furies to rush from the gulphs of Tartarus. In one of his pieces these infernal divinities appeared, for the first time, with masks of a horrid paleness, torches in their hands, serpents intertwined in their hairs, and followed by a numerous retinue of dreadful spectres. It is said that, at the sight of them, and the sound of their terrific howlings, terror seized on the whole assembly, women miscarried, and children expired with fear; and that the magistrates, to prevent similar accidents in future, commanded that the chorus should consist only of fifteen actors instead of fifty.

"The effect of so many new objects could not but astonish the spectators; nor were they less surprised and delighted at the intelligence displayed in the performance of the actors, whom Æschylus almost always exercised himself. He regulated their steps, and taught them to give additional force to the action by new and expressive gestures.

"He instructed them still more effectually by his example, as he performed with them in his pieces. Sometimes he called in the assistance

of an able master of the choruses, named Telestes, who had brought the art of gesture to perfection. In the representation of the seven chiefs before Thebes, he performed with such truth and expression, that his action might have supplied the place of the words.

"We have already said that Æschylus had transferred to tragedy the style of the epopeia and the dithyrambic; he also applied to it the lofty modulations and impetuous rhythmus of certain airs, or *nomi*, calculated to excite courage; but he did not adopt those innovations which began to disfigure the ancient music. His choral chant is full of grandeur and decorum; and constantly in the diatonic genus, which is the most simple and natural of all.

"Being falsely accused of having revealed in one of his dramas the Eleusinian mysteries, he with difficulty escaped the fury of the fanatic multitude: yet he forgave the Athenians this injustice, because his life only had been in danger. But when he saw the pieces of his rivals crowned in preference to his own—"I must leave to time," said he, "to restore mine to the place they merit;" and abandoning his country, went to reside in Sicily, where king Hiero loaded him with benefactions and honours. He died there a short time after, aged about seventy years. The following epitaph, which he composed himself, was engraven on his tomb:—"Here lies Æschylus, the son of Euphorion, born in Attica. He died in the fertile country of Ge-la. The Persians and the woods of Marathon will for ever attest his valour."—At the time when he wrote these lines he was doubtless disgusted with literary fame, and knew no glory more illustrious than that

that of arms. The Athenians decreed honours to his memory; and authors who design to dedicate their genius to the theatre, have more than once been seen to go to make libations, and recite their works, at his tomb.

"I have spoken at some length

on the merit of this poet, because almost all the novelties he introduced were discoveries; and because it was more difficult, with the models which he had before his eyes, to raise tragedy to the elevation at which he left it, than, after him, to bring it to perfection."

## ENQUIRY with RESPECT to the SINGING and DECLAMATION of the ANCIENT TRAGEDY.

[From the same Volume.]

"THE ancients have left us but little light on this subject; and modern critics have been divided in their opinions, when they have undertaken to elucidate it. It has been asserted the scenes were sung; and it has been affirmed that they were only declaimed, or recited. Some have added, the declamation was noted. I shall give in a few words the result of my enquiries.

"1. *The actors declaimed in the scenes.* Aristotle, speaking of the means employed by certain kinds of poetry to produce imitation, says, that the dithyrambics, the nomi, tragedy, and comedy, made use of rhythm, melody, and verse; with this difference, that the dithyrambics and the nomi employed all the three together, and tragedy and comedy made use of them separately: and afterwards he says that, in the same piece, tragedy sometimes employs metre alone, and sometimes metre accompanied with melody.

"It is well known that the scenes were usually composed in iambic verse, because this kind of metre is most proper for the dialogue. But Plutarch, speaking of the musical

execution of the iambic verses, says, that, in tragedy, some were recited while the instruments played, and that others were sung. Declamation was then admitted in the scenes.

"2. *The actors frequently sang in the scenes.* To the proof afforded by the preceding passage in Plutarch, I shall add the following others. Aristotle assures us that the hypodorian and hypophrygian modes or keys were used in the scenes, though they were not in the choruses.

"When Hecuba and Andromache sing on the stage," says Lucian, "we may pardon them; but for Hercules so far to forget himself as to sing, is an intolerable absurdity." The characters of a piece, therefore, sang on certain occasions.

"4. *Declamation was never used in the interludes, or intervals between the acts, but in these the whole chorus sang.* This proposition is not contested.

"4. *The chorus sometimes sang in the course of a scene.* This is proved from the passage in Pollux: "When, instead of a fourth actor, some one of the chorus is made to sing," &c. And likewise by the precept in Horace: Let the chorus sing nothing

thing between the interludes which is not closely connected with the action:" as also by a number of examples. It will be sufficient to refer to the Agamemnon of Æschylus, from verse 1099 to verse 1186; the Hyppolytus of Euripides, from v. 58 to v. 72; the Orestes of the same poet, from v. 140 to v. 207, &c. &c.

"5. *The chorus, or rather its coryphæus, sometimes entered into dialogue with the actors, and this dialogue was only declaimed.* This was especially done when the chorus was asked for any explanations, or when itself requested them from one of the persons of the drama; in a word, as often as it immediately participated in the action. See, in the Medea of Euripides, verse 811; in the supplicants of the same poet, v. 634; in the Iphigenia in Aulis of the same, v. 917, &c.

"The first scenes of the Ajax of Sophocles will suffice, if I am not mistaken, to shew the manner in which declamation and singing were employed successively.

"Scene the first, *Minerva and Ulysses*; scene the second, *the same and Ajax*; scene the third, *Minerva and Ulysses*. These three scenes form the exposition of the subject. Minerva relates to Ulysses that Ajax, in a fit of frenzy, had killed the shepherds and slaughtered the flocks, imagining that he had sacrificed to his vengeance the chiefs of the army. This is a fact, and is narrated in iambic verses; whence I conclude that the three scenes were declaimed.

"Minerva and Ulysses go off, and the chorus enters: it is composed of Salaminians, who deplore the misfortune of their sovereign, of whose frantic actions they have been informed. The chorus entertains doubts, which it seeks to satisfy. It

does not employ the iambic verse; its style is figurative. It is alone; it expresses itself in a strophe and an antistrophe, both containing the same number of verses of the same metre. This, therefore, is what Aristotle calls the first speech of the whole chorus; and, by consequence, the first interlude, which was always sung by all the voices of the chorus.

"After the interlude, scene the first, *Tecmessa and the chorus*. This scene, which continues from verse 200 to verse 307, is, as it were, divided into two parts. In the first, which contains 62 verses, Tecmessa confirms the accounts of the frenzy of Ajax; her lamentations and those of the chorus follow. The verses are anapests. In the part of the chorus is a strophe, with its corresponding antistrophe, perfectly resembling it in the number and measure of the verses. I suppose all this to have been sung. The second part of the scene, was no doubt, declaimed; it only consists of iambic verses. The chorus interrogates Tecmessa, who enters into a circumstantial account of the action of Ajax. The exclamations of Ajax are heard, the door of his tent is opened, and he appears.

"Scene the second, *Ajax, Tecmessa, and the chorus*. This scene, like the preceding, was partly sung and partly declaimed. Ajax (v. 348) sings four strophes, with their corresponding antistrophes. Tecmessa and the chorus reply by two or three iambic verses, which must have been sung, as I shall presently shew. After the last antistrophe and the answer of the chorus, begin, at verse 430, the iambics, which continue to verse 60, or rather 95. In these the prince, recovered from his delirium, signifies to Tecmessa and the chorus his resolution to put an end to his life: they entreat him

to abandon such a design. He asks to see his son, takes him in his arms, and addresses to him an affecting speech. All this is declaimed. Tecmessa goes out with her child; Ajax remains on the stage; but he observes a profound silence, while the chorus executes the second interlude.

"From this examination, which I might carry farther, it is manifest that the chorus was considered under two different points of view, according as it was employed in either of the two distinct functions allotted to it. In the interludes, or intervals between the acts, the whole chorus sang together; in the scenes in which it participated in the action, it was represented by its coryphæus; which explains the expression of Aristotle and Horace, that the chorus sometimes performed the part of an actor.

"6. *By what marks may the parts of a drama which were sung be distinguished from those which were only recited?* I am not able to lay down rules for this distinction which will apply in every case; I can only say that it appears to me, that declamation had place as often as the interlocutors, following the thread of the action, without the intervention of the chorus, expressed themselves in a long series of iambics, at the head of which the scholiasts have written the word *Iamboi*. I incline to believe, but I will not positively assert, that all the other verses were sung. We may, however, in general, affirm that the earlier authors applied themselves more to the *melopœia* than their

successors; the reason of which is evident. The dramatic poems deriving their origin from those companies of buffoons who traversed Attica, it was natural for the chant, or singing, to be regarded as the principal part of tragedy in its infancy; and hence, no doubt, it is that it prevails more in the pieces of Æschylus, and Phrynichus his contemporary, than in those of Euripides and Sophocles.

"I have said above, on the authority of Plutarch, the iambic verses were sometimes sung when the chorus performed the part of an actor. We in fact find this kind of verse in irregular stanzas adapted to be sung. Æschylus has often used it in modulated scenes; as, for example, that of the king of Argos and the chorus in the supplicants, verse 352: the chorus sings strophes and their corresponding antistrophes; the king replies five times, and each time by five iambic verses; a proof, unless I am mistaken, that all these responses were to the same air. See similar examples in the pieces of the same author; in the seven chiefs, v. 209 and 692; in the Persians, v. 256; in Agammon, v. 1099; and in the supplicants, v. 747 and 883.

"7. *Was the declamation noted?* The Abbé Du Bos pretends that it was. He has been refuted in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres; in which it is proved that the instrument by which the voice of the actor was accompanied, was only employed to support the voice from time to time, and prevent it from rising too high or sinking too low."

## ON the PROPER MODE of PRONOUNCING the GREEK VOWELS.

[From an Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet, by Richard Payne Knight.]

“THE proper mode of pronouncing the Greek vowels has been a subject of much controversy ever since the revival of learning in the west; it having been soon discovered that the Byzantine Greeks, the only teachers of the language, had long lost the art of speaking it, though they continued to write it with purity, and even elegance. Erasmus first composed a whimsical dialogue upon the subject; and soon after Cheke, professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, undertook to examine it; but his work was anticipated by an edict, published in the year 1542 by Stephen Gardener, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of the University, strictly commanding that the mode of pronunciation established by the modern Greeks should be continued: by which the vowels H, I, and T, were considered merely as different signs for one sound, the diphthongs OI and EI for another, and AI and E for another. Cheke and his friends found no difficulty in confuting these absurdities; but neither he, nor those who have followed him in the enquiry, have afforded us much real information, except that which was before given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. “The A,” says that critic, “when extended, is the most sonorous of the long vowels. It is pronounced by the mouth being very much opened, and the breath forced upwards. Next is the long E; to pronounce which the mouth is moderately opened, and the sound, following the breath, pressed down about the root of the tongue. Then

comes the long O, which requires the mouth to be circular, and the lips contracted round, against the outward edges of which the breath must be strongly impelled. The r is less sonorous; for, the breath being constrained by a considerable contraction of the lips, the sound produced is slender. Inferior to all is the I; for, the mouth being but little opened, there is a collision of the breath with the teeth, and the lips are not employed in elevating the sound.” This passage intirely subverts the authority of the Byzantine Greeks, as well as that of our own schools, none of which teach the true pronunciation of the vowels, except perhaps the Scotch. The critic has considered the long ones rather than the short ones not because there was any difference in the mode of pronouncing them, but because tone can be better illustrated and ascertained in a long sound than a short one. It appears, from what he says, that the A was pronounced as the Italians now pronounce it, or as we pronounce it in the words *pass, past, &c.* The e was also as the Italians now pronounce it or as we pronounce the A when followed by a consonant and mute vowel, as in the words *mate, plate, &c.* The Italians have also the true pronunciation of the o, which we have miserably corrupted, except when followed by a consonant and mute vowels, as in the words *mode, code, &c.* As for the r, I am in doubt whether any modern nation pronounces it exactly as the Greeks did: the Italians follow the Latins, whose

whose *U* corresponded to the *OU* diphthong of the Greeks, the true pronunciation of which is retained by the French in their own *ou*. We pronounce it as the diphthong *EU* in some instances (as in *ΥΑΝΘ*), and in others, as the French pronounce the same diphthong (as in *ΣΥΣ*), a barbarous sound unknown to antiquity. Perhaps the nearest letter to it in modern alphabets is the French accented *U*; the sound of which is, indeed, poor and slender; but such Dionysius informs us that of the Greek *Υ* was.

"The vowels have varied but little in their forms, except that the Upsilon was antiently written like the Latin *V*, and the Iota by an indented line, thus *ι*, to distinguish it from the Gamma, which was represented by the straight perpendicular line. The confusion between these two forms probably produced the *I* consonant; which seems, in the Roman alphabet, to have had that affinity with the *G* which it still retains in most modern languages."

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OBSERVATIONS on the LANGUAGE of BOTANY, by the Reverend THOMAS MARTYN, B. D. F. R. S. Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge, and Fellow of the Linnean Society. In a Letter to the President.

[From the first Volume of the Transactions of the Linnean Society.]

"SIR,  
**I** HAVE little doubt of your agreeing with me in opinion, that nothing has contributed more to the rapid progress which the science of botany has made within the last thirty or forty years, than the excellent language which Linneus invented, and which has been by common consent adopted, not only by those who follow the systematic arrangement of the illustrious Swede, but by all who study botany as a science. Without pretending to any peculiar foresight, we may venture to affirm, that the Linnean language will continue to be in use, even though his system should in after ages be neglected; and that it will be received into every country where the science of botany is studied, with certain modifications adapting it respectively to each vernacular tongue.

"So long as botany was confined to the learned few, there was no difficulty in using the terms of the Linnean language, exactly as the author had delivered it: but now that it is become a general pursuit, not only of the scholar, but of such as have not had what is called a learned education; and since the fair sex have adopted it as a favourite amusement; it is become necessary to have a language that shall be suitable to every rank and condition, a language that may be incorporated into the general fund, and carry with it the proper marks of the mother tongue, into which it is to be received.

"In order to attain this desirable end, I beg leave, sir, to submit to your consideration, and to that of the society over which you preside, these two fundamental principles: First, that we should adhere as closely



closely as possible to the Linnean language itself; and secondly, that we should adapt the terminations, plurals, compounds and derivatives, to the structure and genius of our sterling English.

"That we ought to adopt the Linnean terms themselves, is sufficiently apparent from the great advantage resulting from the use of one universal language. If we change or translate these terms, we lose all this advantage, and become unintelligible to botanists of every other nation, without any benefit gained on the other hand: for these new terms will be equally difficult even to the English student; and will require as much explanation as the Latin or Greek, many of which have prescription and possession to plead in their defence. To load the science and our English tongue with a useless addition of new words, is certainly an evil to be avoided.

"Thus, for instance, in the parts of fructification, if we adopt the terms *ampalement*, *blossom*, *chive*, *thread*, *tip*, *pointal*, *seed-bud*, *shaft*, *summit*, they require explanation, in their appropriate sense, as much as *calyx*, *corolla*, *stamen*, *filament*, *anthera*, *pistillum* or *pistil*, *germen* or *germ*, *style*, and *stigma*, which are already familiar to the ears of all who have studied the science of botany, even though they have little or no acquaintance with the learned languages. For the same reasons *legume* is to be preferred to *shell* or *cod*, *siliqua* or *silique* to *pod*, *foliolo* to *pouch*, *glume* to *husk* or *chaff*, *culm* to *straw*, *digitate* to *fingered*, *ovate* to *egged*, *pinnatifid* to *feather-cleft*.

"Some few English terms, it must be owned, were used by the learned Grew; such as *ampalement*,

*chive*, *semet* for *anther*, *pointell*, *ovary* for *germ*, and *knob* or *button* for *stigma*: but these never made their way into the world, or became of general use. It is not necessary therefore to discuss the comparative merits of these terms with the Linnean; since, after all, we must submit to the supreme law in these matters, general consent\*: and when a Greek or Latin term has been once sanctioned by use, there can be no doubt but that it ought to be preferred even to a term originally English, which is either little known, or is applied to another signification.

"It seems therefore upon the whole to be a desirable object, that all who talk or write of botany in English, should keep as close as possible to the Linnean language: nor does it seem liable to any material objection, if we proceed with discretion and propriety, without violating the rules of common sense or of grammar.

"For instance, when there is a significant English term, which has been in long and general use, it ought to be preferred. Thus it would be absurd to put *semen* for *seed*, or *solum* for *leaf*: *cell* is preferable to *loculament*; *partition* to *dissepiment*, and perhaps *seed-vessel* to *pericarp*. Opinions will differ upon the extent to which this exception to the general principle should be carried: but the original terms of the science in our language are so few, that it may very well be confined within a small compass.

"There are however cases, in which it seems advisable rather to invent a new English term, than to adopt the Linnean. Thus in the case of very long words, such as

\* Si volet usus,  
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus, et norma loquendi."

*campaniform*, *infundibuliform*, *hypocrateriform*, and other sesquipedian terms, which give too great an air of pedantry to the language, it will perhaps be thought better by most persons to use *bell-shaped*, *funnel-shaped*, and *salver-shaped*; or *bell-form*, *funnel-form*, and *salver-form*; our English tongue admitting compounds with great success and facility; especially since these terms convey immediately to the English botanist a familiar idea of the several forms of the corolla, which they are intended to express.

"When words also have already an appropriate sense in English, it seems better to translate them than to use the originals themselves. Thus, although in Latin we say *calvis strictus* or *exasperatus*, and *folium exasperatum*; yet it has an absurd sound in English to talk of a *strict* or *exasperated* stalk, and of leaves being *exasperated*. On the contrary, it is still worse, although it has not so ridiculous a sound, to drop the original Latin term, in order to adopt an English one before appropriated to another sense, and therefore only tending to create confusion. What I mean may be exemplified in the terms *lanceolate* and *serrate*, applied to leaves: these are become sufficiently familiar by use; but if not, the explanation must be referred to; whereas, if we use the words *lanced* and *sawed*, a novice might easily be misled; for having been accustomed to the ideas of a *lanced gum* and *sawed wood*, he will not readily apply the former to the shape of a lance's head; or the latter to the sharp notching round the

edge of a leaf resembling the teeth of a saw.

"There are likewise some Latin words which do not perfectly assimilate to our language, and therefore are better translated. Such are *teres* and *amplexicaulis*. Now we cannot well say in English *tere* or *amplexicaul*; but the first may frequently be translated *round*: this however will sometimes create a confusion, and *columna* gives the idea of *teres* most precisely; for when applied to a stem, or any of its subdivisions, it signifies, not a cylindric, but a tapering form, like the shaft of a column. The second of these terms may be rendered, significantly enough, *embracing* or *stem-clipping*.

"These and other exceptions, which will readily present themselves to any one who considers the subject, being admitted; the advantage of the science will be most effectually consulted by retaining the Linnean terms, whenever there is no cogent reason to the contrary. It is frequently even dangerous to substitute equivalent terms; or at least it requires the utmost caution, if we would avoid confusion. Thus, if we translate the two Linnean terms *deciduous* and *caducous* by the same English word *falling*, two distinct ideas are confounded\*: would it not therefore be better to use the two Latin terms, with an English termination, *deciduous* and *caducous*? *Plumosus* is rendered *feathery*; and *pinnatus*, *feathered*; but is not this confounding ideas totally distinct? and are not therefore the terms *plumous* or rather *plumose*, and *pinnated* or rather *pinnate*, to be preferred? *Dichotomus* may be translated

\* *Caducous* signifies a more quick or sudden falling off than *deciduous*. The calyx of the poppy dropping before the corolla is unfolded, is said to be *caducous*. In *Berberis*, and many plants of the class *Tetradynamia*, it falls off; but not till after the corolla is expanded; the calyx in this case is said to be *deciduous*.

*forked*: but this English term implying no more than one division into two parts, does by no means fully express the idea of a stem continually and regularly dividing in pairs from the bottom to the top. Surely then *dichotomous* † is preferable to *forked*.

“ But where shall we find English words to express all the variations of pubescence, which Linnæus has discriminated with so much nicety ‡ ? Some of them indeed may very well admit of translation \* ; but many will not. For instance, if we render *scaber* by the English word *rough*, how shall we distinguish it from *asper*, which has the same signification ? We are therefore reduced to the necessity of rendering *aspe.*, rough ¶ ; and of retaining most of the other Latin terms with English terminations, as *scabrous*, *hirsute*, *hispid*, &c. unless we would wantonly load the science of botany, and our English tongue, with terms newly invented or applied, which are not either more significant, or more easy to be understood, than those which we are already in possession of.

“ As to the second general principle, namely, that the terminations and plurals of our words, together with their compounds and derivatives, should be adapted to the structure and genius of the English language ; it will not perhaps by ma-

ny be thought of equal importance with the first. There is perhaps no language that is more irregular than ours, or that admits of more licence in many respects.

“ This however is no reason why, in the formation of new terms, we should not follow such fundamental rules as we have, avoid irregularities as much as possible, and add no fresh barbarisms to those which already disgrace us. The well known Horatian rule || must be our constant guide in the formation of our terminations and plurals ; and analogy must be attended to in the structure of our compounds and derivatives. Thus *nectary* may be used for *nectarium*, *pistil* for *pistillum*, *style* for *stylus*, *pericarp* for *pericarpium*, *receptacle* for *receptaculum*, *capsule* for *capsula*, *glume* for *gluma*, *culm* for *culmus*, &c. Some of these words as *nectarium*, and *pericarpium*, are become so familiar to learned botanists, that they will perhaps hardly be persuaded to give up the Latin termination. The final in *a* may be admitted more readily ; and *corolla* having use on its side, will doubtless be preferred by many to *corol*, which has not so melodious a sound. Naturalists talk familiarly of a butterfly's *antennæ* ; and *cupola*, which in the last century was considered as a stranger, is in this admitted to be a denizen. I must observe, however, that by changing the final *a* into *e*, some

“ † If the *jus et norma loquendi* would permit, I should be for rendering all Latin adjectives ending in *us*, by the English termination *ous* : and all such as end in *us*, by the termination *ose*.”

“ ‡ As *scabrities*, *lana*, *lanugo*, *villosus*, *tomentum*, *pili*, *setæ*, *striga*, *bami*, *stimuli*, *aculei*, *furcæ*, *spina*, &c. and the adjectives derived from these and others ; as *lanatus*, *lanuginosus*, *villosus*, *tomentosus*, *pilosus*, *setaceus*, *strigosus*, *humatus*, *aculeatus*, *furcatus*, *spinosus*, *scaber*, *hirtus*, *hirsutus*, *exasperatus*, &c.”

“ \* As *lana* wool, *pili* hairs, *setæ* bristles, *bami* hooks, *stimuli* stings, *aculei* prickles (*spina* thorns : *lanatus* may be rendered woolly, *pilosus* hairy, *setaceus* bristly, *humatus* hoosed, *aculeatus* prickly, *spinosus* thorny.”

“ ¶ If so. in order to preserve the analogy, *exasperatus* may be translated *roughend*.”

“ || Et nova factaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si

Græco fonte cadant, parçæ detorta.”

confusion will be avoided, which arises from not distinguishing the Latin feminine singular from the neuter plural; and by using *stipule* for *stipula*, we shall no longer hear of a leaf-stalk or petiole having *two stipula*.

"But whatever allowance may be made in singular terminations, the plurals must certainly follow the analogy of the English tongue; and if we tolerate *corolla* and *anthera*, *nectarium* and *pericarpium*, we cannot possibly allow of *corollæ* and *anthera*, *nectaria* and *pericarpia*; but we must use either *corollas* or *corols*, *antheras* or *anthers*, *nectariums* or *nectaries*, *pericarpiums* or *pericarps*, according as we preserve the original term entire, or anglicize it.

"All derivatives and compounds ought to follow the analogy of the original words from which they are derived, or of which they are compounded. Thus from *corol* we regularly form *corollet*, as from *crown*, *coronet*: if we adopt the terms *prickle* and *thorn*, we must use the adjectives *prickly* and *thorny*, not *aculeate* and *spinose*: from *glume* we form *glumose*; from *ament*, *amentaceous*; from *awn*, *awned* and *awnless*; from *axil* or *axilla*, *axillary*; from *pinna*, *pinnate*, *bipinnate*, &c. from *calyx* are formed *calycle*, *calycle-d*, *calycine*; from *et al*, *anther*, *berry*, we make the compounds *five-petal-ed*, *anther-bearing*, *berry-bearing*, not

*baemiferans*; from *cell*, *two-celled*; from *leaf*, *two-leaved*; from *seed*, *two-seeded*.

"Without, however, entering too much into the minuteneſſes of this ſubject, ſuffice it to remark, that when we admit terms of art or ſcience to participate in the rights of citizens, they ſhould put on our garb, and adopt our manners. If this rule had always been obſerved, our language would not have been deformed with innumerable barbariſms, which learned and unlearned ignorance have joined to introduce among us; and which nothing but the conſtant habit of ſpeaking or hearing them, can ever reconcile to our ears \*.

"It would be eaſy to add many more obſervations, but it is not my deſign to exhaust the ſubject. I have addreſſed theſe cuſtury remarks to you, ſir, as being at the head of a ſociety, one of whoſe principal views is to promote Engliſh botany; in hopes that ſome member of the ſociety, who has more leiſure than myſelf, may turn his thoughts to the ſubject, and handle it ſo fully, that all of us who are engaged in the ſame purſuit, may ſpeak the ſame language.

I am,

Worſhipper, &c.  
S. 1789.

Sir, &c.

THO. MARTYN."

\* Such are *per cent*, *per annum*, *per-pound*, and *per-poſt*; *ipſo-faſto*, *minutia*, *data*, *errata*, *in venum*, *vix verſa*, *plus et minus*, *vis inertia*, *in equilibrio*, *je-d'eau*, *agua fortis*, *agua vite*, *ignis fatuus*, *coteris paribus*; *equivoque*, *critique*, *je-ne-ſai-quoi*, *ſavoir-vivre*, *outré*, *et cetera*, *et cetera*, *et cetera*—It ſhould ſeem that the mercantile world, the learned world, and the fashionable world, had formed a co-ſpiracy to debaſe our ſterling Engliſh by ill-made terms, affectedly introduced without the leaſt neceſſity."

# SKETCH of the CHARACTER of MICHAEL ANGELO, as a PAINTER.

[From Sir Joshua Reynold's Discourse, delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Distribution of the Prizes, Dec. 10, 1790.]

THE sudden maturity to which Michael Angelo brought our art, and the comparative feebleness of his followers and imitators might perhaps be reasonably, at least plausibly explained, if we had time for such an examination. At present I shall only observe, that the subordinate parts of our art, and perhaps of other arts, expand themselves by a slow and progressive growth, but those which depend on a native vigour of imagination generally burst forth at once in fullness of beauty. Of this Homer probably, and Shakspear, more assuredly are signal examples. Michael Angelo possessed the poetical part to a most eminent degree; and the same daring spirit, which urged him first to explore the unknown regions of the imagination, delighted with the novelty, and animated by the success of his discoveries, could not have failed to stimulate and impel him forward in his career beyond those limits which his followers, destitute of the same incentives, had not strength to pass.

"To distinguish between correctness of drawing, and that part which respects the imagination, we may say the one approaches to the mechanical (which in its way too may make just pretensions to genius) and the other to the poetical. To encourage a solid and vigorous course of study, it may not be amiss to suggest that perhaps a confidence in the mechanic produces boldness in the poetic. He that is sure of the goodness of his ship and tackle puts out

fearlessly from the shore; and he who knows, that his hand can execute whatever his fancy can suggest, sports with more freedom in embodying the visionary forms of his own creation. I will not say Michael Angelo was eminently poetical, only because he was greatly mechanical; but I am sure that mechanic excellence invigorated and emboldened his mind to carry painting into the regions of poetry, and to emulate that art in its most adventurous flights.

"Michael Angelo equally possessed both qualifications. Yet of the former there were certainly great examples to be found in ancient sculpture, and particularly in the fragment known by the name of the Torso of Michael Angelo; but of that grandeur of character, air, and attitude, which he threw into all his figures, and which so well corresponds with the grandeur of his outline, there was no example; they could therefore proceed only from the most poetical and sublime imagination.

"It is impossible not to express some surprise, that the race of painters who preceded Michael Angelo, men of acknowledged great abilities, should never have thought of transferring a little of that grandeur of outline which they could not but see and admire in ancient sculpture, into their own works; but they appear to have considered sculpture as the later schools of artists look at the inventions of Michael Angelo, as something to be admired, but with which they have nothing to do.

*Quod*

*Quod super nos, nihil ad nos.*—The artists of that age, even Raphael himself, seemed to be going on very contentedly in the dry manner of Pietro Perugino, and if Michael Angelo had never appeared, the art might still have continued in the same stile.

“The sublime in painting, as in poetry, so overpowers, and takes such a possession of the whole mind, that no room is left for attention to minute criticism. The little elegancies of art in the presence of these great ideas thus greatly expressed, lose all their value, and are for the instant at least, felt to be unworthy of our notice. The correct judgment, the purity of taste, which characterise Raphael; the exquisite grace of Corregio and Parmegiano, all disappear before them.

“That Michael Angelo was capricious in his inventions, cannot be denied; and this may make some circumspection necessary in studying his works; for though they appear to become him, an imitation of them is always dangerous, and will prove sometimes ridiculous. “In that dread circle none durst tread but he.” To me, I confess, his caprice does not lower the estimation of his genius, even though it is sometimes, I acknowledge, carried to the extreme; and however those eccentric excursions are considered, we must at the same time recollect, that those faults, if they are faults, are such as never could occur to a mean and vulgar mind; that they flowed from the same source which produced his greatest beauties, and were therefore such as none but himself was capable of committing; they were the powerful impulses of a mind unused to subjection of any kind, and too high to be controlled by cold criticism.

“Many see his daring extravagance, who can see nothing else. A young artist finds the works of Michael Angelo so totally different from those of his own master, or of those with whom he is surrounded, that he may be easily persuaded to abandon and neglect studying a stile, which appears to him wild, mysterious, and above his comprehension, and which he therefore feels no disposition to admire; a good disposition, which he concludes that he should naturally have, if the stile deserved it. It is necessary therefore that students should be prepared for the disappointment which they may experience at their first setting out; and they must be cautioned, that probably they will not, at first sight, approve.

“It must be remembered, that as this great stile itself is artificial in the highest degree, it presupposes in the Spectator, a cultivated and prepared artificial state of mind. It is an absurdity therefore to suppose we are born with this taste, though we are with the seeds of it, which by the heat and kindly influence of his genius, may be ripened in us.

“A late philosopher and critic has observed, speaking of taste, that *we are on no account to expect that fine things should descend to us,—our taste, if possible, must be made to ascend to them.* The same learned writer recommends to us *even to resign a relish, till we find a relish come; and feel, that what began in fiction, terminates in reality.* If there be in our art, any thing of that agreement or compact, such as I apprehend there is in music, with which the critic is necessarily required previously to be acquainted, in order to form a correct judgment; the comparison with this art will illustrate what I have said on these points, and

and tend to shew the probability, we may say the certainty, that men are not born with a relish for those arts in their most refined state, which as they cannot understand, they cannot be impressed with their effects. This great stile of Michael Angelo is as far removed from the simple representation of the common objects of nature, as the most refined Italian music is, from the inartificial notes of nature, from whence they both profess to originate. But without such a supposed compact, we may be very confident that the highest state of refinement in either of those arts will not be relished without a long and industrious attention.

"In pursuing this great art, it must be acknowledged that we labour under greater difficulties than those who were born in the age of its discovery, and whose minds from their infancy were habituated to this stile, who learnt it as language, as their mother tongue. They had no mean taste to unlearn; they needed no persuasive discourse to allure them to a favourable reception of it, no

abstruse investigation of its principles, to convince them of the great latent truths on which it is founded. We are constrained, in these later days, to have recourse to a sort of grammar and dictionary, as the only means of recovering a dead language. It was by them learnt by rote, and perhaps better learnt that way than by precept.

"The stile of Michael Angelo, which I have compared to language, and which may, poetically speaking, be called the language of the Gods, now no longer exists, as it did in the fifteenth century, yet with the aid of diligence, we may in a great measure supply the deficiency which I mentioned, of not having his works so perpetually before our eyes; by having recourse to casts from his models and designs in sculpture; to drawings or even copies of those drawings; to prints, which however ill executed, still convey something by which this taste may be formed; and a relish may be fixed and established in our minds for this grand stile of invention."

## OBSERVATIONS on CLUMPS and PARK SCENERY, relative chiefly to PICTURESQUE BEAUTY.

[From the first Volume of Remarks on Forest Scenery and other Woodland Views, &c. By William Gilpin, A. M.]

"**W**HAT number of trees make a *clump*, no rules of art prescribe. The term has rather a *relative* meaning.—In scenes, brought near the eye, we call three or four trees a clump. But in distant and extensive scenery, we scruple not to use the term for any smaller detached part of a wood,

though it may consist of some hundreds.—But though the term admits not of exact definition, I shall endeavour by amplifications, to make the ideas contained under it, as distinct as I can.

"We distinguish then two kinds of clumps; the *smaller*, and the *larger*; confining the former chiefly to

to the *foreground*; and considering the latter as the ornament of a *distance*.

"With regard to the *smaller clump*, the chief beauty we expect here, arises from *contrast in the parts*. We have seen that in *single trees*, each must have its characteristic beauty. It has nothing else to depend on. But in *combination*, the beauty of the *individual* is not required; *the whole clump together* must produce the effect.

"To enumerate all the sources of beautiful contrast, which contribute to produce this effect, might be difficult. I shall cursorily suggest a few.

"In the first place the *relative situation* of trees, with regard to *each other*, should be considered. Three trees, or more, standing in a line, are formal. In the natural wood, you rarely see this formality. —And yet even *three trees in a line* will be greatly assisted by the lines of the several trunks taking different directions; and by the various forms, distances, and growth of the trees.

"If three trees do not stand in a line, they must of course stand in a triangle; which produces a great variety of pleasing forms.

"If a fourth tree be added, it stands beautifully near the middle of the triangle, of whatever form the triangle, may be. If it be equilateral, and the tree placed exactly in the middle, there are three points, as you walk round the triangle, from which it will appear offensively regular. —Remarks however of this kind affect only young trees, while their stems are tall, and similar. As they increase, their different modes of growth—the swelling of their roots—the habits they contract from wind—their ramification—their lateral branches, and other accidental circumstances introduce endless varieties

among them; and blot out many of those little formalities, which attend their youth; though, after all, the *artificial clump* will rarely attain the beauty of the *natural* one.

"If the *clump* consist of still more trees than four, a greater variety among the stems will of course take place—double triangles, irregular quincunxes, and other pleasing shapes, which may be seen exemplified in every wood of natural growth.

"The branches also are as much a source of contrast, as the stem. To be picturesque they must intermingle with each other without heaviness they must hang loosely, but yet with *varied looseness* on every side—and if there be one superior apex, there may be two or three others, that are subordinate, according to the size of the clump.

"Different kinds of trees also, in the same clump, occasion often a beautiful contrast. There are few trees, which will not harmonize with trees of a different kind: though perhaps the most simple, and beautiful contrasts arise from the various modes of growth in the same species. We often see two or three oaks intermingle their branches together in a very pleasing manner. When the beech is full grown, it is generally, (in a luxuriant soil at least,) so heavy, that it rarely blends happily either with its own kind, or with any other. The silver-fir too, we have observed, is a very unaccommodating tree.—So also are other firs; indeed all that taper to a point. Not so the pine-race. They are clump-headed; and unite well in composition. With these also the Scotch-fir leagues; from little knots of which we often see beautiful contrasts arise. When they are young, and luxuriant, especially if any number of them above four, or five, are planted



planted together, they generally form a heavy murky spot: but as they acquire age, this heaviness goes off, the inner branches decay, the outward branches hang loosely, and negligently; and the whole has often a good effect; unless they have been planted too closely. I am rather doubtful, how far deciduous trees mix well in a clump with evergreens: and yet we sometimes see a natural good effect of light, and shade, from the darkness of the fir contrasting agreeably with the brightly green of a deciduous tree, just coming into leaf. In this however I am clear, that if they are mixed, they ought not to be planted, as they often are, alternately, but each kind together.

"Contrasts again arise from the mixture of trees of unequal growth—from a young tree united with an old one—a stunted tree, with a luxuriant one—and sometimes from two or three trees, which in themselves are ill shaped, but when combined, are pleasing. Inequalities of all these kinds are what chiefly give nature's planting a superiority over art.

"The form of the foliage is another source of contrast. In one part, where the branches intermingle, the foliage will be interwoven and close; in another, where the boughs of each tree hang separately, the appearance will be light and easy.

"But whatever beauty these *contrasts* exhibit, the effect is totally lost, unless the *clump* be *well-balanced*. This is as necessary in a *combination of trees*, as in a *single tree*. The clump is considered as *one object*: and the support of the *whole* must depend on the several trunks, and leading branches, of which it is composed. We do not expect the minutiae of scale and weight: if no

side preponderate, so as to hurt the eye, it is enough. — Unless however the clump have suffered some external injury, it is seldom deficient in point of balance. Nature always conducts the stems and branches in such easy forms, wherever there is an opening; and fills up all with so much nice contrivance, and at the same time, with so much picturesque irregularity; that we rarely wish for an amendment in her works. So true indeed this is, that nothing is so dangerous as to take away a tree from a clump. You will infallibly destroy the balance, which can never be restored.

"Thus far we have considered a *clump*, as a *single independent object*—as the object of a *foreground*—consisting of such a confined number of trees, as the eye can fairly include at once. And when trees strike our fancy, either in the wild scenes of nature; or in the improvements of art, they will ever be found in combinations similar to these.

"When the *clump* grows *larger*, it becomes qualified only as a *remote object*—combining with vast woods; and forming a part of some extensive scene, either as a first, as a second, or a third distance.

"The great use of the *larger clump* is to lighten the heaviness of a *continued distant wood*; and connect it gently with the plain: that the transition may not be too abrupt. All we wished to find in a clump of this kind, is *proportion*, and *general form*.

"With respect to *proportion*, the detached clump must not encroach too much on the dignity of the wood, it aids; but must observe a proper subordination. A large tract of country covered with wood, will admit several of these auxiliary clumps of different dimensions. But if the wood be of a smaller size, the clumps

clumps also must be smaller, and fewer.

"With regard to the *general form* of the larger clump, we observed that in a *single tree*, we expected elegance in the *parts*. In the *smaller clumps* this idea was relinquished, and in it's room we expected a *general contrast* in trunks, branches, and foliage. But as the clump becomes larger, and recedes in the landscape, all these pleasing contrasts are lost, and we are satisfied with a *general form*. No *regular form* is pleasing. A clump on the side of a hill, or in any situation, where the eye can more easily investigate it's shape, must be circumscribed by an irregular line; in which it is required that undulations both at the base, and summit of the clump should be strongly marked; as the eye probably has a distinct view of both. But if it be seen only on the top of a hill, or along the distant horizon, (as in these situations the base is commonly lost in the varieties of the ground) a little variation in the line, which forms the summit, so as to break any disagreeable regularity there, will be sufficient.

"As a large tract of wood requires a few large clumps to connect it gently with the plain; so these large clumps themselves require the same service from a single tree, or a few trees, according to their size.

"These observations respect chiefly the vast scenes of nature, which are but little under the controul of art. While they assist us however in judging of the natural scene, they are in many respects applicable to the embellished one. To the painters use, they are most adapted; whose business is to introduce his trees in the happiest manner; whether he spread them over his canvas in vast woods; or break

them into *smaller, or larger combinations*.

"From *clumps* we naturally proceed to *park-scenery*, which is generally composed of *combinations of clumps*, interspersed with lawns. It is seldom composed of any large district of wood; which is the characteristic of *forest-scenery*.

"The park, which is a species of landscape little known, except in England, is one of the noblest appendages of a great house. Nothing gives a mansion so much dignity as these home demesins: nor contributes more to mark it's consequence. A great house, in a course of years, naturally acquires space around it. A noble park therefore is the natural appendage of an ancient mansion.

"To the size, and grandeur of the house, the park should be proportioned. *Blenheim-castle* with a paddock around it; or a small villa in the middle of *Woodstock-park*, would be equally out of place.

"The house should stand nearly in the centre of the park; that is, it should have ample room about it on every side. *Petworth-house*, one of the grandest piles in England, loses much of it's grandeur from being placed at the extremity of the park, where it is elbowed by a church-yard.

"The *exact spot* depends intirely on the ground. There are grand situations of various kinds. In general, houses are built first; and parks are added afterwards, by the occasional removal of inclosures. A great house stands most nobly on an elevated knoll, from whence it may overlook the distant country; while the woods of the park screen the regularity of the intervening cultivation. Or it stands well on the side of a valley, which winds along it's front; and is adorned with

wood, or a natural stream hiding, and discovering itself among the clumps at the bottom of the vale. Or it stands with dignity, as Long-leat does, in the centre of demesnes, which shelve gently down to it on every side.—Even on a dead flat I have seen a house draw beauties around it. At the seat of the late Mr. Bilson Legge, (now lord Stawell's) in the middle of Holt-forest, a lawn unvaried by a single swell, is yet varied with clumps of different forms, receding behind each other, in so pleasing a manner, as to make an agreeable scene.

“By these observations I mean only to shew, that in whatever part of a park a house may have been originally placed, it can hardly have been placed so awkwardly, but that, in some way or other, the scenery may be happily adapted to it. There are some situations indeed so very untoward, that scarce any remedy can be applied: as when the front of a house immediately urges on a rising ground. But such awkward situations are rare; and in general, the variety of landscape is such, that it may almost always be brought in one form or other, to serve the purposes of beauty. The many improvements of the ingenious Mr. Brown, in various parts of England, bear witness to the truth of these observations.—The beauty however of park-scenery is undoubtedly best displayed on a varied surface—where the ground swells, and falls—where hanging lawns, screened with wood, are connected with valleys—and where one part is continually playing in contrast with another.

“As the park is an appendage of the house, it follows, that it should participate of it's neatness, and elegance. Nature, in all her great walks of landscape, observes this accommodating rule. She seldom

passes abruptly from one mode of scenery to another; but generally connects different species of landscape by some third species, which participates of both. A mountainous country rarely sinks immediately into a level one; the swellings and heavings of the earth, grow gradually less. Thus as the house is connected with the country through the medium of the park; the park should partake of the neatness of the one, and of the wildness of the other.

“As the park is a scene either planted by art, or, if naturally woody, artificially improved, we expect a beauty, and contrast in it's *clumps*, which we do not look for in the wild scenes of nature. We expect to see it's lawns, and their appendages, contrasted with each other, in shape, size, and disposition; from which a variety of artificial scenes will arise. We expect that when trees are left standing as *individuals*, they should be the most beautiful of their kind, elegant and well-balanced. We expect, that all offensive trumpery, and all the rough luxuriance of undergrowth, should be removed; unless where it is necessary to thicken, or connect a scene; or hide some staring boundary. In the wild scenes of nature we have grander exhibitions, but greater deformities, than are generally met with in the works of art. As we seldom meet with these sublime passages in improved landscape; it would be unpardonable if any thing disgusting should appear.

“In the park-scene we wish for no expensive ornament. Temples, Chinese-bridges, obelisks, and all the laboured works of art, suggest inharmonious ideas. If a bridge be necessary, let it be elegantly plain. If a deer-shed, or a keeper's lodge be required; let the fashion of each be

be as simple, as it's use. Let nothing appear with ostentation, or parade.—Within restrictions however of this kind we mean not to include piles of *superior grandeur*. Such a palace as Blenheim-castle distributes it's greatness far and wide. There, if the bridge be immense, or the obelisk superb, it is only what we naturally expect. It is the chain of ideas properly carried on, and *gradually lost*. My remarks regard only such houses, as may be rich indeed, and elegant; but have nothing in them of a *superior magnificence*.

“ One ornament of this kind, I should be inclined to allow; and that is a handsome gate at the entrance of the park: but it should be proportioned in richness, and elegance to the house; and should also correspond with it in style. It should raise the first impression of what you are to expect. Warwick-castle requires a mode of entrance very different from lord Scarfdale's at Kettlestone; and Burleigh-house, very different from both. The park-gate of Sion-house is certainly elegant; but it raises the idea of a style of architecture, which you must drop, when you arrive at the house.

“ The road also through the park should bear the same proportion. It should be spacious, or moderate, like the house it approaches. Let it wind; but let it not take any deviation, which is not well accounted for. To have the convenience of winding along a valley, or passing a commodious bridge, or avoiding a wood, or a piece of water, any traveller would naturally wish to deviate a little; and obstacles of this kind, if necessary, must be interposed. Mr. Brown was often very happy in creating these artificial obstructions.

“ From every part of the ap-

proach, and from the ridings, and favourite walks about the park, let all the boundaries be secreted. A view of paling, though in some cases it may be picturesque, is in general disgusting.

“ If there be a *natural* river, or a real ruin in the scene, it may be a happy circumstance: let the best use be made of it: but I should be cautious in advising the *creation* of either. At least I have rarely seen either ruins, or rivers well manufactured. Mr. Brown, I think, has failed more in river-making than in any of his attempts. An artificial lake has sometimes a good effect; but neither propriety, nor beauty can arise from it, unless the heads and extremities of it are perfectly well managed, and concealed: and after all, the success is hazardous. You may always suppose it a portion of a larger piece of water; and it is not easy to carry on the imposition. If the house be magnificent, it seldom receives much benefit from an artificial production of this kind. Grandeur is rarely produced.

—————Seldom art  
Can emulate that magnitude sublime,  
Which spreads the native lake; and  
failing there,  
Her works betray their character, and  
name;  
And dwindle into pools —————

“ The most natural inhabitants of parks are fallow deer; and very beautiful they are; but flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle are more useful; and, in my opinion, more beautiful. Sheep particularly are very ornamental in a park. Their colour is just that dingy hue, which contrasts with the verdure of the ground; and the flakiness of their wool is rich, and picturesque. I should wish them however to wear their natural

tural livery; and not to be patched with letters, and daubed over with red-ochre. To see the side of a hill spread with groups of sheep--or to see them through openings among the boles of trees, at a little distance, with a gleam of light falling upon them, is very picturesque.

"As the garden, or *pleasure-ground*, as it is commonly called, approaches nearer to the house, than the park, it takes of course a higher polish. Here the lawns are shorn, instead of being grazed. The roughness of the road is changed into an elegant gravel walk; and knots of flowers, and flowering shrubs, are introduced, yet blended with clumps of forest-trees, which connect it with the park. Single trees also take their station here with great propriety. The spreading oak, or elm, are no disgrace to the

most ornamented scene. It is the property of these noble plants to harmonize with every species of landscape. They equally become the forest, and the lawn: only here they should be beautiful in their kind; and luxuriant in their growth. Neither the scathed, nor the unbalanced oak would suit a polished situation.

"Here too, if the situation suits it, the elegant temple may find a place. But it is an expensive, a hazardous, and often a useless decoration. If more than one however be introduced in the same view, they crowd the scene, unless it be very extensive. More than two should in no case be admitted. In the most polished landscape, unless nature, and simplicity lead the way, the whole will be deformed."

# PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

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## Dr. HERSCHEL'S OBSERVATIONS on NEBULOUS STARS, properly so called.

[From the Eighty-first Volume of the Philosophical Transactions.]

“ I None of my late examinations of a space in the heavens, which I had not reviewed before, I discovered a star of about the 8th magnitude, surrounded with a faintly luminous atmosphere, of a considerable extent. The phenomenon was so striking, that I could not help reflecting upon the circumstances that attended it, which appeared to me to be of a very instructive nature, and such as may lead to inferences which will throw a considerable light on some points relating to the construction of the heavens.

“ Cloudy or nebulous stars have been mentioned by several astronomers; but this name ought not to be applied to the objects which they have pointed out as such; for, on examination, they proved to be either mere clusters of stars, plainly to be distinguished with my large instruments, or such nebulous appearances as might be reasonably supposed to be occasioned by a multitude of stars at a vast distance. The milky way itself, as I have shewn in some former papers, con-

sists intirely of stars, and by imperceptible degrees I have been led on from the most evident congeries of stars, to other groups in which the lucid points were smaller, but still very plainly to be seen; and from them to such wherein they could but barely be suspected, till I arrived at last to spots in which no trace of a star was to be discerned. But then the gradations to these latter were by such well-connected steps as left no room for doubt, but that all these phenomena were equally occasioned by stars, variously dispersed in the immense expanse of the universe.

“ When I pursued these researches, I was in the situation of a natural philosopher who follows the various species of animals and insects from the height of their perfection down to the lowest ebb of life; when, arriving at the vegetable kingdom, he can scarcely point out to us the precise boundary where the animal ceases and the plant begins; and may even go so far as to suspect them not to be essentially different.

different. But recollecting himself, he compares, for instance, one of the human species to a tree, and all doubt on the subject vanishes before him. In the same manner we pass through gentle steps from a coarse cluster of stars, such as the Pleiades, the Præsepe, the milky way, the cluster in the Crab, the nebula in Hercules, that near the preceding hip of Bootes, the 17th, 38th, 41st of the 7th class of my catalogues, the 10th, 20th, 35th of the 6th class, the 32d, 48th, 213th of the 1st, the 12th, 150th, 756th of the 2d, and the 18th, 140th, 725th, of the 3d, without any hesitation, till we find ourselves brought to an object such as the nebula in Orion, where we are still inclined to remain in the once adopted idea, of stars exceedingly remote, and inconceivably crowded, as being the occasion of that remarkable appearance. It seems, therefore, to require a more dissimilar object to set us right again. A glance like that of the naturalist, who casts his eye from the perfect animal to the perfect vegetable, is wanting to remove the veil from the mind of the astronomer. The object I have mentioned above, is the phenomenon that was wanting for this purpose. View, for instance, the 19th cluster of my 6th class, and afterwards cast your eye on this cloudy star, and the result will be no less decisive than that of the naturalist we have alluded to. Our judgment, I may venture to say, will be that the nebulousity about the star is not of a starry nature.

"But, that we may not be too precipitate in these new decisions, let us enter more at large into the various grounds which induced us to surmise, that every visible object, in the extended and distant heavens, was of the starry kind, and collate them with those which now offer

themselves for the contrary opinion.

"It has been observed, on a former occasion, that all the smaller parts of other great systems, such as the planes, their rings and satellites; the comets, and such other bodies of the like nature as may belong to them, can never be perceived by us, on account of the faintness of light reflected from small, opaque objects; in my present remarks, therefore, all these are to be entirely set aside.

"A well-connected series of objects, such as we have mentioned above, has led us to infer, that all nebulae consist of stars. This being admitted, we were authorised to extend our analogical way of reasoning a little farther. Many of the nebulae had no other appearance than that whitish cloudiness, on the blue ground upon which they seemed to be projected; and why the same cause should not be assigned to explain the most extensive nebulousities, as well as those that amounted only to a few minutes of a degree in size, did not appear. It could not be inconsistent to call up a telescopic milky way, at an immense distance, to account for such phenomena; and if any part of the nebulousity seemed detached from the rest, or contained a visible star or two, the probability of seeing a few near stars, apparently scattered over the far distant regions of myriads of sidereal collections, rendered nebulous by their distance, would also clear up these singularities.

"In order to be more easily understood in my remarks on the comparative disposition of the heavenly bodies, I shall mention some of the particulars which introduced the ideas of connection and disjunction: for these, being properly founded upon an examination of objects that may be reviewed at any time, will

be of considerable importance to the validity of what we may advance with regard to my lately discovered nebulous stars.

" On June the 27th, 1786, I saw a beautiful cluster of very small stars of various sizes, about 15' in diameter, and very rich of stars. On viewing this object, it is impossible to withhold our assent to the idea which occurs, that these stars are connected so far one with another, as to be gathered together within a certain space, of little extent, when compared to the vast expanse of the heavens. As this phenomenon has been repeatedly seen in a thousand cases, I may justly lay great stress on the idea of such stars being connected.

" In the year 1770, the 9th of September, I discovered a very small star near  $\alpha$  Bootis. The question here occurring, whether it had any connection with  $\alpha$  or not, was determined in the negative; for considering the number of stars scattered in a variety of places, it is far from being uncommon, that a star at a great distance should happen to be nearly in a line drawn from the sun through  $\alpha$ , and thus constitute the observed double star.

" The 7th of September, 1781, when I first saw the planetary nebula near  $\alpha$  Aquarii, I pronounced it to be a system whose parts were connected together. Without entering into any kind of calculation, it is evident, that a certain equal degree of light within a very small space, joined to the particular shape this object presents to us, which is nearly round, and even in its deviation consistent with regularity, being a little elliptical, ought naturally to give us the idea of a conjunction in the things that produce it. And a considerable addition to this argument may be derived from a repeti-

tion of the same phenomenon, in nine or ten more of a similar construction.

" When I examined the cluster of stars, following the head of the great dog, I found on the 19th of March, 1786, that there was within this cluster a round, resolvable nebula, of about two minutes in diameter, and nearly of an equal degree of light throughout. Here, considering that the cluster was free from nebulosity in other parts, and that many such clusters, as well as many such nebulae, exist in divers parts of the heavens, it appeared to me very probable, that the nebula was unconnected with the cluster; and that a similar reason would as easily account for this appearance as it had resolved the phenomenon of the double star near  $\alpha$  Bootis; that is a casual situation of our sun and the two other objects nearly in a line. And though it may be rather more remarkable, that this should happen with two compound systems, which, are not by far so numerous as single stars, we have, to make up for this singularity, a much larger space in which it may take place, the cluster being of a very considerable extent.

" On the 15th of February, 1786, I discovered that one of my planetary nebulae, had a spot in the centre, which was more luminous than the rest, and with long attention, a very bright, round, well defined centre became visible. I remained not a single moment in doubt, but that the bright centre was connected with the rest of the apparent disk.

" In the year 1785, the 6th of October, I found a very bright, round nebula, of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  minute in diameter. It has a large, bright nucleus in the middle, which is undoubtedly connected with the luminous parts about it. And though we must



must confess, that if this phænomenon, and many more of the same nature, recorded in my catalogues of nebulae, consist of clustering stars, we find ourselves involved in some difficulty to account for the extraordinary condensation of them about the centre; yet the idea of a connection between the outward parts and these very condensed ones within is by no means lessened on that account.

"There is a telescopic milky way, which I have traced out in the heavens in many sweeps made from the year 1783 to 1789. It takes up a space of more than 60 square degrees of the heavens, and there are thousands of stars scattered over it: among others, four that form a trapezium, and are situated in the well known nebula of Orion, which is included in the above extent. All these stars, as well as the four I have mentioned, I take to be entirely unconnected with the nebulosity which involves them in appearance. Among them is also  $\delta$  Orionis, a cloudy star, improperly so called by former astronomers; but it does not seem to be connected with the milkiness any more than the rest.

"I come now to some other phænomena, that, from their singularity, merit undoubtedly a very full discussion. Among the reasons which induced us to embrace the opinion, that all very faint milky nebulosity ought to be ascribed to an assemblage of stars is, that we could not easily assign any other cause of sufficient importance for such luminous appearances, to reach us at the immense distance we must suppose ourselves to be from them. But if an argument of considerable force should now be brought forward, to shew the existence of a luminous matter, in a state of modification

very different from the construction of a sun or star, all objections, drawn from our incapacity of accounting for new phænomena upon old principles, will lose their validity.

"Hitherto I have been shewing, by various instances in objects whose places are given, in what manner we may form the ideas of connection and its contrary by an attentive inspection of them only: I will now relate a series of observations, with remarks upon them as they are delivered, from which I shall afterwards draw a few simple conclusions, that seem to be of considerable importance.

"To distinguish the observations from the remarks, the former are given in italics, and the date annexed is that on which the objects were discovered; but the descriptions are extracted from all the observations that have been made upon them.

"October 16, 1784. *A star of about the 9th magnitude surrounded by a milky nebulosity, or chevelure, of about 3 minutes in diameter. The nebulosity is very faint, and a little extended or elliptical, the extent being not far from the meridian, or a little from north preceding to south following. The chevelure involves a small star, which is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  minute north of the cloudy star: other stars of equal magnitude are perfectly free from this appearance.*

"My present judgment concerning this remarkable object is, that the nebulosity belongs to the star which is situated in its center. The small one, on the contrary, which is mentioned as involved, being one of many that are profusely scattered over this rich neighbourhood, I suppose to be quite unconnected with this phænomenon. A circle of

# [118] HERSCHEL'S OBSERVATIONS on NEBULOUS STARS.

three minutes in diameter is sufficiently large to admit another small star, without any bias to the judgment I form concerning the one in question.

"It must appear singular, that such an object should not have immediately suggested all the remarks contained in this paper; but about things that appear new we ought not to form opinions too hastily, and my observations on the construction of the heavens were then but entered upon. In this case, therefore, it was the safest way to lay down a rule not to reason upon the phenomena that might offer themselves, till I should be in possession of a sufficient stock of materials to guide my researches.

"October 16, 1784. *A small star of about the 11th or 12th magnitude, very faintly affected with milky nebosity; other stars of the same magnitude are perfectly free from this appearance.* Another observation mentions 5 or 6 small stars within the space of 3 or 4', all very faintly affected in the same manner, and the nebosity suspected to be a little stronger about each star. But a third observation rather opposes this increase of the faintly luminous appearance.

"Here the connection between the stars and the nebosity is not so evident as to amount to conviction; for which reason we shall pass on to the next.

"January the 6th, 1785. *A bright star with a considerable milky chevelure; a little extended, 4 or 5' in length, and near 4' broad; it loses itself insensibly. Other stars of equal magnitude are perfectly free from this chevelure.*

"The connection between the star and the chevelure cannot be doubted, from the insensible gradation

of its luminous appearance, decreasing as it receded from the center.

"January 31, 1785. *A pretty considerable star, with a very faint and very small, irregular, milky chevelure; other stars of the same size are perfectly free from such appearance.*

"I can have no doubt of the connection between the star and its chevelure.

"October 5, 1785. *A star with a strong bar all around. A second observation calls it a very bright nucleus, with a milky nebosity, of no great extent. A third suspects the milkiness to belong to more of the same, which is diffused over the whole sweep in that place; but a fourth says, that the milky nebosity is much stronger than what the nebulous ground, on which the star is placed, intitles it to.*

"The connection, therefore, between the nebosity and the star is evident.

"January 1, 1786. *A star surrounded with milky chevelure; the star is not central. A second observation calls it affected with a very faint, and extensive, milky chevelure. A third only mentions a star affected with milky chevelure.*

"As by the word chevelure I always denoted something relating to a center, the connection cannot be doubted.

"February 24, 1786. *A considerable star, very faintly affected with milky chevelure. A second observation, much the same.*

"November 23, 1786. *A star involved in milky chevelure.*

"January 17, 1787. *A star with a pretty strong milky nebosity, equally dispersed all around: the star is of about the 9th magnitude. A memorandum to the observation says, that, having but just begun, I*  
just

*suspected the glass to be covered with damp, or the eye out of order: but yet a star of the 10th or 11th magnitude, just north of it, was free from the same appearance. A second observation calls it one of the most remarkable phenomena I ever have seen, and like my northern planetary nebula in its growing state.*

"The connection between the star and the milky nebosity is without all doubt.

"November 3, 1787. *A bright star with faint nebosity.* A second observation mentions the star to be of the 9th magnitude, and the faint nebosity of very little extent.

"June 11, 1787. *Suspected, stellar.* By a second observation it is verified, and called a very small star involved in extremely faint nebosity.

"November 25, 1788. *A star of about the 9th magnitude, surrounded with very faint milky nebosity; other stars of the same size are perfectly free from that appearance. Less than 1' in diameter. The star is either not round or double.*

"March 23, 1789. *A bright, considerably well defined nucleus, with a very faint, small, round chevelure.*

"The connection admits of no doubt; but the object is not perhaps of the same nature with those which I call cloudy stars.

"April 14, 1789. *A considerable, bright, round nebula; having a large place in the middle of nearly an equal brightness, but less bright towards the margin.*

"This seems rather to approach to the planetary sort.

"March 5, 1790. *A pretty considerable star of the 9th or 10th magnitude, visibly affected with very faint nebosity of little extent, all around. A power of 300 shewed the nebosity of greater extent.*

"The connection is not to be doubted.

"March 19, 1790. *A very bright nucleus, with a small, very faint chevelure, exactly round. In a low situation, where the chevelure could hardly be seen, this object would put on the appearance of an ill-defined, planetary nebula. of 6, 8, or 10" diameter.*

"November 13, 1790. *A most singular phenomenon: a star of about the 8th magnitude, with a faint luminous atmosphere, of a circular form, and of about 3' in diameter. The star is perfectly in the center, and the atmosphere is so diluted, faint, and equal throughout, that there can be no surmise of its consisting of stars; nor can there be a doubt of the evident connection between the atmosphere and the star. Another star, not much less in brightness, and in the same field with the above, was perfectly free from any such appearance.*

"This last object is so decisive in every particular, that we need not hesitate to admit it as a pattern, from which we are authorized to draw the following important consequences.

"Supposing the connection between the star and its surrounding nebosity to be allowed, we argue, that one of the two following cases must necessarily be admitted. In the first place, if the nebosity consist of stars that are very remote, which appear nebulous on account of the small angles their mutual distances subtend at the eye, whereby they will not only, as it were, run into one another, but also appear extremely faint and diluted; then, what must be the enormous size of the central point, which outshines all the rest in so superlative a degree as to admit of no comparison? In the next place, if the star be no bigger than common, how very

small and compressed must be those other luminous points that are the occasion of the nebulosity which surrounds the central one? As, by the former supposition, the luminous central point must far exceed the standard of what we call a star, so, in the latter, the shining matter about the center will be much too small to come under the same denomination; we therefore either have a central body which is not a star, or have a star which is involved in a shining fluid, of a nature totally unknown to us.

I can adopt no other sentiment than the latter, since the probability is certainly not for the existence of so enormous a body as would be required to shine like a star of the 8th magnitude, at a distance sufficiently great to cause a vast system of stars to put on the appearance of a very diluted, milky nebulosity.

"But what a field of novelty is here opened to our conceptions; a shining fluid, of a brightness sufficient to reach us from the remote regions of a star of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th magnitude, and of an extent so considerable as to take up 3, 4, 5, or 6 minutes in diameter! can we compare it to the coruscations of the electrical fluid in the aurora borealis? or to the more magnificent cone of the zodiacal light as we see it in spring or autumn? the latter, notwithstanding I have observed it to reach at least 90 degrees from the sun, is yet of so little extent and brightness as probably not to be perceived even by the inhabitants of Saturn or the Georgian planet, and must be utterly invisible at the remoteness of the nearest fixed star.

"More extensive views may be derived from this proof of the existence of a shining matter. Per-

haps it has been too hastily surmised that all milky nebulosity, of which there is so much in the heavens, is owing to starlight only. These nebulous stars may serve as a clue to unravel other mysterious phenomena. If the shining fluid that surrounds them is not so essentially connected with these nebulous stars but that it can also exist without them, which seems to be sufficiently probable, and will be examined hereafter, we may with great facility explain that very extensive, telescopic nebulosity, which, as I mentioned before, is expanded over more than sixty degrees of the heavens, about the constellation of Orion; a luminous matter accounting much better for it than clustering stars at a distance. In this case we may also pretty nearly guess at its situation, which must commence somewhere about the range of the stars of the 7th magnitude, or a little farther from us, and extend equally in some places perhaps to the regions of those of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th. The foundation for this surmise is, that, not unlikely, some of the stars that happen to be situated in a more condensed part of it, or that perhaps by their own attraction draw together some quantity of this fluid greater than what they are entitled to by their situation in it, will, of course, assume the appearance of cloudy stars; and many of those I have named are either in this stratum of luminous matter, or very near it.

"We have said above, that in nebulous stars the existence of the shining fluid does not seem to be so essentially connected with the central points that it might not also exist without them. For this opinion we may assign several reasons. One of them is the great resemblance between the chevelure of these stars  
and

and the diffused extensive nebulosity mentioned before, which renders it highly probable that they are of the same nature. Now, if this be admitted, the separate existence of the luminous matter, or its independence on a central star, is fully proved. We may also judge, very confidently, that the light of this shining fluid is no kind of reflection from the star in the center; for, as we have already observed, reflected light could never reach us at the great distance we are from such objects. Besides, how impenetrable would be an atmosphere of a sufficient density to reflect so great a quantity of light; and yet we observe, that the outward parts of the chevelure are nearly as bright as those that are close to the star; so that this supposed atmosphere ought to give no obstruction to the passage of the central rays. If, therefore, this matter is self-luminous, it seems more fit to produce a star by its condensation than to depend on the star for its existence.

“Many other diffused nebulosities, besides that about the constellation of Orion, have been observed or suspected; but some of them are probably very distant, and run out far into space. For instance, about 5 minutes in time preceding  $\xi$  Cygni, I suspect as much of it, as covers near four square degrees; and much about the same quantity  $14'$  preceding the  $125$  Tauri. A space of almost 8 square degrees,  $6'$  preceding  $\alpha$  Trianguli, seems to be tinged with milky nebulosity. Three minutes preceding the  $46$  Eridani, strong, milky nebulosity is expanded over more than two square degrees,  $54'$  preceding the  $13$ th Canum venaticorum, and again  $48'$  preceding the same star, I found the field of view affected with whitish nebulosity

throughout the whole breadth of the sweep, which was  $2^{\circ} 39' 4''$  following the  $\gamma$  Cygni, a considerable space is filled with faint, milky nebulosity, which is pretty bright in some places, and contains the  $7$ th nebula of my Vth class, in the brightest part of it. In the neighbourhood of the  $44$ th Piscium, very faint nebulosity appears to be diffused over more than 9 square degrees of the heavens. Now, all these phenomena, as we have already seen, will admit of a much easier explanation by a luminous fluid than by stars at an immense distance.

“The nature of planetary nebulae, which has hitherto been involved in much darkness, may now be explained with some degree of satisfaction, since the uniform and very considerable brightness of their apparent disk accords remarkably well with a much condensed, luminous fluid; whereas to suppose them to consist of clustering stars will not so completely account for the milkiness or soft tint of their light, to produce which it would be required that the condensation of the stars should be carried to an almost inconceivable degree of accumulation. The surmise of the regeneration of stars, by means of planetary nebulae, expressed in a former paper, will become more probable, as all the luminous matter contained in one of them, when gathered together into a body of the size of a star, would have nearly such a quantity of light as we find the planetary nebulae to give. To prove this experimentally, we may view them with a telescope that does not magnify sufficiently to shew their extent, by which means we shall gather all their light together into a point, when they will be found to assume the appearance of small stars; that is, of stars

stars at the distance of those which we call of the 8th, 9th, or 10th magnitude. Indeed this idea is greatly supported by the discovery of a well defined, lucid point, resembling a star, in the centre of one of them; for the argument which has been used, in the case of nebulous stars, to shew the probability of the existence of a luminous matter, which rested upon the disparity between a bright point and its surrounding shining fluid, may here be alledged with equal justice. If the point be a generating star, the further accumulation of the already much condensed, luminous matter, may complete it in time.

“ How far the light that is perpetually emitted from millions of suns may be concerned in this shining fluid, it might be presumptuous to attempt to determine; but, notwithstanding the unconceivable subtilty of the particles of light, when the number of the emitting bodies is almost infinitely great, and the time of the continual emission indefinitely long, the quantity of emitted particles may well become adequate to the constitution of a shining fluid, or luminous matter, provided a cause can be found that may retain them from flying off, or reunite them. But such a cause cannot be difficult to guess at, when we know that light is so easily reflected, refracted, inflected, and deflected;

and that, in the immense range of its course, it must pass through innumerable systems, where it cannot but frequently meet with many obstacles to its rectilinear progression. Not to mention the great counteraction of the united attractive force of whole sidereal systems, which must be continually exerting their power upon the particles while they are endeavouring to fly off. However, we shall lay no stress upon a surmise of this kind, as the means of verifying it are wanting: nor is it of any immediate consequence to us to know the origin of the luminous matter. Let it suffice that its existence is rendered evident, by means of nebulous stars.

“ I hope it will be found, that in what has been said I have not launched out into hypothetical reasonings; and that facts have all along been kept sufficiently in view. But, in order to give every one a fair opportunity to follow me in the reflections I have been led into, the place of every object from which I have argued has been purposely added\*, that the validity of what I have advanced might be put to the proof by those who are inclined, and furnished, with the necessary instruments to undertake an attentive and repeated inspection of the same phenomena.

W. HERSCHEL.\*

Slough, Jan. 1, 1791.

\* For these places we must refer our readers to the eighty-first volume of the Philosophical Transactions.

COMMUNICATION from the COMMITTEE of COUNCIL appointed for the CONSIDERATION of all MATTERS relating to TRADE and FOREIGN PLANTATIONS, to the ROYAL SOCIETY, relative to the NATURAL HISTORY of AMBERGRIS.

[From the same work.]

“ S I R,

“ **L**ORD Hawkebury, president of the committee of privy council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, having received a letter from Mr. Champion, a principal merchant concerned in the Southern Whale Fishery, informing him, that a ship belonging to him had lately arrived from the said fishery, which had brought home 362 ounces of ambergris, found by Mr. Coffin, captain of the said ship, in the body of a female spermaceti whale, taken on the coast of Guinea; his lordship thought fit to desire captain Coffin, as well as Mr. Champion, to attend the lords of the committee, that they might be examined concerning all the circumstances of the fact before mentioned; and I am directed by their lordships to transmit to you a copy of the examination of these two gentlemen, that you may communicate the same to the Royal Society, if you should think that any of the circumstances, stated in this examination, will contribute to remove the doubts hitherto entertained concerning the natural history and production of this valuable drug. I send you also a piece of the ambergris so taken out of the whale, and some of the bills of the fish called Squids (which are supposed to be the food of spermaceti whales), and which were found

partly in the ambergris taken from this female whale, and partly on the outside of it, and adhering to it.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ W. FAWKENER.”

“ At the council chamber, Whitehall, the 12th January, 1791.

“ By the right honourable the lords of the committee of council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

“ **READ**—Letter from Mr. Alexander Champion, a principal merchant concerned in the Southern Whale Fishery, to lord Hawkebury, dated the 2d instant, acquainting his lordship, that captain Joshua Coffin, of the ship the Lord Hawkebury, is lately arrived from the Southern Whale Fishery; and that the said ship, besides a cargo of 76 tons of spermaceti oil and head-matter, has brought home about 360 ounces of ambergris, which the said captain took out of the body of a female spermaceti whale on the coast of Guinea.

“ Mess. Champion and Coffin attending, were then called in, and the following questions were put to Mr. Coffin, viz.

“ Q. Have any of the whales, taken

taken before by the ships sailing from Great-Britain, to your knowledge, contained any ambergris?

A. None, that ever I heard of. The American ships have, at times, found some.

Q. Was the ambergris, found by you, in a bull or cow fish?

A. It was found in a cow fish.

Q. Is it usual to look for ambergris in whales that are killed?

A. It has not hitherto been much the practice to do so.

Q. How happened it that you discovered this?

A. We saw it come out of the fundament of the whale; as we were cutting the blubber, a piece of it swam upon the surface of the sea.

Q. In what part of the whale did you find the remainder?

A. Some more was in the same passage, and the rest was contained in a bag a little below the passage, and communicating with it.

Q. Did the whale appear to be in health?

A. No; she did not. She seemed sickly, had no flesh upon her bones, and was very old, as appears by the teeth, two of which I have. Though she was about thirty-five feet long, she did not produce above one ton and a half of oil. A fish of the same size, in good health, would have produced two tons and a half.

Q. Have you observed the food that whales generally feed upon?

A. The spermaceti whale feeds, as I believe, almost wholly upon a fish called Squids. I have often seen a whale, when dying, bring up a quantity of squid, sometimes whole, and sometimes pieces of it. The bills of the squid (some of which Mr. Coffin produced) were found, some in the inside, and some on the outside of the ambergris, sticking to it.

Q. Did you ever find any ambergris floating on the sea?

A. I never did, but others frequently have.

Q. How long have you been engaged in the whale fishery?

A. It is about sixteen years since I first entered into it.

Q. What is the general proportion of bull and cow whales you have met with?

A. I believe the proportion to be nearly equal. In my last voyage, however, I found only four bulls out of thirty-five whales. I fished upon the coast of Africa between five north and seven south degrees of latitude. I am inclined to think, that the cow whale goes to calve in the low latitudes, which accounts for more cows being found in those latitudes.

Q. Is there any particular season when the cow whales calve?

A. I do not know that there is.

Q. Does the bull or cow whale, in proportion to their size, produce most oil?

A. The cow whale, when big with calf, produces more oil than a bull whale, of the same size; when suckling, she produces less.

Q. Are the whales usually found singly, or in pairs? or in larger numbers?

A. Usually in large numbers, which we call schools, and particularly in the low latitudes. I have seen from fifteen to perhaps a thousand together.

Q. Have you any further information on this subject to give the committee?

A. We have generally observed, that the spermaceti whale, when struck, voids her excrement; if she does not, we conjecture that she has ambergris in her. I think ambergris most likely to be found in



PROCESS of converting the SMOKE of STEAM-ENGINES into TAR. [125]

in a sickly fish; for I consider it to be the cause or the effect of some disorder."

— — —  
" Questions put to Mr. Champion.

" Q. At what price does ambergris usually sell; and at what price did that, taken by your ship, sell?

A. A small quantity had lately sold at 25s. *per* ounce; but it was then very scarce. Mine sold for 19s. 6d. *per* ounce. The whole quantity, found in this whale, was

362 ounces troy. The people who bought it told me, this was a larger quantity than was ever before brought at once to market. It has been generally sold at about 4 or 5 pounds at a time.

Q. For the use of what country was this ambergris bought?

A. I do not exactly know. It was bought by a broker, who told me, that his principal, who purchased about one half, bought it for exportation to Turkey, Germany, and France. The other half was purchased by the druggists in town."

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PROCESS of converting the SMOKE of STEAM-ENGINES, &c. into TAR; described in a Letter from Mr. William Pitt, of Pendeford, near Wolverhampton, to Mr. More.

[From the ninth Volume of the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

" **H**AVING had occasion to spend a good deal of time upon business, in the coal and iron works of this country; my situation amidst the smoke of those great works put me upon the idea hinted at in the 153d premium of the eighth volume of the Society's Transactions; namely, that of destroying smoke, in order to prevent annoyance to the neighbourhood.

" That the object is not only attainable, will be demonstrated in the following narrative; but also that valuable articles of commerce may be produced in large quantities, whenever the proprietors of such works shall adopt the mode of constructing their buildings proper for such production.

" The articles of commerce I allude to, are mineral tar, pitch, and varnish: there are already three

considerable works erected on the banks of the canal in this county, for the purpose of converting the smoke of pitcoal into the above articles; the one at Mr. Wilkinson's great works at Bradley, another at Tipton, and a third at the Level Colliery and iron works upon Dudley-wood. they were erected by lord Dundonald and Co. and the business is carried on with success.

" These tar-works are erected in the vicinity of large iron and coal works: the iron masters furnish the tar-works with raw coal, *gratis*, and receive in return the cokes produced by such coal, and the proprietors of the tar-works have the smoke only for their labour, and interest of capital.

" The process is conducted in the following manner: a range of eighteen or twenty stoves is erected, and supplied

supplied with coal kept burning at the bottom; the smoke is conducted, by proper horizontal tunnels, into a capacious and close funnel, of one hundred yards or more in length; this funnel is built with brick, supported by brick arches, and covered on the top by a shallow pond of water, which pond is supplied with water, when wanted, by a steam-engine belonging to the coal or iron-works; the chill of the water gradually condensing the smoke, it falls upon the floor of the funnel in the form of tar, and is conveyed by proper pipes into a receiver, from whence it is pumped into a large boiler, and boiled to a proper consistence, or otherwise inspissated into pitch: when the latter is the case, the volatile particles which arise during the inspissation are again condensed into an oil used for varnish.

"In this process the smoke is decomposed and destroyed, nothing arising from the work but a white vapour from some small funnels (kept open to give draught to the fires), and a small evaporation of water from the pond, occasioned by the warmth of the smoke within the funnel.

"The process requires but little attendance, the principal labour being that of supplying the fuel. In any one of the tar works the quantity of coal used is about twenty tons per day; three labourers, with a foreman, are sufficient for the whole business: the quantity of tar produced will be about twenty-eight barrels, of two hundred weight and an half, in six days, worth ten shillings per hundred, or twenty-one barrels of pitch, of the same weight, worth fifteen shillings per hundred; though I was assured, upon the spot, by a very intelligent person, that some coal is of so bituminous a quality, as to give one eighth its weight,

of tar: but the quantity above stated is about the average produce.

"In order to bring the above practice within the society's intentions, an alteration in the erection of steam-engines, furnaces, &c. must take place; the alteration will be no more than that of erecting them below ground, instead of above: and when raising water is the main object, an adoption of the forcing or lifting pump instead of the sucking pump, or the sucking pump may be still employed, wherever the fall of ground gives an opportunity of letting off the water raised, by an aqueduct; in which case, the lift being shortened, and less power necessary, ample amends will be thereby made for the expence of such aqueduct.

"Such kind of buildings, from a low situation, within the earth's surface, will certainly acquire additional stability: and to those who are acquainted with the trifling expence of removing soil to only small distances, the additional charge will appear trifling, and will be more than recompensed by such acquired stability. In some local situations, in hilly countries, the smoking works being erected at the foot, and the tar-funnel higher up the hill, a communication may be effected without such alteration. Perhaps it may be right for the society to offer a premium to the first person who shall erect a steam engine, or other similar work, upon this plan.

"To prove the above idea is not ill-founded, I beg leave to report, that about three weeks ago, I particularly examined the tar-work on Dudley wood; and found the foreman of the work intelligent and communicative; and walking with him on the top of the tar-funnel, observed a prodigious smoke arise from a steam-engine, about thirty yards

## CONJECTURES respecting the FORMATION of NITRE. [127]

yards distant, fresh fuel having just been added. When I put this question, would that smoke make tar, if it passed into your funnel? he answered, most certainly. Would your confining it there, prevent the fire burning below, sufficient to do its office of working the steam-engines? answer, certainly not; as our small funnels allow sufficient draught to keep the fire burning, which draught we can increase or diminish at pleasure.

"I find by reports from other quarters, that successful attempts have been made to make cokes of the coal employed in working steam-engines: the additional improvement of making tar from the smoke, would not only prevent annoyance to the neighbourhood, but also apply to the best advantage every particle of that valuable and comfortable article, coal; prodigious quantities of which are at present wasted by being burned in one place for heat only, in another for cokes only; when, by due attention, both purposes may in many cases be effected at the same time.

"I was informed upon the spot, from undoubted authority, that the consumption of coal in Mr. Wilkinson's great works, at Bradley, is one

hundred tons per day: about one fifth of the smoke is actually employed in making of tar; and the remainder, or the smoke of eighty tons per day, flies away. This, if collected, would yield upwards of eighteen barrels of tar, of two hundred and an half each: and if the smoke of the great works of the kingdom was in general collected for the same use, what a prodigious addition would it be, to the production of a commercial and necessary article, which always finds a ready market, and will in many instances supply the place of the vegetable tar, at present imported from abroad!

"That some idea may be formed of the consumption of coal in steam-engines for raising water, I beg leave to report the following, of which I had certain information upon the spot; namely, that some such engines individually consume one hundred tons per week of coal; that others, though powerful, with the improvements of Messrs. Boulton and Watt, are kept on with about twenty-five tons per week; and that the weekly consumption varies between those two quantities, viz. from twenty-five to one hundred tons."

## CONJECTURES respecting the FORMATION of NITRE,

[From the third Volume of Townsend's Journey through Spain, in the years 1786 and 1787.]

"THIS scorching sun is highly beneficial to the production of nitre, at the salt-works near Granada; where, with about one hundred men, employed during the summer, and twenty-six in winter, government obtains three thousand

quintals annually. But then the lixiviating water is not carried by men, as in Madrid, but conducted by pipes to every filter.

"To procure the proper kind of earth, they observe the spots which, early in the morning, appear black, and

and towards noon become white round the edges; this they collect, and find that land, on which has been laid much dung, is the most productive. Once collected, it will endure, for ages; and, having been exposed to the influence of the sun and of the air, yields the same quantity as at first on every subsequent filtration. In the places where they find this earth, there is neither limestone, chalk, nor gypsum; and ashes being extremely scarce, none are used at the bottom of the filters.

"I have already considered this wonderful production as a merchant; and happy should I be, were I qualified to discuss it with any satisfaction as a chemist.

"Here a thousand questions crowd in upon the mind. From whence does this earth collect the vegetable alkali, whence the nitrous acid? supposing the former to be originally the result of putrefaction, yet, after the earth has been lixiviated, and all the vegetable alkali has been carried off by water, how is it impregnated afresh, merely by exposure to the sun and air; and where does it obtain this inexhaustible supply both of the alkali and its combining acid? but, if we reflect, that, with the nitrous salt, there is constantly found muria, or sea-salt, in considerable quantities; whence does it derive the fossil alkali, and whence the muriatic acid, not once, but upon every subsequent exposure?

"It is well known that old mortar produces six kinds of salt: for, beside the two just mentioned, both the nitrous and the muriatic acid are found combined with magnesia and with calcareous earth. But, if we recollect, at Anover and Aranjuez we saw Epsom and Glauber's salt, with the muria and the nitre,

and both those salts contain vitriolic acid.

"Here, then, new questions will arise. What is the relation between these various substances, of chalk, magnesia, the fossil, and the vegetable alkalis? what connection can we trace between the muriatic, nitrous, and vitriolic acids? and, is there one common principle of acidity?

"This question will be both more natural and more interesting, when we consider, as far as relates to England, France, and Spain, the only countries which have come under my observation, that, in proportion to the quantity of sun, the chalk is found impregnated with vitriolic acid, and forms selenite or gypsum. At least it may be observed, that in our island, we have much chalk, and little gypsum; that in France both these substances abound; whilst in Spain, there is very little chalk, and a profusion of gypsum, more especially in Arragon, and in the southern provinces. Indeed a learned naturalist, who resided many years in Spain, and traversed it in all directions, with a view to minerals, assures us, that he had never discovered there the least vestige of chalk. (v. Bowles, p. 13.) But I have already noticed it in one place; and in the neighbourhood of Granada it is likewise found, although I was not able to identify the spot.

"His observation is however ingenious, and worthy of attention. He never met with it; I saw it only at Cervera, here, and at Picaente.

"The connection between chalk and gypsum became evident to me from the moment that I discovered flinty gravel in the latter, precisely such as we always meet with in the former. Hence it seems to be plain, either

either that chalk was gypsum, and has lost its vitriolic acid, or that gypsum was once chalk, and has made this acquisition. I am inclined to adopt the latter hypothesis: and, if this be the true one, we must inquire whence has it derived the acid? was the chalk impregnated with the vitriolic acid, whilst it remained covered by the waters of the ocean? or is the acquisition subsequent to that grand revolution to which I have frequently referred? Should we suppose the latter, and should we be inclined to seek the principle of acidity in the solar ray, we may perhaps be confirmed in this idea by the consideration, that, by means of green vegetables and water exposed to its meridian influence, all modern chemists have produced *vital*, that is, *dephlogisticated* air, in great abundance, always in proportion to the quantity of light, or, in other words, to the greater or lesser influence of the solar rays: and that saltpetre, by distillation, produces the same kind of air, in the proportion of twelve thousand inches to a pound, leaving behind the vegetable alkali uncombined with acid.

"Should we be inclined to grant, agreeable to the experiments of Dr. Ingenhousz, that vegetables by day emit *vital*, and by night *mephitic* air; considering that Mr. Cavendish produced *nitrous acid* by the combination of *vital air* with atmospheric *mephitic*, in the proportion of seven to three, we should not be at a loss for a never-failing source, from whence this acid may arise.

"These speculations might be

pursued, and, observing that one pound of *nitrous acid*, distilled on mercury, yields one thousand eight hundred and eight cubic inches of *nitrous*, and one thousand nine hundred and four of *vital air*, we should be confirmed in our opinion that we have discovered the origin of the sought-for acid.

"*Nitrous air* is obtained from animal substances simply by putrefaction, or it may be had by the combination of *inflammable* and *vital air*: for, as Dr. Priestley has remarked, in the Philosophical Transactions of the 27th of November, 1788, "When either inflammable or dephlogisticated air is extracted from any substance in contact with the other kind of air, so that the one is made to unite with the other in what may be called its nascent state; the result will be *fixed air*; but, if both of them be completely formed before their union, the result will be *nitrous air*."

"Thus, in the various facts and observations above related, we may see the intimate relation and connection between inflammable, fixed or mephitic, and *nitrous air*; that the two latter result from the combination of the former with *vital air* in given quantities; whilst, with a greater proportion of *vital air*, we obtain *nitrous acid*; and that, of these its constituent principles, in warm climates, animal substances are, by their putrefaction, constantly producing one, whilst vegetables, by day, are as constantly pouring forth the other."

## NATURAL HISTORY of the GRANA KERMES.

[From the same Volume.]

" I HAD here an opportunity to examine the natural history of the *grana kermes*. It is found on the *coscoja*, or *quercus coccifera* of Linnaeus, here growing to the height of from twelve inches to two feet. The grana appear on the stems or small branches, some near the bottom of the plant, but mostly on the upper branches, yet always protected by the leaves, and fixed to the stem by a gluten, which both to the sight and to the touch resembles thin white leather, spread over the stem, and covering, like the cup or calix of the acorn, a segment of the grana. Upon a more minute investigation, I traced the agglutinating coat through a small foramen into the grana, from whence it had proceeded, and where it spread, like the placenta, on the internal surface.

" The grana were of various sizes, from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in diameter, perfectly spherical, and covered with a white powder, which being rubbed off, the surface appeared red, smooth, and polished. Upon the same stem I found the grana in three stages. In the first I discovered only tough membranes filled with a red juice resembling blood, but on paper leaving a stain as bright and beautiful as the best carmine. In the second stage there appeared, under the first coat or pellicle, a thin tough membrane inclosing the eggs, now most minute, and scarcely to be distinguished without the assistance of a convex lens. Between this membrane and the pellicle was the same red liquor, but less in quantity than was contained in the former stage. By a careful dissection I took off the pellicle which was evidently separated from the inner membrane by

what seemed to be the viscera and blood-vessels, but near to the foramen these two coats adhered closely together.

" The interior membrane is thin, white, and tough, with a lunar septum, forming the ovary, which at first is very small, and scarcely discernible, but progressively enlarges, till in the third stage it occupies the whole space, when the tincturing juice disappears, and only eggs are to be seen, to the number of fifteen hundred or two thousand.

" It is clear to me that the grana derives no kind of nourishment from the plant on which it is fixed; and from its position I am inclined to think, that the little animal chooses the *quercus coccifera*, which in its prickly leaf resembles the holly, only for the sake of shelter and protection from birds.

" I put some of the grana into a coffee cup on the thirty-first of May, and, June the twelfth, I discovered a multitude of animalculæ, of a bright red colour, exceedingly minute, running about the cup with astonishing rapidity, but for short intervals. A friend put some grana into a snuff-box, where he soon forgot them; but when, at the distance of a few weeks, he had occasion to resume his box, he found the top covered internally with dew, and a multitude of winged insects, all dead, adhering to it.

" Before my excursion to Buzot, some peasants of Las Aguas had spread themselves on the adjacent mountains, where they collected more than four arrobas, or one hundred weight of grana, which they had sold in Alicante for fifteen reals, or about three shillings a pound."

AC-

ACCOUNT of the BAYA, or INDIAN GROSS-BEAK. By ATHAR  
ALI KHAN of DEHLI.

[From the second Volume of the Asiatic Researches.]

“THE little bird, called Baya in Hindu, Berbera in Sanscrit, Babui in the dialect of Bengal, Cibu in Persian, and Tenawwit in Arabic, from his remarkably pendent nest, is rather larger than a sparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowish head and feet, a light-coloured breast, and a conic beak very thick in proportion to his body. This bird is exceedingly common in Hindustan: he is astonishingly sensible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deserting the place where his young were hatched, but not averse, like most other birds, to the society of mankind, and easily taught to perch on the hand of his master. In a state of nature he generally builds his nest on the highest tree, that he can find, especially on the palmyra, or on the Indian fig-tree, and he prefers that, which happens to overhang a well or a rivulet: he makes it of grass, which he weaves like cloth, and shapes like a large bottle, suspending it firmly on the branches, but so as to rock with the wind, and placing it with its entrance downwards to secure it from birds of prey. His nest usually consists of two or three chambers; and it is the popular belief, that he lights them with fire flies, which he catches alive at night and confines with moist clay, or with cow-dung: that such flies are often found in his nest, where pieces of cow-dung are also stuck, is indubitable; but, as their light could be of little use to him, it seems probable that he only feeds on them. He may be taught with ease to fetch a piece of paper, or any small thing, that his master points out to him: it

is an attested fact, that, if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a signal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his master with apparent exultation; and it is confidently asserted, that, if a house or any other place be shown to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper signal being made. One instance of his docility I can myself mention with confidence, having often been an eye witness of it: the young Hindu women at Benares and in other places wear very thin plates of gold, called *tika's*, slightly fixed by way of ornament between their eye brows; and, when they pass through the streets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuse themselves with training Baya's, to give them a sign which they understand, and send them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their mistresses, which they bring in triumph to the lovers. The Baya feeds naturally on grass-hoppers and other insects, but will subsist, when tame, on pulse macerated in water: his flesh is warm and drying, of easy digestion, and recommended, in medical books, as a solvent of stone in the bladder or kidneys; but of that virtue there is no sufficient proof. The female lays many beautiful eggs resembling large pearls; the white of them, when they are boiled, is transparent, and the flavour of them is exquisitely delicate. When many Baya's are assembled on a high tree, they make a lively din, but it is rather chirping than singing; their

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want of musical talents is, however, amply supplied by their wonderful sagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitants of the forest."

ORIENTAL METHOD of curing the ELEPHANTIASIS, and other DISORDERS of the BLOOD.

[From the same Work.]

IN the year of the Mēssiah 1783, when the worthy and respectable Maulavi Mir Mūhammed Hufain, who excels in every branch of useful knowledge, accompanied Mr. Richard Johnson from *Lac'bnau* to *Calcutta*, he visited the humble writer of this tract, who had long been attached to him with sincere affection; and, in the course of their conversation, 'One of the fruits of my late excursion, said he, is a present for you, which suits your profession, and will be generally useful to our species: conceiving you to be worthy of it by reason of your assiduity in medical inquiries, I have brought you a prescription, the ingredients of which are easily found, but not easily equalled as a powerful remedy against all corruptions of the blood, the judham, and the Persian fire, the remains of which are a source of infinite maladies. It is an old secret of the Hindu physicians; who applied it also to the cure of cold and moist distempers, as the palsy, distortions of the face, relaxations of the nerves, and similar diseases: its efficacy too has been proved by long experience; and this is the method of preparing it:

'Take of white arsenick, fine and fresh, one *ṛolā* \*; of picked black pepper six times as much: let both be well beaten at intervals for four days successively in an iron

'mortar, and then reduced to an impalpable powder in one of stone with a stone pestle, and thus completely levigated, a little water being mixed with them. Make pills of them as large as tares or small pulse, and keep them dry in a shady place.

'One of those pills must be swallowed morning and evening with some betel-leaf, or, in countries where betel is not at hand, with cold water: if the body be cleansed from foulness and obstructions by gentle catharticks and bleeding, before the medicine is administered, the remedy will be speedier."

"The principal ingredient of this medicine is the arsenick, which the Arabs call *shucc*, the Persians *mergi musht*, or mouse-bane, and the Indians, *sanc'hayā*; a mineral substance ponderous and crystalline: the orpiment or yellow arsenick, is the weaker sort. It is a deadly poison, and so subtil, that, when mice are killed by it, the very smell of the dead will destroy the living of that species: after it has been kept about seven years, it loses much of its force; its colour becomes turbid; and its weight is diminished. This mineral is hot and dry in the fourth degree: it causes suppuration, dissolves or unites, according to the quantity given; and is very useful in closing the lips of wounds, when the pain is too intense to be borne.

\* i. e. 105 grains.



An ungent made of it with oils of any sort is an effectual remedy for some cutaneous disorders, and, mixed with rose-water, it is good for cold tumours and for the dropsy; but it must never be administered without the greatest caution; for such is its power, that the smallest quantity of it in powder, drawn, like *alcobol*, between the eyelashes, would in a single day entirely corrode the coats and humours of the eye; and fourteen reti's of it would in the same time destroy life. The best antidote against its effects are the scrapings of leather reduced to ashes: if the quantity of arsenick taken be accurately known, four times as much of those ashes, mixed with water and drunk by the patient, will sweat and counteract the poison.

"The writer, conformably to the directions of his learned friend, prepared the medicine; and, in the same year, gave it to numbers, who were reduced by the diseases above-mentioned to the point of death: God is his witness, that they grew better from day to day, were at last completely cured, and are now living (except one or two, who died of other disorders) to attest the truth of this assertion. One of his first patients was a *Parsi*, named *Menucheir*, who had come from *Surat* to this city, and had fixed his abode near the writer's house: he was so cruelly afflicted with a confirmed lues, here called the Persian fire, that his hands and feet were entirely ulcerated, and almost corroded, so that he became an object of disgust and abhorrence. This man consulted the writer on his case, the state of which he disclosed without reserve. Some blood was taken from him on the same day, and a cathartick administered on the next. On the third day he began to take the arsenick-pills, and, by the blessing of God, the virulence

of his disorder abated by degrees, until signs of returning health appeared; in a fortnight his recovery was complete, and he was bathed, according to the practice of our physicians: he seemed to have no virus left in his blood, and none has been since perceived by him.

"But the power of this medicine has chiefly been tried in the cure of the *juzam*, as the word is pronounced in India; a disorder infecting the whole mass of blood, and thence called by some *fisadi kbun*. The former name is derived from an Arabic root signifying in general, amputation, maiming, excision, and, particularly, the truncation or erosion of the fingers, which happens in the last stage of the disease. It is extremely contagious, and, for that reason, the Prophet said: *furrû minna'lmejdûmî camâ teferrû minna'lâfad*, or, "Flee from a person afflicted with the judham, as you would flee from a lion." The author of the *Bahhruljawahir*, or *Sea of Pearls*, ranks it as an infectious malady with the measles, the small-pox, and the plague. It is also hereditary, and, in that respect, classed by medical writers with the gout, the consumption, and the white leprosy.

"A common cause of this distemper is the unwholesome diet of the natives, many of whom are accustomed, after eating a quantity of fish, to swallow copious draughts of milk, which fail not to cause an accumulation of yellow and black bile, which mingles itself with the blood and corrupts it: but it has other causes; for a Brahman, who had never tasted fish in his life, applied lately to the composer of this essay, and appeared in the highest degree affected by a corruption of blood; which he might have inherited, or acquired by other means. Those,

whose religion permits them to eat beef, are often exposed to the danger of heating their blood intensely through the knavery of the butchers in the Bazar, who fatten their calves with Balawer: and those, who are so ill-advised as to take provocatives, a folly extremely common in India, at first are insensible of the mischief, but as soon as the increased moisture is dispersed, find their whole mass of blood inflamed, and, as it were, a dust; whence arises the disorder, of which we now are treating. The Persian, or venereal fire generally ends in this malady; as one Devi Prasad, lately in the service of Mr. Vansittart, and some others, have convinced me by an unreserved account of their several cases.

“It may here be worth while to report a remarkable case, which was related to me by a man, who had been afflicted with the juzam near four years; before which time he had been disordered with the Persian fire, and, having closed an ulcer by the means of a strong healing plaister, was attacked by a violent pain in his joints: on this he applied to a Cabiraja, or Hindu physician, who gave him some pills, with a positive assurance, that the use of them would remove his pain in a few days; and in a few days it was, in fact, wholly removed; but, a very short time after, the symptoms of the juzam appeared, which continually increased to such a degree, that his fingers and toes were on the point of dropping off. It was afterwards discovered, that the pills, which he had taken, were made of cinnabar, a common preparation of the Hindus; the heat of which had first stirred the humours, which, on stopping the external discharge, had fallen on the joints, and then had

occasioned a quantity of adust bile to mix itself with the blood and infect the whole mass.

“Of this dreadful complaint, however caused, the first symptoms are a numbness and redness of the whole body, and principally of the face, an impeded hoarse voice, thin hair and even baldness, offensive perspiration and breath, and whitlows on the nails. The cure is best begun with copious bleeding, and cooling drink, such as a decoction of the *nilüfer* or *Nymphaea*, and of violets, with some doses of manna: after which stronger catharticks must be administered. But no remedy has proved so efficacious as the pills composed of arsenick and pepper: one instance of their effect may here be mentioned, and many more may be added, if required.

“In the month of February in the year just mentioned, one Shaikh Ramazani, who then was an upper-servant to the Board of Revenue, had so corrupt a mass of blood, that a black leprosy of his joints was approaching; and most of his limbs began to be ulcerated: in this condition he applied to the writer, and requested immediate assistance. Though the disordered state of his blood was evident on inspection, and required no particular declaration of it, yet many questions were put to him, and it was clear from his answers, that he had a confirmed juzam: he then lost a great deal of blood, and, after due preparation, took the arsenick pills. After the first week his malady seemed alleviated; in the second it was considerably diminished, and, in the third, so entirely removed, that the patient went into the bath of health, as a token that he no longer needed a physician.”

# ANTIQUITIES.

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**OBSERVATIONS** on the **PROGRESS** of the **ANCIENT INHABITANTS** of **INDIA**, in the **CULTIVATION** of the elegant and useful **ARTS**.

{From the Appendix to Dr. Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India.}

THE ancients, from their slender acquaintance with the interior state of India, have been able to communicate little information with respect to the arts cultivated there; and though the moderns, during their continued intercourse with India for three centuries, have had access to observe them with greater attention, it is of late only, that by studying the languages now and formerly spoken in India, and by consulting and translating their most eminent authors, they have begun to enter into that path of enquiry which leads with certainty to a thorough knowledge of the state of arts cultivated in that country.

“ One of the first arts which human ingenuity aimed at improving, beyond what mere necessity requires, was that of building. In the brief remarks which the subject of my inquiries leads me to make on the progress of this art in India, I shall confine my attention wholly to those of highest antiquity. The

most durable monuments of human industry are public buildings. The productions of art, formed for the common purposes of life, waste and perish in using them; but works destined for the benefit of posterity subsist through ages, and it is according to the manner in which these are executed, that we form a judgment with respect to the degree of power, skill, and improvement to which the people by whom they were erected had attained. In every part of India monuments of high antiquity are found. These are of two kinds, such as were consecrated to the offices of religion, or fortresses built for the security of the country. In the former of these, to which Europeans, whatever their structure may be, give the general name of *Pagodas*, we may observe a diversity of stile, which both marks the gradual progress of architecture, and throws light on the general state of arts and manners in different periods. The most early Pagodas appear to have been nothing

more than excavations in mountainous parts of the country, formed probably in imitation of the natural caverns to which the first inhabitants of the earth retired for safety during the night, and where they found shelter from the inclemency of the seasons. The most celebrated, and, as there is reason to believe, the most ancient of all these, is the Pagoda in the island Elephanta, at no great distance from Bombay. It has been hewn by the hands of man out of a solid rock, about half way up a high mountain, and formed into a spacious area, nearly 120 feet square. In order to support the roof, and the weight of the mountain that lies above it, a number of massy pillars, and of a form not inelegant, have been cut out of the same rock, at such regular distances, as on the first entrance presents to the eye of the spectator an appearance both of beauty and of strength. Great part of the inside is covered with human figures in high relief, of gigantic size as well as singular forms, and distinguished by a variety of symbols, representing, it is probable, the attributes of the deities whom they worshipped, or the actions of the heroes whom they admired. In the isle of Salfette, still nearer to Bombay, are excavations in a similar stile, hardly inferior in magnificence, and destined for the same religious purposes.

“ These stupendous works are of such high antiquity, that as the natives cannot either from history or tradition give any information concerning the time in which they were executed, they universally ascribe the formation of them to the power of superior beings. From the extent and grandeur of these subterraneous mansions, which intelligent travellers compare to the

most celebrated monuments of human power and art in any part of the earth, it is manifest that they could not have been formed in that stage of social life where men continue divided into small tribes, unaccustomed to the efforts of persevering industry. It is only in states of considerable extent, and among people long habituated to subordination, and to act with concert, that the idea of such magnificent works is conceived, or the power of accomplishing them can be found.

“ That some such powerful state was established in India at the time when the excavations in the islands of Elephanta and Salfette were formed, is not the only conclusion to be drawn from a survey of them; the stile in which the sculptures with which they are adorned is executed, indicates a considerable improvement in art at that early period. Sculpture is the imitative art in which man seems to have made the first trial of his own talents. But even in those countries where it has attained to the highest degree of perfection, its progress has been extremely slow. Whoever has attended to the history of this art in Greece, knows how far removed the first rude essay to represent the human form was from any complete delineation of it. But the different groupes of figures which still remain entire in the Pagoda of Elephanta, however low they must rank if they be compared with the more elegant works of Grecian or even Etruscan artists, are finished in a stile considerably superior to the hard inexpressive manner of the Egyptians, or the figures in the celebrated palace of Persepolis. In this light they have appeared to persons abundantly qualified to appreciate their merit, and from different draw-

drawings, particularly those of Niebuhr, a traveller equally accurate in observing, and faithful in describing, we must form a favourable opinion of the state of arts in India at that period.

"It is woorthy of notice, that although several of the figures in the caverns at Elephanta be so different from those now exhibited in the Pagodas as objects of veneration, that some learned Europeans have imagined they represent the rites of a religion more ancient than that now established in Indostan, yet by the Hindoos themselves the caverns are considered as hallowed places of their own worship, and they still resort thither to perform their devotions, and honour the figures there in the same manner with those in their own Pagodas. In confirmation of this, I have been informed by an intelligent person, who visited this subterraneous sanctuary in the year 1782, that he was accompanied by a sagacious Brahmin, a native of Benares, who, though he had never been in it before that time, was well acquainted with the parentage, education, and life of every deity or human figure there represented, and explained with fluency the meaning of the various symbols by which the images were distinguished. This may be considered as a clear proof that the system of mythology now prevalent in Benares, is not different from that delineated in the caverns of Elephanta. Mr. Hunter, who visited Elephanta in the year 1784, seems to consider the figures there as representing deities who are still objects of worship among the Hindoos. One circumstance serves to confirm the justness of this opinion. Several of the most conspicuous personages in the groupes at Elephanta are decorated with the *Zennar*, the

sacred string or cord peculiar to the order of Brahmins, an authentic evidence of the distinction of casts having been established in India at the time when these works were finished.

"2. Instead of caverns, the original places of worship, which could be formed only in particular situations, the devotion of the people soon began to raise temples in honour of their deities in other parts of India. The structure of these was at first extremely simple. They were pyramids of large dimension, and had no light within but what came from a small door. After having been long accustomed to perform all the rites of religion in the gloom of caverns, the Indians were naturally led to consider the solemn darkness of such a mansion as sacred. Some Pagodas in this first stile of building still remain in Indostan. Drawings of two of these at Deogur, and of a third near Tanjore in the Carnatic, all fabricks of great antiquity, have been published by Mr. Hodges, and though they are rude structures, they are of such magnitude as must have required the power of some considerable state to rear them.

"3. In proportion to the progress of the different countries of India in opulence and refinement, the structure of their temples gradually improved. From plain buildings they became highly ornamented fabrics, and, both by their extent and magnificence, are monuments of the power and taste of the people by whom they were erected. In this highly finished stile there are Pagodas of great antiquity in different parts of Indostan, particularly in the southern provinces, which were not exposed to the destructive violence of Mahomedan zeal. In order to assist my readers in

in forming such an idea of these buildings as may enable them to judge with respect to the early state of arts in India, I shall briefly describe two, of which we have the most accurate accounts. The entry to the Pagoda of Chillambrum, near Porto Novo, on the Coromandel coast, held in high veneration on account of its antiquity, is by a stately gate under a pyramid an hundred and twenty-two feet in height, built with large stones above forty feet long, and more than five feet square, and all covered with plates of copper, adorned with an immense variety of figures neatly executed. The whole structure extends one thousand three hundred and thirty-two feet in one direction, and nine hundred and thirty-six in another. Some of the ornamental parts are finished with an elegance intitled to the admiration of the most ingenious artists. The Pagoda Seringham, superior in sanctity to that of Chillambrum, surpasses it as much in grandeur; and, fortunately, I can convey a more perfect idea of it by adopting the words of an elegant and accurate historian. This Pagoda is situated about a mile from the western extremity of the island of Seringham, formed by the division of the great river Caveri into two channels. "It is composed of seven square inclosures one within the other, the walls of which are twenty-five feet high, and four thick. These inclosures are three hundred and fifty feet distant from one another, and each has four large gates with a high tower; which are placed, one in the middle of each side of the inclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is near four miles in circumference, and its gateway to the south is ornamented with

"pillars, several of which are single stones thirty-three feet long, and nearly five in diameter; and those which form the roof are still larger: in the inmost inclosures are the chapels. About half a mile to the east of Seringham, and nearer to the Caveri than the Coleroon, is another large Pagoda, called Jembikisma; but this has only one inclosure. The extreme veneration in which Seringham is held, arises from a belief that it contains that identical image of the god Wischnou, which used to be worshipped by the god Brahma. Pilgrims from all parts of the peninsula come here to obtain absolution, and none come without an offering of money; and a large part of the revenue of the island is allotted for the maintenance of the Brahmins who inhabit the Pagoda; and these, with their families, formerly composed a multitude not less than forty thousand souls, maintained, without labour, by the liberality of superstition. Here, as in all the other great Pagodas of India, the Brahmins live in a subordination which knows no resistance, and slumber in a voluptuousness which knows no wants."

"The other species of public buildings which I mentioned, were those erected for the defence of the country. From the immense plains of of Indostan there arise, in different parts, eminences and rocks formed by nature to be places of strength. Of these the natives early took possession, and fortifying them with works of various kinds, rendered them almost impregnable stations. There seems to have been in some distant age a period of general turbulence and danger in India, when such retreats were deemed essential-

ly necessary to public safety ; for among the duties of magistrates prescribed by the Pundits, one is, " that he shall erect a strong fort " in the place where he chuses to " reside ; and shall build a wall on " all the four sides of it, with tow- " ers and battlements, and shall " make a full ditch around it." Of these fortresses several remain, which, both from the appearance of the buildings, and from the tradition of the natives, must have been constructed in very remote times. Mr. Hodges has published views of three of these, one of Chunar Gur, situated upon the river Ganges, about sixteen miles above the city of Benares ; the second, of Gwallior, about eighty miles to the south of Agra ; the third of Bidjegur, in the territory of Benares. They are all, particularly Gwallior, works of considerable magnitude and strength. The fortresses in Bengal, however, are not to be compared with several in the Deccan. Asseergur, Burhampour, and Dowlatabad, are deemed by the natives to be impregnable ; and I am assured, by a good judge, that Asseergur is indeed a most stupendous work, and so advantageously situated that it would be extremely difficult to reduce it by force.

" Nor is it only from surveying their public works that we are justified in asserting the early proficiency of the Indians in elegant and useful arts : we are led to form the same conclusion by a view of those productions of their ingenuity, which were the chief articles of their trade with foreign nations. Of these the labours of the Indian loom and needle have, in every age, been the most celebrated ; and fine linen is conjectured, with some probability, to have been called by the ancients

*Sindon*, from the name of the river Indus or Sindus, near which it was wrought in the highest perfection. The cotton manufactures of India seem anciently to have been as much admired as they are at present, not only for their delicate texture, but, for the elegance with which some of them are embroidered, and the beautiful colour of the flowers with which others are adorned. From the earliest period of European intercourse with India, that country has been distinguished for the number and excellence of the substances for dying various colours, with which it abounded. The dye of the deep blue colour in highest estimation among the Romans bore the name of *Indicum*. From India too, the substance used in dying a bright red colour, seems to have been imported ; and it is well known that both in the cotton and silk stuffs which we now receive from India, the blue and the red are the colours of most conspicuous lustre and beauty. But however much the ancients may have admired these productions of Indian art, some circumstances, which I have already mentioned, rendered their demand for the cotton manufactures of India, far inferior to that of modern times ; and this has occasioned the information concerning them which we receive from the Greek and Roman writers to be very imperfect. We may conclude, however, from the wonderful resemblance of the ancient state of India to the modern, that, in every period, the productions of their looms were as various as beautiful. The ingenuity of the Indians in other kinds of workmanship, particularly in metals and in ivory, is mentioned with praise by ancient authors, but without any particular description of their nature. Of these early

early productions of Indian artists, there are now some specimens in Europe, from which it appears that they were acquainted with the method of engraving upon the hardest stones and gems; and, both in the elegance of their designs and in neatness of execution, had arrived at a considerable degree of excellence. An ingenious writer maintains, that the art of engraving on gems was probably an Indian invention, and certainly was early improved there, and he supports this opinion by several plausible arguments: The Indian engraved gems, of which he has published descriptions, appear to be the workmanship of a very remote period, as the legends on them are in the Sanskreet language.

“ But it is not only from the improved state of mechanic arts in India that we conclude its inhabitants to have been highly civilized; a proof of this, still more convincing, may be deduced from the early and extraordinary productions of their genius in the fine arts. This evidence is rendered more interesting, by being derived from a source of knowledge which the laudable curiosity of our countrymen has opened to the people of Europe within these few years. That all the science and literature possessed by the Brahmins, were contained in books written in a language, understood by a

few only of the most learned among them, is a fact which has long been known; and all the Europeans settled in India during three centuries, have complained that the Brahmins obstinately refused to instruct any person in this language. But at length, by address, mild treatment, and a persuasion, that the earnestness with which instruction was solicited, proceeded not from any intention of turning their religion into derision, but from a desire of acquiring a perfect knowledge of their sciences and literature, their scruples have been overcome. Several British gentlemen are now completely masters of the Sanskreet language. The mysterious veil, formerly deemed impenetrable, is removed; and, in the course of five years, the curiosity of the public has been gratified by two publications as singular as they were unexpected. The one is a translation, by Mr. Wilkins, of an Episode from the Mahabarat, an Epic poem, in high estimation among the Hindoos, composed, according to their account, by Kreesna Dwypayen Veias, the most eminent of all their Brahmins, above three thousand years before the Christian æra. The other is Sacontala, a dramatic poem, written about a century before the birth of Christ, translated by sir William Jones.”



# SIR WILLIAM JONES'S DISCOURSE on the ORIGIN of the CHINESE.

[From the Second Volume of the Asiatic Researches.]

“THE word *China*, concerning which I shall offer some new remarks, is well known to the people, whom we call the *Chinese*; but they never apply it (I speak of the learned among them) to themselves or to their country: themselves, according to Father Visdelou, they describe as the *people of Han*, or of some other illustrious family, by the memory of whose actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *chûn cuë*, or the *central kingdom*; representing it in their symbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly bisected: at some other times they distinguish it by the words *ten-bia*, or *what is under heaven*, meaning *all that is valuable on earth*. Since they never name themselves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew, that *European* authors have ever spoken of them in the extremes of applause or of censure: by some they have been extolled as the oldest and the wisest, as the most learned and most ingenious, of nations; whilst others have derided their pretensions to antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of science; or a single art, for which they have not been indebted to some more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we usually find it, between the extremes; but it is not my design to accuse or to defend the *Chinese*, to depress or to aggrandize

them: I shall confine myself to the discussion of a question connected with my former discourses, and far less easy to be solved than any hitherto started. “Whence came the singular people, who long had governed China, before they were conquered by the Tartars?” On this problem, the solution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial interests; but a very material connection, if I mistake not, with interests of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily asserted, than supported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the *Chinese* are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land, which they now possess; by others, and chiefly by the missionaries, it is insisted, that they sprang from the same stock with the Hebrews and Arabs; a third assertion is that of the Arabs themselves and of M. Pautw, who hold it indubitable, that they were originally Tartars descending in wild clans from the steeps of Imaus; and a fourth, at least as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the Brâhmens, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their decision, that the *Chinas* (for so they are named in Sanscrit) were Hindus of the *Cshatriya*, or military class, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-east of Bengal; and, forgetting by degrees the rites and

and religion of their ancestors, established separate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys, which are now possessed by them. If any one of the three last opinions be just, the first of them must necessarily be relinquished: but of those three, the first cannot possibly be sustained; because it rests on no firmer support than a foolish remark, whether true or false, that *sem* in Chinese means *life* and *procreation*; and because a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a Chinese from an Arab: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human sagacity could not, I believe, discover any other trace of resemblance between them. One of the Arabs, indeed, an account of whose voyage to India and China has been translated by Renaudot, thought the Chinese not only handsomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the Hindus, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriage, manners, and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual resemblance between the Chinese and Arabs, except in dress and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the Brāhmens, than M. Pauw, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expressly, that by Scythians he meant the Turks or Tartars; yet the dragon on the standard, and some other peculiarities, from which he would infer a clear affinity between the old Tartars and the Chinese, belonged indubitably to those Scythians, who are known to have been Goths; and the Goths had manifestly a common lineage with the Hindus, if his own argument, in the preface to his researches, on the similarity of language, be, as all men agree that it is, irrefrag-

able. That the Chinese were anciently of a Tartarian stock, is a proposition, which I cannot otherwise disprove for the present, than by insisting on the total dissimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the Tartars, by their own account, never cultivated; but, if we show strong grounds for believing, that the first Chinese were actually of an Indian race, it will follow that M. Pauw, and the Arabs are mistaken: it is to the discussion of this new and, in my opinion, very interesting point, that I shall confine the remainder of my discourse.

"In the Sanscrit institutes of civil and religious duties, revealed, as the Hindus believe, by Menu, the son of Brahmā, we find the following curious passage: "Many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Vēda, and the company of Brāhmens, lived in a state of degradation; as the people of Pundraca and Odra, those of Dravira and Cambōsa, the Yavanas and Sacas, the Pāradas and Pahlavas, the Chinas and some other nations." A full comment on this text would here be superfluous: but, since the testimony of the Indian author, who, though certainly not a divine personage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moralist, and historian, is direct and positive, disinterested and unsuspected, it would, I think, decide the question before us, if we could be sure, that the word *China* signified a Chinese, as all the Pandits, whom I have separately consulted, assert with one voice: they assure me, that the Chinas of Menu settled in a fine country to the north-east of Gaur, and to the east of Cāmarup and Nepāl; that they have long been, and still

still are, famed as ingenious anti-ficers; and they had themselves seen old Chinese idols, which bore a manifest relation to the primitive religion of India before Buddha's appearance in it. A well-informed Pandit showed me a Sanscrit book in Cashmirian letters, which, he said, was revealed by Siva himself, and entitled *Sacīsāngama*: he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the Chīnas, who were divided, says the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid before him a map of Asia; and, when I pointed to Cashmir, his own country, he instantly placed his finger on the north-western provinces of China, where the Chīnas, he said, first established themselves; but he added, that Mahāchīna, which was also mentioned in his book, extended to the eastern and southern oceans. I believe, nevertheless, that the Chinese empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of Menu were collected; and for this belief, so repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my reasons. If the outline of history and chronology for the last two thousand years be correctly traced, (and we must be hardy scepticks to doubt it) the poems of *Cālidā's* were composed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear, from internal and external evidence, that the *Rāmāyan* and *Mahābhārat* were considerably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the style and metre of the *Dhērma Śāstra* revealed by Menu, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of *Vālmīk* or *Vyāsa*, the second of whom names it with applause: we shall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of those laws between a thousand and fifteen hundred

years before Christ; especially as Buddha, whose age is pretty well ascertained, is not mentioned in them; but, in the twelfth century before our era, the Chinese empire was at least in its cradle. This fact it is necessary to prove; and my first witness is Confucius himself. I know to what keen satire I shall expose myself by citing that philosopher, after the bitter sarcasms of *M. Pauw* against him and against the translators of his mutilated, but valuable, works; yet I quote without scruple the book entitled *Lù Yü*, of which I possess the original with a verbal translation, and which I know to be sufficiently authentick for my present purpose: in the second part of which *Con-fut-sü* declares, that "Although he, like other men, could relate, as mere lessons of morality, the histories of the first and second imperial houses, yet, for want of evidence, he could give no certain account of them." Now, if the Chinese themselves do not even pretend, that any historical monument existed, in the age of Confucius, preceding the rise of their third dynasty, about eleven hundred years before the Christian epoch we may justly conclude, that the reign of *Vūvam* was in the infancy of their empire, which hardly grew to maturity till some ages after that prince; and it has been asserted by the learned Europeans, that even of the third dynasty, which he has the fame of having raised, no unsuspected memorial can now be produced. It was not till the eighth century before the birth of our Saviour, that a small kingdom was erected in the province of *Shen-si*, the capital of which stood nearly in the thirty-fifth degree of northern latitude, and about five degrees to the west of *Si-gan*: both the country and its metropolis were

were called Chin; and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the east and west. A king of Chin, who makes a figure in the *Shâhnâmâh* among the allies of Afrâsiyab, was I presume, a sovereign of the country just mentioned; and the river of Chin, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eastern geography, seems to have been the Yellow river, which the Chinese introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals: I should be tempted to expatiate on so curious a subject; but the present occasion allows nothing superfluous, and permits me only to add, that the Mangukh died, in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of Chin, which was afterwards taken by Kublai, and that the poets of Irân perpetually allude to the districts around it which they celebrate with Chêgil and Khoten, for a number of musk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of Chin, so called by the old Hindus, by the Persians, and by the Chinese (while the Greeks and Arabs were obliged by their defective articulation to miscall it Sin) gave its name to a race of emperors, whose tyranny made their memory so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of China hold the word in abhorrence, and speak of themselves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynasty; but it is highly probable that the whole nation descended from the Chinas of Menu, and, mixing with the Tartars, by whom the plains of Honan and the more southern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men, whom we now see in possession of the noblest empire in Asia.

“In support of an opinion, which I offer as the result of long and anxious inquiries, I shall regularly pro-

ceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philosophy, of the present Chinese, and subjoin some remarks on their ancient monuments, on their sciences, and on their arts both liberal and mechanical: but their spoken language, not having been preserved by the usual symbols of articulate sounds, must have been for many ages in a continual flux; their letters, if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas; their popular religion was imported from India in an age comparatively modern; and their philosophy seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation; they have no ancient monuments, from which their origin can be traced even by plausible conjecture; their sciences are wholly exotic; and their mechanical arts have nothing in them characteristic of a particular family; nothing, which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved. They have indeed, both national music and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetic; but of painting, sculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they seem (like other Asiatics) to have no idea. Instead therefore, of enlarging separately on each of those heads, I shall briefly inquire, how far the literature and religious practices of China confirm or oppose the proposition, which I have advanced.

“The declared and fixed opinion of M. de Guignes, on the subject before us is nearly connected with that of the Brâhmens; he maintains, that the Chinese were emigrants from Egypt; and the Egyptians, or Ethiopians, (for they were clearly the same people) had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of India, as the affinity

of their languages, and of their institutions, both religious and political, fully evinces; but that China was peopled a few centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the Nile, though neither Persians nor Arabs, Tartars nor Hindus, ever heard of such an emigration, is a paradox, which the bare authority of even of so learned a man cannot support; and, since reason grounded on facts can alone decide such a question, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and stronger arguments, than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of Egypt bear, indeed, a strong resemblance to the mythological sculptures and paintings of India, but seem wholly dissimilar to the symbolical system of the Chinese, which might easily have been invented (as they assert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the first Chinas or out-cast Hindus, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiser ancestors. As to the table and bust of Isis, they seem to be given up as modern forgeries; but, if they were indisputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpose; for the letters on the bust appear to have been designed as alphabetical; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in Europe) was uncommonly happy, since two or three of them are exactly the same with those on a metal pillar yet standing in the north of India. In Egypt, if we can rely on the testimony of the Greeks, who studied no language but their own, there were two sets of alphabetical characters; the one popular, like the various letters used in our Indian provinces; and the other sacerdotal, like the Dévanagari, especially that form of it, which we see in the Véda; besides which they had two

sorts of sacred sculpture; the one simple, like the figures of Buddha and the three Râmas; and the other, allegorical, like the images of Ganésa, or divine wisdom, and Isâni, or nature, with all their emblematical accompaniments; but the real character of the Chinese appears wholly distinct from any Egyptian writing, either mysterious or popular; and, as to the fancy of M. de Guignes, that the complicated symbols of China were at first no more than Phenician monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned so wild a conceit, which he started probably with no other view than to display his ingenuity and learning.

"We have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the Chinese were originally (like our astronomical and chymical symbols) the pictures or out-lines of visible objects, or figurative signs for simple ideas, which they have multiplied by the most ingenious combinations and the liveliest metaphors; but, as the system is peculiar, I believe, to themselves and the Japanese, it would be idly ostentatious to enlarge on it at present; and, for the reasons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens the opinion, which I endeavour to support. The same may as truly be said of their spoken language; for, independently of its constant fluctuation during a series of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five sounds, which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monosyllables, even when the ideas expressed by them, and the written symbols for those ideas, are very complex. This has arisen, I suppose, from the singular habits of the people; for, though their common tongue be so musically accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants those gram-

matrical accents, without which all human tongues would appear monosyllabick : thus Amita, with an accent on the first syllable, means, in the Sanscrit language, immeasurable ; and the natives of Bengal pronounce it Omīto ; but, when the religion of Buddha, the son of Mīyā, was carried hence into China, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, call him Foe, the son of Mo-ye, and divided his epithet Amita into three syllables O-mi-to, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expressing them in writing by three distinct symbols. We may judge from this instance, whether a comparison of their spoken-tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain conclusion as to their origin ; yet the instance, which I have given, supplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more and more plausible, the oftener I consider it. The Buddha of the Hindus is unquestionably the Foe of China ; but the great progenitor of the Chinese is also named by them Fo-hi, where the second monosyllable signifies, it seems, a victim : now the ancestor of that military tribe, whom the Hindus call the Chandravansa, or children of the Moon, was, according to their Purānas or legends, Buddha, or the genius of the planet Mercury, from whom, in the fifth degree, descended a prince named Druhya ; whom his father Yayāti sent in exile to the east of Hindustān, with this imprecation, “ may the progeny be ignorant of “ the Veda.” The name of the banished prince could not be pronounced by the modern Chinese ; and, though I dare not conjecture, that the last syllable of it has been changed into Yao, I may neverthe-

less observe that Yao was the fifth in descent from Fo-hi, or at least the fifth mortal in the first imperial dynasty ; that all Chinese history before him is considered by the Chinese themselves as poetical or fabulous ; that his father Ti-co, like the Indian king Yayāti, was the first prince who married several women ; and that Fo-hi, the head of their race, appeared, say the Chinese, in a province of the west, and held his court in the territory of Chín, where the rovers, mentioned by the Indian legislator, are supposed to have settled. Another circumstance in the parallel is very remarkable : according to father De Premare, in his tract on Chinese mythology, the mother of Fo-hi was the *Daughter of Heaven*, surnamed *Flower-loving* ; and as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a river with a similar name, she found herself on a sudden encircled by a rain-bow : soon after which she became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a son radiant as herself, who among other titles, had that of Sūi, or *Star of the Year*. Now in the mythological system of the Hindus, the nymph Róhinī, who presides over the fourth lunar mansion, was the favourite mistress of Sóma, or the moon, among whose numerous epithets we find Cumudánáyaca, or delighting in a species of water-flower, that blossoms at night ; and their offspring was Budha, regent of a planet, and called also, from the names of his parents, Raubhinéya or Saumya : it is true, that the learned missionary explains the word Sūi by Jupiter ; but an exact resemblance between two such fables could not have been expected ; and it is sufficient for my purpose, that they seem to have a family likeness. The God Budha, say the Indians, married Ilá, whose father was

preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge: now, although I cannot insist with confidence, that the rain-bow in the Chinese fable alludes to the Mosaick narrative of the flood, nor build any solid argument on the divine personage Niu-wa, of whose character, and even of whose sex, the historians of China speak very doubtfully, I may, nevertheless, assure you, after full inquiry and consideration, that the Chinese, like the Hindus, believe this earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undisputed authenticity, they describe as flowing abundantly, then subsiding and separating the higher from the lower age of mankind; that the division of time, from which their poetical history begins, just preceded the appearance Fo-hi on the mountains of Chin, but that the great inundation in the reign of Yao was either confined to the lowlands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or, if it contain any allusion to the flood of Noah, has been ignorantly misplaced by the Chinese annalists.

"The importation of a new religion into China, in the first century of our era, must lead us to suppose, that the former system, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpose of restraining the great body of the people from those offences against conscience and virtue, which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly possible that, without such restrictions, any government could long have subsisted with felicity; for no government can long subsist without equal justice, and justice cannot be administered without the sanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions, entertained by Confucius and his followers, we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works trans-

lated by Couplet: they professed a firm belief in the supreme God, and gave a demonstration of his being and of his providence from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabric of the visible world. From this belief they deduced a system of ethicks, which the philosopher sums up in a few words at the close of the Lün-yü: "he," says Confucius, "who shall be fully persuaded, that the lord of heaven governs the universe, who shall in all things chuse moderation, who shall perfectly know his own species, and so act among them, that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God and man, may be truly said to discharge all the duties of a sage, and to be far exalted above the common herd of the human race." But such a religion and such morality could never have been general; and we find, that the people of China had an ancient system of ceremonies and superstitions, which the government and the philosophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with some parts of the oldest Indian worship: they believed in the agency of genii or tutelary spirits, presiding over the stars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the Hindus, they reckoned five) and particularly over fire, the most brilliant of them: to those deities they offered victims on high places; and the following passage from the Shicin, or Book of Odes, is very much in the style of the Brâhmanas: "even they, who perform a sacrifice with due reverence, cannot perfectly assure themselves, that the divine spirits accept their obla-

"tions; and far less can they, who  
 "adore the Gods with languor and  
 "oscitancy, clearly perceive their fa-  
 "cred illapses." These are imper-  
 "fect traces indeed, but they are tra-  
 "ces, of an affinity between the reli-  
 "gion of Menu and that of the Chi-  
 "nas, whom he names among the apo-  
 "states from it: M. le Gentil observ-  
 "ed, he says, a strong resemblance  
 "between the funeral rites of the Chi-  
 "nese and the Sraddha of the Hin-  
 "dus; and M. Bailly, after a learned  
 "investigation, concludes, that "even  
 "the puerile and absurd stories of  
 "the Chinese fabulists contain a rem-  
 "nant of ancient Indian history,  
 "with a faint sketch of the first Hin-  
 "du ages." As the Bauddhas, in-  
 "deed, were Hindus, it may naturally  
 "be imagined, that they carried into  
 "China many ceremonies practised in  
 "their own country; but the Bauddhas  
 "positively forbid the immolation  
 "of cattle: yet we know, that  
 "various animals, even bulls and men,  
 "were anciently sacrificed by the Chi-  
 "nese; besides which we discover ma-  
 "ny singular marks of relation be-  
 "tween them and the old Hindus: as  
 "in the remarkable period of four  
 "hundred and thirty-two thousand,  
 "and the cycle of sixty, years; in the  
 "predilection for the mystical number  
 "nine: in many similar fests and great  
 "festivals, especially at the solstices

and equinoxes; in the just-mention-  
 "ed obsequies consisting of rice and  
 "fruits offered to the manes of their  
 "ancestors; in the dread of dying  
 "childless, lest such offerings should  
 "be intermitted; and, perhaps, in  
 "their common abhorrence of red ob-  
 "jects, which the Indians carried so  
 "far, that Menu himself, where he  
 "allows a Brahmen to trade, if he  
 "cannot otherwise support life, abso-  
 "lutely forbids "his trafficking in  
 "any sort of red cloths, whether  
 "linen or woollen, or made of wo-  
 "ven bark." All the circumstan-  
 "ces, which have been mentioned un-  
 "der the two heads of literature and  
 "religion, seem collectively to prove  
 "(as far as such a question admits  
 "proof) that the Chinese and Hindus  
 "were originally the same people, but  
 "having been separated near four  
 "thousand years, have retained few  
 "strong features of their ancient con-  
 "sanguinity, especially as the Hindus  
 "have preserved their old language  
 "and ritual, while the Chinese very  
 "soon lost both, and the Hindus have  
 "constantly intermarried among them-  
 "selves, while the Chinese, by a mix-  
 "ture of Tartarian blood from the  
 "time of their first establishment,  
 "have at length formed a race distinct  
 "in appearance both from Indians and  
 "Tartars."

### On the LABYRINTH of CRÈTE, and its USE.

[From the Sixth Volume of the Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece.]

"I Have said but a word on the  
 "famous labyrinth of Crete;  
 "but the little I have said it is incum-  
 "brance on me to justify.

"Herodotus has left us a de-

scription of that which he had seen  
 "in Egypt, near the lake Mœris. It  
 "consisted of twelve large contiguous  
 "palaces, containing three thousand  
 "chambers, fifteen hundred of which  
 "were



were underground. Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and Melas speak of this monument with the same admiration as Herodotus: but not one of them tells us that it was constructed to bewilder those who attempted to go over it; though it is manifest that, without a guide, they would be in danger of losing their way.

"It was this danger, no doubt, which introduced a new term into the Greek language. The word labyrinth, taken in the literal sense, signifies a circumscribed space, intersected by a number of passages, some of which cross each other in every direction, like those in quarries and mines, and others make larger or smaller circuits round the place from which they depart, like the spiral lines we see on certain shells. In the figurative sense, it was applied to obscure and captious questions, to indirect and ambiguous answers, and to those discussions which, after long digressions, bring us back to the point from which we set out.

"Of what nature was the labyrinth of Crete?

"Diodorus Siculus relates as a conjecture, and Pliny as a certain fact, that Dædalus constructed this labyrinth on the model of that of Egypt, though on a less scale. They add, that it was formed by the command of Minos, who kept the Minotaur shut up in it; and that in their time it no longer existed, having been either destroyed by time or purposely demolished. Diodorus Siculus and Pliny, therefore, considered this labyrinth as a large edifice; while other writers represent it simply as a cavern hollowed in the rock, and full of winding passages. The two former authors, and the writers last mentioned, have transmitted to us two different traditions;

it remains for us to choose that which is most probable.

"If the labyrinth of Crete had been constructed by Dædalus, under Minos, whence is it that we find no mention of it, neither in Homer, who more than once speaks of that prince and of Crete; nor in Herodotus, who describes that of Egypt, after having said that the monuments of the Egyptians are much superior to those of the Greeks; nor in the more ancient geographers; nor in any of the writers of the ages when Greece flourished?

"This work was attributed to Dædalus, whose name is almost sufficient to discredit a tradition. In fact, his name, like that of Hercules, had become the resource of ignorance, whenever it turned its eyes on the early ages. All great labours, all works, which required more strength than ingenuity, were attributed to Hercules; and all those which had a relation to the arts, and required a certain degree of intelligence in the execution, were ascribed to Dædalus.

"The opinion of Diodorus and Pliny supposes that, in their time, no traces of the labyrinth existed in Crete, and that even the date of its destruction had been forgotten. Yet it is said to have been visited by the disciples of Apollonius of Tyana, who was contemporary with those two authors. The Cretans, therefore, then believed they possessed the labyrinth.

"I would request the reader to attend to the following passage in Strabo. "At Nauplia, near the ancient Argos," says that judicious writer, "are still to be seen vast caverns, in which are constructed labyrinths that are believed to be the work of the Cyclops: the meaning of which is, that the labours of men had opened in the rock passes which

checked and returned upon themselves, as is done in quarries. Such, if I am not mistaken, is the idea we ought to form of the labyrinth of Crete.

"Were there several labyrinths in that island? Ancient authors speak only of one, which the greater part place at Cnossus; and some, though the number is but small, at Gortyna.

"Belon and Tournefort have given us the description of a tavern situated at the foot of Mount Ida, on the south side of the mountain, at a small distance from Gortyna. This was only a quarry, according to the former, and the ancient labyrinth according to the latter; whose opinion I have followed, and abridged the account he has given in my text. Those who have added critical notes to his work, besides this labyrinth, admit a second at Cnossus, and add, as the principal support of this opinion, the coins of that city, which represent the plan of it, according as the artists conceived it: For on some of these it appears of a square form; on others round: on some it is only sketched out; on others it has, in the middle of it, the head of the Minotaur. In the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, I have given an engraving of one which appears to me to be of about the fifth century before Christ; and on which we see, on one side, the figure of the Minotaur; and on the other a rude plan of the labyrinth. It is therefore certain that, at that time, the Cnossians believed they were

in possession of that celebrated cavern; and it also appears that the Gortynians did not pretend to contest their claim, since they have never given the figure of it on their money.

"The place where I suppose the labyrinth of Crete to have been situated, according to Tournefort, is but one league distant from Gortyna; and, according to Strabo, it was distant from Cnossus six or seven leagues. All we can conclude from this is, that the territory of the latter city extended to very near the former.

"What was the use of the caverns to which the name of labyrinth was given? I imagine that they were first excavated in part by nature; that in some places stones were extracted from them for building cities; and that, in more ancient times, they served for a habitation or asylum to the inhabitants of a district exposed to frequent incursions. In the journey of Anacharsis through Phocia, I have spoken of two great caverns of Parnassus in which the neighbouring people took refuge; in the one at the time of the deluge of Deucalion, and in the other at the invasion of Xerxes. I here add that, according to Diodorus Siculus, the most ancient Cretans dwelt in the caves of Mount Ida. The people, when enquiries were made on the spot, said that their labyrinth was originally only a prison. It may have been put to this use; but it is difficult to believe that, to prevent the escape of a few unhappy wretches, such immense labours would have been undertaken."

**CURIOUS LETTER** from the **EARL of SUSSEX** to **SIR WILLIAM CECIL**, relating to the unfortunate **MARY QUEEN of SCOTLAND**.

[From the second Volume of Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the Reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James. By Edmund Lodge, Esq. Pursuivant of Arms, and F. S. A.]

“**U**PON yo<sup>r</sup> requeste and promyse, made in yo<sup>r</sup> l<sup>re</sup> of the xvi<sup>th</sup>, I wyll wryte to you fully what by eny meanes I conceyve in this grete matt<sup>r</sup>: althowghe the gretenes of the cause, in respecte of the p<sup>er</sup>son whose it is, the ynconstancy & fottelness of the pepell with whom we deale, and the lyttell accompte made allwayes of my symple jugement, geve me good occasyon: And, therfor (excepte it be to the Quene's Ma<sup>ty</sup>, from whom I woulde not wyshe eny thought of my harte to be hydden) I looke for p<sup>er</sup>formance of yo<sup>r</sup> promyse.

“This matter muste at lengthe take end, ether by fynding the S. Quene gyltye of the crymes that be objected ageynst her, or by some man<sup>er</sup> of composytion w<sup>ch</sup> shewe of saving her honor. The fyrste I thynke wyll hardely be attempted for 11 causes: The one, for that yf her adverse p<sup>ar</sup>tee accuse her of the murther by producyng of her l<sup>et</sup>, she wyll deny them, and accuse the moste of them of manifeste co<sup>n</sup>sent to the murther, hardely to be denyed; so as, upon the tryall on bothe sydes, her proofes wyll judycyally falle beste owte, as it is thought: The other, for that ther yonge Kyng is of tender and weake yeres and state of bodye; and yf God shoulde calle hym, and ther Quene were judycyally defaced & dyshonoured, and her sonne, in respecte of

her wyckednes, admytted to the Crowne, Hambleton, upon his deathe, shoulde succede; w<sup>ch</sup> as Murrey's factyon utterly deteste, so, after her publyke defamatyon, they dare not (to avoyde Hambleton) receyve her ageyne for fere of revenge: And, therefore, to avoyde these grete perells they suerly entend (so ferre as by eny meanes I can discover) to labor a co<sup>n</sup>posytion; wherein Lydyngton was a dealer here; hathe by meanes delt w<sup>th</sup> the Scottyshe Quene; and wyll also, I thynk, deale ther; and to that end I beleve you shall shortly here of Melvyn \* there, who I thynk be the instrument betwene Murrey, Lydyngton, & ther Quene, to worke this co<sup>n</sup>posytion; wherunto I thynk suerely bothe p<sup>ar</sup>ties to encline, althowghe diversly affected for pryvate respects.

“Th<sup>e</sup> Erle of Murrey, and his factyon, work that ther Quene woulde nowe wyllingly surrender to her sonne, after the example of Naverre; end procure the confirmyng of the regency in Murrey; and therw<sup>th</sup> admytt Hambleton, and his factyon, to place of counsell accordyng to ther stats; and to remayne in England herself, w<sup>th</sup> her dowry of Fraunce, wherunto I thynk they woulde also adde a portyon owt of Scotland: And yf she woulde agree to this, I thynk they woulde not only forbere to teche her in honor,

\* Sir Robert Melvil, brother to the author of the Memoirs. He was much trusted by Mary at this time, and is suspected, perhaps unfairly, of having betrayed her.”

but also delyver to her all mattres that they have to charge her, and denounce her clere by p̄lament; and therw<sup>t</sup> put her in hope, not only to receyve her ageyne to her royall estate yf her sonne dye, but, also, upon some prooffe of the forgettyng of her displeuer, to procure in shorte tyme that she may be restored in her sonne's life, and he to gyve place to her lyfe; and yf she wyl not surrender, it is thought Murrey wylle allowe of her restitution, and abode in England, so as he maye cōtynewe Regent. The Hambletons seeke that the yonge Kyng's auctoryte should be disannulled; the hurts don on ether syde reco<sup>p</sup>ensed; and the Quene restored to her crowne, and to remayne in Scotland: And yet, in respecte of her mysgovernment, they be contented that she shoulde be gov<sup>n</sup>ed by a counsell of the nobyltye of that realme, to be appointed here; in w<sup>ch</sup> counsell ther shoulde be no superior in auctoryte or place appointed, but that every noble man shoulde hold his place accordyng to his state; and that the Quene's Ma<sup>te</sup> shoulde compone all dyfferences from tyme to tyme, amongste them. And, to avoide dyfference and perrell, there Quene shoulde have certen howses of no force; and a portyon to maynteyne her estate: And the castells of Edenboroughe, Sterlyng, & Dunbarre, and other pryncypall forts of the realme, to be delyvered into the hands of upryght noble men, that lened to no factyon; to be sworne to hold in sorte to be prescrybed; and that the hole noblyte of Scotland shoulde swere amytē, and shoulde testyfy the same under ther hands & seales: And that the Quene's Ma<sup>te</sup> shoulde take assurance for p<sup>r</sup>formance; and have the bryngyng up of the yonge Prynce in England, by nobyltye of England or Scotland, at her appoynt-

ment: And, so as this might take effecte, I thynk they myght easily be induced to consent ther Quene shoulde also remayne in England, & have her dowrye of Fraunce, and a portyon owte of Scotland, to mayntene her state and her sonne's, in places to be appoynted by the Quene's Ma<sup>te</sup>.

"Thus do you see howe these factyons for their private causes tosse betwene them the crowne and publyke affayers of Scotland, & howe nere they be to agree yf ther pryvate causes were not; & care nether for the mother nor the chyld (as I thynk before God) but to serve ther owne turnes. Nether wyl Murrey lyke of eny order wherby he shoulde not be Regent styled; nor Hambleton of eny order wherby he shoulde not be as grete, or gretter, in government then Murrey: So as the government is presently the matter, what so ever they say was heretofore the cause; and, therefore, it wylbe good we forgett not our p<sup>r</sup>te in this tragedye.

"The opynyon for the tytell to the Crowne, after the death of ther Quene and her sonne, is dyversly carryed, as the p<sup>r</sup>tyes be affected to these two factyons. The Hambletons affyrme the Duke of Chatlerowe to be the nexte ayer by the lawes: The other factyon saye that the yonge Kyng, by his coronation, & mother's surrender, is ryghtfully invested of the Crowne of Scotland; whereby his nexte ayer in bloodd is, by the lawes, nexte ayer also to the Crowne; and thereby the Duke avoyded. The fere of this devyce maketh Hambleton to withstand the Kyng's tytell for the suerty of his owne, & the Regency of Murrey in respecte of his clayme to be Gov<sup>n</sup>or, as nexte ayer to the Crowne; for w<sup>ch</sup> causes it is lykely Hambleton wyl hardly yeld to the on or the other; and yet

James

James Macgylle \*, an assured man to Morton, talks w<sup>t</sup> me secretly of this matter; and (defendyng the ryght of the Erle of Lenoyse' sonne, as nexte ayer in blood to the younge Kyng) confessed to me that he thought bycase it came by the mother it muste retorne by the hawe to the mother's syde, w<sup>ch</sup> was Hambleton; but it woulde put many men on horsback before it were p<sup>r</sup>formed; wherby you may see what leadethe in Scotland. Ther is some secret envye betwene Lydyngton and Macgylle; and, as I thinke, yf they agree not by the way, ye shall fynd Lydyngton holly bent to cōposytyon, & Macgylle, of himselfe, otherwayes enclyned: Yf the Quene's Ma<sup>te</sup> woulde assure ther defence ye maye deale w<sup>t</sup> bothe as you see cause.

" Thus ferre of that I have gathered by them; wherin, yf they do not alter, I am sure I do not erre. And now, tochyng my opynyon of the matt<sup>r</sup> (not by waye of advyse, but as impartying to you what I conceyve) I thinke suerly no ende can be made good for England excepte the p<sup>r</sup>son of the S. Quene be deteyned, by on meanes or other, in England. Of the two ends before wrytten I thinke the fyrste to be beste in all respects for the Quene's Ma<sup>te</sup>, yf Murrey wyll produce such matt<sup>r</sup> as the Quene's Ma<sup>te</sup> maye, by vertue of her superyoryté over Scotland, fynd judycially the S. Quene gilty of the murder of her husband, and therw<sup>t</sup> deteyne her in England at the charges of Scotland, and allow of the crowning of the yonge Kyng, and Regency of Murrey: Wherunto yf

Hambleton wyll submytt himself, it were well don, for avoydyng of his dependancy upon Fraunce, to receyve him, w<sup>t</sup> provysyon for indemnitye of his tytell; and yf he wyll not, then to assyste Murrey to p<sup>r</sup>secute him and his adherents, by cōfiscatyon, &c. Yf this wyll not falle ow<sup>t</sup> suffyciently (as I dowte it wyll not) to determyne judycially, yf she denye her l<sup>ov</sup>; then suerly I thinke it beste to procede by cōposytyon, w<sup>tw</sup>te shew of eny meanyng to procede to tryall; and heryn as it shalbe the surest waye for the Q<sup>ue</sup> Ma<sup>te</sup> to procure the S. Quene to surrender, &c. yf that maye be brought to passe, so, yf she wyll by no meanes be induced to surrender, and wyll not end excepte she may be in some degree restored, then I thinke it fete to cōsyder theryn these matt<sup>r</sup>s followyng.

" Fyrste, to provyde for her, and her sonne, to remayne in England at the charges of Scotland.

" Secondly, to maynteyne in strengthe and auctorité Murrey's factyou, as much as may be, so as they oppresse not unjustly Hambleton.

" Thyrdely, to compone the causes betwene Murrey and Hambleton, & ther adherents; and to provyde for Hambleton's indemnitye in the matter of the tytell, to avoyde his dependency of Fraunce.

" Forthely, that the Quene's Ma<sup>te</sup> order all differences that shall aryse in Scotland; & to that end, have securityté of bothe sydes.

" Fyftely, yf Hambleton wyll wyllfully dyscent from order, it is better to assyste Murrey in the p<sup>r</sup>secutyng of Hambleton by cōfiscaty-

\* James Macgill, Clerk of the Rolls (*Clericus Rotulorum Registri*). He was sent to London soon after, accompanied by Lethington, to sure for Elizabeth's sanction to certain conditions which Murray had proposed for his own indemnification, in case he should proceed to the formal accusation of the Queen of Scots. It is well known that Elizabeth's refusal prevented any further proceedings."

on, although he fly therefore to Fraunce, then to put Murrey eny wayes in perell of wekenyng.

“ And, lastly, to foresce that thes Scotts on bothe sydes packe not together, so as to unwrapp (under collar of this cōposytion) ther mys, tres qwte of all present slaunders, purge her openly, shew themselves satsfied w<sup>th</sup> her abole here, and, w<sup>in</sup> shorte tyme afr, ether by reconcylement or the dethe of the chyld, joyne together to demaunde of the Quene the delyvery home of

there Quene to governe her owne realme; she also making the lyke requeste; and then the Quene, havynge no just cause to deteyne her, be bownd in honor to retorne her into her realme, and, for matts that in this tyme shall passe, have her a mortall enemy for ever after†. And thus, ceassynng to trouble you eny further, I wyshe to you as to myself.” From Yorke, the xxii of October, 1568.

Yo<sup>rs</sup>, most assured,  
T. SUSSEX.”

ACCOUNT of an EXCURSION into SCOTLAND in the Sixteenth Century, exhibiting a Picture of the Depredations committed on the Scottish and English Borders before the Union.

[From the same Volume.]

“ **F**Orasmuche as I wolde not be forgettfull of my deutie to yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship, I have thought good to trouble you with these my letters; advtising yo<sup>r</sup> Honor the hole discourse of o<sup>r</sup> enterprises here donn sythens o<sup>r</sup> coming into these partis\*. First, my Lord Le

with my Lord Hunsdon, and hundreth armed pykes and tow from Wark, the xv.ii<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, intred into the realme of Scottlande; and did burne and spoyle all alonge the ryver of Rowle, and the water of Cale, and camped that night at Gedworth. The next

“† It is a conjecture perhaps not entirely romantic, that Elizabeth's future conduct on this great occasion, so nearly according with the Earl's advice, was determined by this identical letter. That consideration alone, not to mention the profound wisdom and policy displayed by the writer, the clear and concise account given of the affairs of Scotland at that remarkable period, or the admirable terms in which the whole is couched, renders it an inestimable curiosity. It may be proper to observe here that Mary had been for some months a prisoner in England, and that the Earl of Sussex was one of the Commissioners now sitting at York for the judicial investigation of the charges brought against her by Murray.”

“\* This curious ancient gazette contains a journal of the furious inroad made by Sussex; called here the Lord Lieutenant, and Hunsdon, in 1570. The pretence for this expedition was the chastisement of the clans of Carre, or Ker, and Scot, which had lately committed some depredations on the English borders; but the true motive was to awe the few remaining friends of Mary, and to prevent them from uniting while the regency remained vacant. Elizabeth issued a proclamation upon this occasion, declaring her inviolable friendship to the Scottish nation, but setting forth the necessity of punishing some particular offenders; and this was repeatedly read at the head of an army which was then employed in desolating the east and west borders. The circumstances which attended this invasion have escaped the notice of historians; Even Camden, who lived at the time, makes no mention of so horrible and uncommon a spoil.”

morning he marched to Fernehurst, and overthrew it; and so burned and spoyled all along the ryver of Tyvyett; and so to Hawick, and burned and spoyled it. The next day he overthrew the strong howse of the Lorde of Burcleughe, called Brencksome; and from thense to Bedrowell, a howse of Sr Andrew Trumble, and overthrew it; with dyvers other notable towers and howses all along those ryvers afore named: The next night we retired to Gedworth; where we camped againe. The next mornynge we dislodged and burnt all the cuntre alonge the ryver of Bowbanck, and burnt and spoyled the hole cuntre as we marched; and came back that night to Kelsay. The nombr of the townes and villages, by estimacon, was above fyve hundreth; the terhor of the whiche caused the reste of the cuntre to come and offer their submission to my Lord Levetennte, with all the frendshipp and service they could do to hym and to hys; and so we retyred ourselves back againe for that tyme; so that we rested o'selves thre or fower daies. The xxv. day, my Lord Levetennte being at Warke, accompanid withe the hole bandes of fotemen, and onethousande horse, withe thre batterie peces and tow sacris, went to the sege of Home, where he planted his batterie; where, within twelve houres after the batterie was planted, the castle was surrendered to hym symplie, being within yt tow hundreth and fortie souldiours; so the souldiours dep'ted owt of yt in

there hose and doblets: Suerly, my Lorde, yf I had the charge with fyfite souldiours, I wolde have thought me worthie to have bene hanged, drawne, and quartered, yf I had delyvered yt within the moneth sege: My Lorde hath appoynted M. Wood his bande, and M. Pykeman his band, tow of the bandes of Barwick, to have the keypyng of yt; and so my Lord retyred back againe to Barwick, to refresh hymselfe and his companye.

" Ifm, the 1111<sup>th</sup> daye of May he sent owte certeine bandes of horsemen, and also certeine fotemen, to marche towards Fastecastle, whiche, immediatlie uppon the horsemen's cominge, yedled themselves symplie; and ther ys also certeine garrison appoynted there for the keypyng of yt. Assuredlie, my Lorde, all the hole cuntre here submytt themselves to my Lorde

Haddington newes that hathe here happened sythens or arryvall here; and, as occasion shall happen, I shall adv'tyse yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship from tyme to tyme as I can gett convenient messengers. Thus, leaving to trouble yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship ane further, I comitt you to the Almightye, who ever p'serve you in helth and long lyfe, withe increafe of grett honor." Frome Barwick, this v<sup>th</sup> of May.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshippe's at com'ndment for ev<sup>r</sup>,

ROBT. CONSTABLE.

*To the right honorable and his most excellent  
good Lorde th<sup>e</sup> Erie of Strabury give this.  
In hart, hart, hart."*

## MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

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EXPERIMENTS relating to the MANAGEMENT of BEES, in a Letter from Mr. GEO. HUBBARD of Bury St. Edmund's, to Mr. MORE.

[From the Ninth Volume of the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

“ **A**S I am induced to become a candidate for the premium offered for stocks of bees, class 1c8, I beg leave to communicate to the society the following experiments; the result of which, I flatter myself, will afford some information towards the management of those useful insects. In my early acquaintance with these entertaining creatures, my endeavours to increase my stock were continually disappointed, particularly in the early months, by saving moderate stocks; which was a matter of surprise to me, as my strong stocks thrive amazingly, whether I kept them for work or swarming.

“ Now, to ascertain the matter with sufficient accuracy, I determined to sacrifice three hives every year, one strong and two moderate ones. Accordingly, on the first of February, I suffocated a strong hive, after Thorley's method; and when I took out the combs, it surprised me much to find an abundance of brood: the eggs and maggots were innumerable, and many were next to emerging from their cells,

“ It was then obvious to me, that the queen had begun to lay her eggs in the early part of January; and this appeared the more extraordinary, as the month of January had been very cold, from severe frosts and snow; and it was evidently too sharp for a bee to stir abroad.

“ This circumstance refutes the general received opinion, that the queen never begins breeding till the weather proves mild, and you see bees carrying to their hives, the little balls of farina on their legs; but to investigate the matter more fully, there appeared in the combs, vast quantities of farina; and what was very curious, some of it seemed covered with a kind of varnish substance, in order to exclude the air from it; besides on the top of the hive, there was a considerable quantity of water, apparently collected there from the same cause that it does on a window, where a room is hot, and the external air very cold. The foregoing consideration clears up a point that has puzzled many authors; I mean, the laying up such quantities of farina: White, and some



some others, suppose it to be real food, mixed with honey, for the old bees.

"The second hive, which had not above three pounds of honey in it, I suffocated on the first of March; the queen of which stock had not produced a single egg: the third stock I examined the first of April, and there likewise found no eggs. In the second year, I repeated the same experiments with the strong and weak hives as before, and the result was the same in every respect.

"But the third hive I reserved till the 20th of April, by which time they begin to gather honey from the gooseberries: on examining this hive, I found some eggs produced. Let it be observed, that this hive I was under the necessity of feeding, to keep them alive.

"I cannot in this place forbear taking notice of the surprising foresight which these wonderful insects seem to be endowed with: in the weak hive, not a single egg is produced, till honey-gathering commences; but in the strong hive, the increase of young bees is there carried on with surprising avidity at a time when they are generally supposed to be in a torpid state; and this increase is perfectly safe in a strong hive, for they are never observed to work in the early months, as weak hives do.

"From the above experiments, it is evident you gain almost four months between the two stocks: besides, early in May the strong stock is almost ready to swarm; whereas the weak hive, by its prodigious decrease, occasioned from their constant working, and no young ones being bred, gener-ly dwindles to nothing. Once, on a hot day in April, I had five of these weak hives driven out by plunderers, with their

different queens; for the strong stocks never let the weak ones rest, when they find the latter are much reduced.

"Sometimes, if the months of March and April happen to be cold and wet, so as to prevent their going out, a little feeding may give them sufficient strength to defend themselves; but those stocks seldom turn to any account: hence the reason why keeping bees in colonies have always failed; I mean, in this country; for, if you imprudently reduce your bees, by taking too much honey from them, so as to prevent the queens breeding in the early months, they must miscarry in the following summer: I cannot help condemning two authors, that have written on this subject, viz. Messrs. White and Keys, particularly the former: their opinions have given a surprising check to the cultivation of bees; I mean, their idle notions respecting situation.

"A popular opinion prevails with us, that no village will support more than eight or ten stocks; consequently, the villages in our country do not contain above ten old stocks, one with another; whereas I am confident that twenty times the number might be kept. But let us examine what Mr. White has written on this business: he directs you to swarm your bees. and the same year to take part of their honey from them.

"Now it is well understood, that it requires a large swarm, aided with a fine season, to make them produce five and twenty or thirty pounds weight in October; which weight is absolutely necessary for their future welfare: he also affirms, that if you leave them eight or ten pounds of honey in August, it will very well support them through the winter. Further comments on such manage-

ment are needless, as the reason of his failure is too obvious to require the thought of a bad situation, to account for it.

"Keys seems to have copied his sentiments respecting situation; but from what I have advanced in regard to keeping such a number of stocks, it may be necessary to examine what the bees collect from. I will first mention the tare, that inexhaustible support to bees, from which they gather the whole summer; and it may not be improper here to note, that it is not from the flower, but a small leaf with a black spot on it, which in warm weather keeps continually oozing. But from careful inspection at the time of their gathering, this nectareous juice may be seen oozing from every joint of the stem. A hundred acres of tares are grown every year within the reach of my bees; yet it was always said to be a bad situation, and not able to support more than eight or ten stocks: besides, if the month of June proves hot, the collection from the oak, lime, and sycamore leaves, is astonishingly great; as well as from the profusion of flowers, which nature exhibits in succession throughout the whole summer.

"From these remarks and experiments it is evident, that success depends entirely on leaving your bees strong in October; for by this plan they naturally get into a habit of swarming early, and, by having the whole summer before them, always get rich. Whenever an unkindly season happens, to prevent this, it is an invariable practice with me, to give all my swarms sugar and water, or honey, sufficient to make each stock produce thirty or thirty-six pounds weight: besides, I am never disappointed of a swarm in May; and it is more frequent than otherwise, that these stocks will yield three

swarms each; the old stock likewise in general will be as rich as the prime swarm. On the other hand, if the stock is left moderate, though they may have honey enough to get them through the winter, yet some check may be given to the queen's breeding; of course it may be the middle of June, before they are ready for swarming; and if the weather turns out fine and hot, there is such a profusion of honey in the fields, and they are so intent after it, that no art can make them swarm: in that case, they will lie out the remainder of the summer, to the great loss of the owner. However, whenever this happens, I would advise all such stocks, after laying out a week, to be set on empty hives.

"I will now presume to offer a simple and easy mode of managing these admirable insects, the profits from which will far surpass that in common use. The owner must patiently wait till he has acquired twenty stocks, which may be soon accomplished by attending to the foregoing hints. In the month of April following, he must separate ten of the strongest hives for swarming; the other ten must be raised on large empty hives, the tops of which should be first taken off, and the joinings of the two hives secured with a little clay, which plan keeps the bees from swarming. In the month of September following, being the time I would recommend them to be burnt, each stock will seldom be found to have produced less than fifty pounds weight, provided it has been a kind season.

"The prime swarms from the other stocks, I would recommend to be put into three-peck hives, at least; for when they swarm so early, they are very likely to swarm again in a few weeks, which should always be prevented: and all the after-swarms should

should be united, two or three into one; for the great advantage arises from the large quantity of bees being kept together, since by that mode ten stocks will generally yield fifteen good ones. But the greatest check to the cultivation of bees happens from inclement seasons: I have experienced some summers, when it has rained, almost all the months of June and July, that not above one prime swarm in ten have been able to get a sufficiency; this is really distressing; and on these occasions, I have seen the stocks of villagers wholly swept off.

"This is another reason why double hives are so necessary; for, besides the great profit arising from them in fine seasons, it would prevent the decrease of stocks, which must unavoidably happen in bad seasons. In the most unkindly summers, they are sure to get enough to support them through the winter: whenever it happens so, they should stand till winter; and in a frosty day, the clay should be removed, and a wire drawn between the hives, to separate them; for by this time they will be all in the upper hive; and these stocks should be reserved for swarming the following summer.

"From a review of the above experiments, the reasons are obvious, why people are so frequently disappointed in the management of bees, especially in the modern way; but, on the other hand, it shews what a surprising state of cultivation they might be carried to: and supposing they could be brought to a state of cultivation, that ten poor families in a village could keep twenty old stocks, besides their own profit, it might become a national concern. Great pains have been taken, and

still greater encouragement offered, for a plan to preserve the lives of these useful and sagacious insects; which may be done by the intelligent, but cannot be expected from the cottager.

"My stock consists of forty hives and boxes. The method I pursue in the management of bees is, to reserve part of my stocks for working; for, by giving them room, they seldom swarm: and I always work them upwards; for, by that means, the queen is kept in the under hive, or box; and the honey so collected is of the purest quality.

"But is no easy thing to make them ascend, to work through holes or bars so recommended by authors, as I have frequently known them swarm before so doing. My way is: if it is a hive, I take a piece out of the top, with a knife and chisel, ten inches diameter: thus, by having a large surface of their comb bare, I am never disappointed.

"But they will be induced to rise sooner, by placing a piece of empty comb, so as to reach from their own to the top of the box or glass globe that is intended to be used: whenever it so happens, in wet summers, that each stock cannot get more than thirty pounds of honey, I always use Mr. Thorley's method, with the fungus; and I cannot help being surprised that this simple method should not be used, to save the lives of these useful insects.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

GEORGE HUBBARD."

*Bury St. Edmunds,  
October 29, 1790.*

CURIOUS METHOD of MANAGING HOGS in the NEW FOREST,  
in HAMPSHIRE, during the AUTUMN SEASON.

[From the Second Volume of Gilpin's Remarks on Forest Scenery, &c.]

“THE method of treating hogs at this season of migration, and of reducing a large herd of these unmanageable brutes to perfect obedience, and to good government, is curious.

“The first step the swine-herd takes, is to investigate some close sheltered part of the forest, where there is a conveniency of water : and plenty of oak, or beech-mast, the former of which he prefers, when he can have it in sufficient abundance. He fixes next on some spreading tree, round the bole of which he wattles a slight, circular fence of the dimensions he wants ; and covering it roughly with boughs, and fods, he fills it plentifully with straw, or fern.

“Having made this preparation, he collects his colony among the farmers, with whom he commonly agrees for a shilling a head, and will get together perhaps a herd of five or six hundred hogs. Having driven them to their destined habitation, he gives them a plentiful supper of acorns, or beech-mast, which he had already provided, sounding his horn, during the repast. He then turns them into the litter, where, after a long journey, and a hearty meal, they sleep deliciously.

“The next morning he lets them look a little around them—shews them the pool, or stream, where they may occasionally drink—leaves them to pick up the offals of the last night's meal ; and as the evening draws on, gives them another plentiful repast under the neighbouring trees, which rains acorns upon them for hours together, at

the sound of his horn. He then sends them again to sleep.

“The following day he is perhaps at the pains of procuring them another meal, with music playing as usual. He then leaves them a little more to themselves, having an eye however on their evening-hours. But as their bellies are full, they seldom wander far from home, retiring commonly very orderly, and early to bed.

“After this, he throws his sty open, and leaves them to cater for themselves ; and from hence-forward has little more trouble with them, during the whole time of their migration. Now and then, in calm weather, when mast falls sparingly, he calls them perhaps together by the music of his horn to a gratuitous meal ; but in general, they need little attention, returning regularly home at night, though they often wander in the day two or three miles from their sty. There are experienced leaders in all herds, which have spent this roving life before ; and can instruct their juniors in the method of it. By this management the herd is carried home to their respective owners in such condition, that a little dry meat will soon fatten them.

“I would not however have it supposed, that all the swine-herds in the forest manage their colonies with this exactness. Bad governments, and bad governors will every where exist ; but I mention this as an example of sound policy—not as a mere Platonic, or Eutopian scheme ; but such as hath been often realized, and hath as often been found productive

tive of good order, and public utility. The hog is commonly supposed to be an obstinate, head-strong, unmanageable brute: and he may perhaps have a degree of positiveness in his temper. In general, however, if he be properly managed, he is an orderly, docile animal. The only difficulty is, to make your meanings, when they are fair, and friendly, intelligible to him. Effect this, and you may lead him with a straw.

"Nor is he without his social feelings, when he is at liberty to indulge them. In these forest-migrations, it is commonly observed, that of whatever number the herd consists, they generally separate, in their daily excursions, into such little knots, and societies, as have formerly had habits of intimacy together;

and in these friendly groups they range the forest; returning home at night, in different parties, some earlier, and some later, as they have been more or less fortunate in the pursuits of the day.

"It sounds oddly to affirm the life of a hog to be viable; and yet there is something uncommonly pleasing in the lives of these emigrants something at least more desirable than is to be found in the life of a hog, *Epicuri de grege*. They seem themselves also to enjoy their mode of life. You see them perfectly happy, going about at their ease, and conversing with each other in short, pithy, interrupted sentences, which are no doubt, expressive of their own enjoyments, and of social feelings."

# OBSERVATIONS intended to expose the PRACTICE of DOCKING, NICKING, and CROPPING HORSES.

[From the same Volume.]

"**W**ITHIN this century, I believe, the barbarous custom of docking horses came in use; and hath passed through various modifications like all other customs, which are not founded in nature and truth. A few years ago the short dock was the only tail (if it may be called such) in fashion, both in the army, and in carriages. The absurdity however of this total amputation began to appear. The gentlemen of the army led the way. They acknowledged the beauty, and use of the tail, as nature made it. The short dock every where disappeared; and all dragoon-horses paraded with long tails.

"The nag-tail however still continued in use. Of this there are several species, all more or less mutilated. The most deformed one is

nicked-tail; so named from a cruel operation used in forming it. The under sinews of the dock being divided, the tail starts upwards, directly contrary to the position, which nature intended. The nag-tail is still seen in all genteel carriages. Nor will any person of fashion ride a horse without one. Even the gentlemen of the army, who have shewn the most sense in the affair of horse-tails, have been so misled, as to introduce the nag-tail into the light-horse; though it would be as difficult to give a reason now for the nag-tail, as formerly for the short-dock.

"Two things are urged in defence of this cruel mutilation—the utility and the beauty of it. Let us briefly as possible, examine both.

"To make an animal useful is,

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no

no doubt, the first consideration : and to make a horse so, we must necessarily make him suffer some things, which are unnatural, because we take him out of a state of nature. He must be fed with hay, and corn in the winter, which he cannot get in his open pastures : for if he have exercise beyond nature, he must have such food, as will enable him to bear it. As it is necessary likewise to make our roads hard, and durable, it is necessary also to give the horse an iron hoof, that he may travel over them without injuring his feet.—But all this has nothing to do with his tail, from which no incumbrance arises.

“ Yes, says the advocate for docking ; as it is necessary for the horse to travel, to hunt, and to race, it is useful to lighten him of every incumbrance. And as it is necessary for him to travel through dirty roads ; it is useful to rid him of an instrument, which is continually collecting dirt and lashing it over himself, and his rider.

“ To ease your horse of every incumbrance in travelling, is certainly right. You should see that his bridle, and saddle, (which are his great incumbrances) are as easy as possible : and that the weight he carries, or draws, be proportioned to his strength. But depend upon it, he receives no incumbrance from nature. It is a maxim among all true philosophers, that nature has given nothing in vain : and there can be no reasonable doubt, but that nature has given the horse his tail to balance, and assist his motions. That this is the case, seems plain from the use he makes of it. When the animal is at rest, his tail is pendent : but when he is in violent action, he raises, and spreads it, as a bird does in the same situation. Would the swallow, or the dove be assisted

in their flight by the loss of their tails ? or the greyhound in his speed by docking him ? For myself, I have no doubt, but if the experiment were tried at Newmarket, which I suppose it never was, the horse with his long tail, however the literati there might laugh at him, would not be in the least injured in his speed ; and would certainly answer better, in all his sudden turns, to the intention of his rider. He would extend, and spread his helm : it would steer his way ; and we should seldom hear of his running out of his course, or on the wrong side of the post.

“ Besides, his tail probably assists him even in his common exertions ; and balances his body, when he trots, and prevents his stumbling. I have heard a gentleman, who had travelled much in the east, remark, that the Turkish, and Arabian horses rarely stumble ; which he attributed, and with much appearance of truth, to their long tails.

“ But whatever use the tail may be to the horse in action, it is acknowledged on all hands to be of infinite use to him, at rest. Whoever sees the horse, grazing in summer, and observes the constant use he makes of his long tail in lashing the flies from his sides, must be persuaded, that it is a most useful instrument : and must be hurt to see him fidget a short dock, back and forward, with ineffectual attempts to rid himself of some plague, which he cannot reach.

“ As to the objection against the tail, as an instrument, which is continually gathering dirt, and lashing it around, if there be any truth in what I have already observed, this little objection dissolves itself ; especially as the inconvenience may with great ease be remedied, when the road is dirty, either by knotting up

up the tail, or by tying it with a leathern-strap.

“ But whatever becomes of utility, the horse is certainly more beautiful, we are told, without his dangling tail. What a handsome figure he makes, when he carries both his ends well ! This is the constant language of horse-dealers, stable-keepers, and grooms ; and such language, though originating in tasteless ignorance, and mere prejudice, has drawn over men of sense, and understanding.—It is inconceivable, how delusively the eye sees, as well as the understanding, when it is fascinated, and led aside by fashion, and custom. Associated ideas of various kinds give truth a different air. When we see a game-cock with all his sprightly actions, and gorgeous plumes about him, we acknowledge one of the most beautiful birds in nature. But when we see him armed with steel, and prepared for battle ; we cry, what a scare crow ! But a cock-fighter, with all the ideas of the pit about him, will conceive, that in this latter state, he is in his greatest beauty : and if his picture be drawn, it must be drawn in this ridiculous manner. I have often seen it.

“ Let jockies, and stable-boys, and cock-fighters keep their own absurd ideas : but let not men, who pretend to see, and think for themselves, adopt such ridiculous conceits.—In arts, we judge by the rules of art. In nature, we have no criterion but the forms of nature. We criticise a building by the rules of architecture : but in judging of a tree, or a mountain ; we judge by the most beautiful forms of each, which nature hath given us. It is thus in other things. From nature alone we have the form of a horse. Should we then seek for beauty in that object, in our own wild concep-

tions ; or recur to the great original, from whence we had it ? We may be assured, that nature's forms are always the most beautiful ; and therefore we should endeavour to correct our ideas by hers.—If however we cannot give up the point, let us at least be consistent. If we admire a horse without a tail, or a cock without feathers, let us not laugh at the Chinese for admiring the disproportioned foot of his mistress ; nor at the Indian, for doting on her black teeth, and tattooed cheeks. For myself, I cannot conceive, why it should make a horse more beautiful to take his tail from him, than it would make a man to clap a tail to him.—With regard indeed to the natural beauty of a horse's tail, we want little reasoning on the subject. In conjunction with his name it gives him dignity.—It hides his straddling buttocks ; which is a decency in nature, we should admire, rather than destroy.—It forms a contrast among the legs. The four equal legs of every animal are it's greatest deformity ; and their sameness of course gives the painter the most trouble in the management of them. In many of her forms indeed, where nature does not seem to aim at beauty, she neglects this economy : but as if she meant the horse for one of her most elegant productions, she has provided for him in this respect also by giving him a graceful flow of hair, which hiding sometimes one leg and sometimes another, introduces a pleasing contrast among them all.—The accidental motion also of the tail gives it peculiar beauty ; both when the horse moves it himself ; and when it waves in the wind. The beauty of it indeed to an unprejudiced eye is conspicuous at once ; and in all parade, and state-horses it is acknowledged : though even here

there is an attempt made to improve nature by art: the hair must be adorned with ribbons; and the bottom of the tail clipped square, which adds heaviness, and is certainly so far a deformity.

“The captain of an English man of war gave me an account some-time ago, of his landing in one of the piratical states of Barbary, while his ship anchored in the bay. He was received by the Dey (I think, of Tripoli) with great civility; and among other things, saw his stables. They were lined with a very long double row of the most beautiful Barb, and Arabian horses. He was struck with their beauty, to which their grand flowing tails, combed, and oiled in the nicest manner, were no little addition. As he continued his walk through the stud, he came to a couple of horses with nag-tails. On enquiring into their history, he found they were English horses, which had been presented to the Dey. The horses themselves were fit to appear any where; but the contrast of their tails, he thought, in such company, made so very strange, and disgraceful an appearance, that he was ashamed of his countrymen. The case was, his eye having been thus accustomed to the beautiful forms of nature, had gotten rid of it's prejudices; and being a rational man, saw the matter in it's proper light.

“I shall conclude my remarks on this cruel mutilation, with an epigram by Voltaire.—That celebrated wit was in England about the time, when the barbarous custom of docking horses was in high fashion. He was so shocked at it, that he wrote the following verses, which, it is said, he gave to lord Lyttelton.

*Vous, fiers Anglois, et barbares que  
vous êtes,  
Coupez les queues a vos rois, et les  
queues a vos bêtes.*

*Mais les François plus polis, et aimant  
les loix,  
Laissent les queues a leurs bêtes, et les  
tates a leurs rois.*

“There is more indignation, than wit, I think, in these verses. Voltaire seems to consider docking a horse, and killing a king, as equal crimes; which however is carrying the matter somewhat farther, than the picturesque eye wishes to carry it.

“The same absurd notions, which have led men to cut off the tails of horses, have led them also to cut off their ears. I speak not of low grooms, and jockies; we have lately seen the studs of men of the first fashion, misled probably by grooms, and jockies, producing only cropt-horses.

“When a fine horse has wide, lopping ears, as he sometimes has, without spring, or motion in them; a man may be tempted to remove the deformity. But to cut a pair of fine ears out of the head of a horse, is, if possible, a still greater absurdity, than to cut off his tail. Nothing can be alledged in it's defence. The ear neither retards motion; nor flings dirt.

“Much of the same ground may be gone over on this subject, which we went over on the last. With regard to the utility of the ear, it is not improbable, that cropping it may injure the horse's hearing: there is certainly less concave surface to receive the vibrations of the air. I have heard it also asserted with great confidence, that this mutilation injures his health: for when a horse has lost that pent-house, which nature has given him over his ear, it is reasonable to believe the wind and rain may get in, and give him cold.

“But if these injuries are not easily proved, the injury he receives in point of beauty may strenuously  
be



be insisted on. Few of the minuter parts of animal nature are more beautiful than the ear of a horse, when it is neatly formed, and well set on.—The contrast of the lines is pleasing; the concavity, and the convexity, being generally seen together in the natural turn of the ear.—Nor is the proportion of the ear less pleasing. It is contracted at the insertion, swells in the middle, and tapers to a point. The ear of no animal is so beautifully proportioned. That of some beasts, especially of the savage kinds, as the lion, and pard, is naturally rounded, and has little form. The ears of other animals, as the fox, and cat, are pointed, short, and thick. Those of the cow are round, and heavy. The hare's, and ass's ears are long, and nearly of the same thickness. The dog, and swine have flapping ears. The sheep, alone has ears, that can compare with the horse.—The ear of the horse receives great beauty also from it's colour, as well as form. The ears of bay, and grey horses are generally tipped with black, which melts into the colour of the head.—But the ear of the horse receives it's greatest beauty from motion. The ear of no animal has that vibrating power. The ears of a spirited horse are continually in motion; quivering, and darting their sharp points towards every object that presents: and the action is still more beautiful, when the ears are so well set on, that the points are drawn nearly together. Virgil, who was among the most accurate observers of nature, takes notice of this quivering motion in the ears of a horse.

—Si qua sonum procul arma dedere,

Stare loco nescit; micat auribus—

The same word, which he uses here

to express the motion of a horse's ears, he uses elsewhere to express the gleaming of arms; the glittering of a gem; and the vibrating motion of a serpent's tongue.—But it is not only the quivering motion of the horse's ears, that we admire; we admire them also as the interpreters of his passions, particularly of fear, which some denominate courage: and of anger, or malice. The former he expresses by darting them forward: the latter, by laying them back.

“This digression hath carried me much farther than I intended; but the mutilation of the tail, and ears of this noble animal is so offensive to reason, and common sense, that I have been imperceptibly led on by my indignation. Though nothing I can say on the subject, I am well persuaded, can weigh against the authority of grooms, and jockies, so as to make a general reform; yet, if, here and there, a small party could be raised in opposition to this strange custom, it might in time perhaps obtain fashion on it's side.—We commonly suppose, that when mankind in general agree in a point, there is truth. I believe no nation upon earth, except the English, have the custom among them, of docking, nicking, and cropping their horses.—The wisdom too of all antiquity decides fully against the practice. Instances perhaps might be found in the bas-reliefs of the Antonine column, and other remains of Roman antiquity, both of the cropt ear, and of the hogged-mane, (which I take for granted were never practised, except in cases of defect,) but I am persuaded, no one instance can be found, in all the remains of Grecian, or Roman antiquity, of a short-dock, or a nag-tail.”

# HUMOROUS LETTER from HABAKKUK ANGLE to GEOFFRY GAMBADO, Esq.

[From the Annals of Horsemanship, &c. Published by the Editor of the Academy for grown Gentlemen.]

"S I R,

"**H**AVING long been earnestly engaged in the study of mathematical science, and being fond of riding, two pursuits usually thought incompatible, I have been enabled, by means of this singular union, to strike out some important discoveries in both branches. The mathematical improvements in riding will, I hope, deserve a place in the Annals of Horsemanship: my equestrian discoveries in mathematics you must permit me to reserve for the Ladies Diary.

"My love for equestrian agitation is, I believe, more general than that of any other person; for whatever satisfaction may be usually experienced by riders while they continue on the backs of their horses, I have never yet met with or been informed of one, who received any sensible delight from the circumstance of being violently projected from the saddle. But here, sir, from my passionate fondness for the mathematics, I enjoy a manifest advantage. From the concussions, repercussions, and every other kind of compound motion which can be generated consistently with the due support of the centre of gravity, I enjoy, I will venture to say, at least as much satisfaction as any other rider: and at the time of being thrown off, or, in more proper language, projected from the horse, I experience a peculiar delight in recollecting that, by the universal

laws of projectiles, I must in my flight through the air describe that beautiful conic section, a parabola.

"After some accidents of this nature, I have been fortunate enough, notwithstanding the violent reaction of the ground in consequence of the strong action of my skull against it, to preserve my sense sufficiently to be able to ascertain the curve so generated by my body to describe it on paper, and demonstrate its peculiar properties: and am not without hope, if I can meet with horses not too sure-footed, by frequent experiments, to determine what kind of parabola it is safest to describe; which problem will, I apprehend, be found very serviceable in practice, at the city hunt in Easter week, and during the celebration of Epsom races.

"Not long ago, by a particular convulsion of the animal from which I was so fortunate as to fall, I was very irregularly thrown to the earth, but had the satisfaction afterwards to discover that the curve described in my fall was a segment of a very eccentric ellipse, of which the saddle was one focus; and that it was nearly, if not exactly, the same with the path of the comet now expected to return. And once, by a succussion still more anomalous, I was happy to describe a new curve, which I found to possess some very amazing properties; and I hope effectually to immortalize my own name, by calling it *Lemma's first Hippopiptic curve*.\*

\* \* *Hippopiptic* expresses the mode of the curve's generation in falling from a horse:—From *hippos*, a horse, and *pipto*, to fall. I call it *first*, because I hope by the same means to discover more hereafter."

"The first equestrian problem that I ever set myself to discover was this; "When by pulling the reins "you prevent a horse from falling, "where is the fulcrum or prop?—" "and how is the horse's centre of "gravity prevented from being "thrown beyond the base of his "legs?" I will not trouble you now with the particulars of this difficult investigation; but shall only say, that it turned out greatly to the honour of demipique saddles; which accordingly, in the Mathematical Elements of Riding, that I mean hereafter to publish, I shall recommend very strongly in a corollary.

"A learned student in mathematics has long published his ability and desire to construct breeches upon geometrical principles\*.

"Mr. Nunn is certainly ingenious, and his breeches, a few salient angles excepted, admirable; but the artist who should make bridles, saddles, and other equestrian paraphernalia, by the rules of pure mathematics, would render a much more praise-worthy service to the public. For if the flimsy leather of breeches require geometrical cutting, how much more necessary must it be to the tough hide which forms the bridle? And to what purpose will the geometry in the breeches operate, if the saddle, by which they are to be supported, and whose surfaces they are to touch in as many points as possible, be formed ungeometrically? But I forbear to expatiate on a matter as plain as an axiom of Euclid; trusting that whoever can perceive the utility of geometrical breeches, will readily argue,

*à fortiori*, to the absolute necessity of geometrical saddles and bridles.

"Pursuing my principles, I have demonstrated what is the right line to be drawn by the mathematical rider in every difficult situation. In ascending a horse's back, at what angle to extend the moveable leg, while the fixed one is rested in the stirrup: in leaping, how to regulate the oscillation or balancing, of the body, by attending carefully to that fundamental point which is your center of motion: in starting, how to dispose of the superfluous momentum, and thereby to preserve in full force the attraction of cohesion between rump and saddle: in rearing, at what angle, formed by the horse's back with the plane of the horizon, it is most advisable to slide down over his tail; which, I maintain, is the only expedient that can be practised with a mathematical certainty of being safe: these and many other important secrets, I am ready, at any time when called upon, to communicate. One I cannot even now withhold, which is this: that there is no good or truly geometrical riding, unless the legs be extended perfectly in straight lines, so as to form tangents to the cylindrical surface of the horse's body: in a word, to resemble, as much as possible, a pair of compasses set astride upon a telescope; which I conceive to be the perfect model of mathematical riding.

"But besides this application of pure geometry, it has often struck me, that too little use is made, in riding, of the principles of mixed mathematics. Consider, Mr. Gam-

\* Mr. Nunn's advertisement is as follows:

"BREECHES-MAKING improved by GEOMETRY."

"Thomas Nunn, Breeches maker, No. 29, Wigmore-street, Cavendish-square, has invented a system on a mathematical principle, by which difficulties are solved, and errors corrected: its usefulness for ease and neatness in fitting, is incomparable, and is the only perfect rule for that work ever discovered. Several hundreds (noblemen, gentlemen, and others) who have had proof of its utility, allow it to excel all they ever made trial of."

bado, the six mechanical powers! the *lever*, the *wheel* and *axle*, the *pulley*, the *inclined plane*, the *wedge* and the *screw*; and reflect with what advantage all these may be applied to the uses of horsemanship. By means of a *lever*, having an elevated fulcrum raised on the pommel of the saddle, an entire stop might be put to the practice of falling; except where the practitioner should voluntarily take a tumble for the express purpose of studying the parabola, or hippopoeptic curve. The *wheel* and *axle* is already applied in the use of horses, though not in any branch of horsemanship, except the driving of post-chaises; but is also found so efficacious in preventing falls, that where a horse has been used to that assistance, it is not reckoned safe to ride him without. The application of the *wedge* might, undoubtedly, very materially improve the art of fig-ging. The *screw* might, with advantage, be applied to the direction of the horse's head with more exactness, and consequently enable the rider to guide his course with mathematical accuracy. The *inclined plane* might happily be introduced to facilitate the backward slide of the rider at the time of rearing, as above mentioned. And a system of *politics*, in the nature of Mr. Smeaton's, by giving the rider a force equal to the action for many thousand pounds weight, might for ever put an end to the dangerous vice of running away.

"By the use of the principles of astronomy, I have invented a mode of taking the exact altitude of any horse, at two observations, and am at present at work on a \* hippodromometer, to ascertain the velocity

of his course in the very act of riding.

"But while I boast, and, I trust, with reason, of these discoveries, I must candidly confess that a rigorous attention to the theory has sometimes betrayed me into practical errors. When my horse has been pulling earnestly one way, my own intention being at the same time to go another, I have pulled strongly at right angles to the line of his course; expecting, from the laws of compound motion, that we should then proceed, neither in the line of his effort nor of my pull, but in an intermediate one, which would be the diagonal of the parallelogram, of which our forces were as the sides; but have always found that this method produced a rotatory instead of a rectilinear motion. When a horse has run away, I have to avoid the waste of force in my own arms, calculated the necessary diminution of it in his legs; but unfortunately, estimating it as the squares of the distances multiplied into the times, I was frequently dashed against walls, pitched over gates, and plunged into ponds, before I discovered that it is not as the squares of the times, but merely as the times. I mention these circumstances by way of caution to other theorists; not being at all discouraged myself by such trifling failures, and hoping, by your assistance, to convince the world that no man can ever become a perfect rider, unless he has first made mathematics his hobby-horse. You will pardon this innocent play of words on a subject so serious and believe me to be, Sir, with great esteem,

"Yours, &c.

"HABAKKUK ANGLE."

\* From *Ilipos* a horse, *dromos* a course, and *metrein* to measure."

## P O E T R Y.

## O D E for the N E W Y E A R.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet-Laureat.

**W**HEN from the bosom of the mine  
 The magnet first to light was thrown,  
 Fair Commerce hail'd the gift divine,  
 And, smiling, claim'd it for her own.  
 " My bark (she said) this gem shall guide  
 " Thro' paths of ocean yet untried,  
 " While, as my daring sons explore  
 " Each, rude, inhospitable shore,  
 " 'Mid desert sands, and ruthless skies,  
 " New seats of industry shall rise,  
 " And culture wide extend its genial reign,  
 " Free as the ambient gale, and boundless as the main.

But Tyranny soon learn'd to seize  
 The art improving Science taught;  
 The white sail courts the distant breeze,  
 With Horror and Destruction fraught;  
 From the tall mast fell War unfurl'd  
 His banners to a new-found world;  
 Oppression, arm'd with giant pride,  
 And bigot Fury by her side;  
 Dire Desolation, bath'd in blood,  
 Pale Av'rice, and her harpy brood,  
 To each affrighted shore in thunder spoke,  
 And bow'd the wretched race to Slavery's iron yoke.

Not such the gentler views that urge  
 Britannia's sons to dare the surge;  
 Not such the gifts her Drake, her Raleigh bore,  
 To the wild inmates of th' Atlantic shore,  
 Teaching each drear wood's pathless scene  
 The glories of their Virgin Queen.—  
 Nor such her later Chiefs who try,  
 Impell'd by soft Humanity,

The boist'rous wave, the rugged coast,  
 The burning zone, the polar frost,  
 That climes remote, and regions yet unknown,  
 May share a George's sway, and bless his patriot throne.

Warm Fancy, kindling with delight,  
 Anticipates the lapse of age,  
 And, as she throws her eagle's sight  
 O'er Time's yet undiscover'd page,  
 Vast continents, now dark with shade,  
 She sees in verdure's robe array'd,  
 Sees o'er each island's fertile steep,  
 That frequent studs the Southern deep,  
 His fleecy charge the shepherd lead,  
 The harvest wave, the vintage bleed :  
 Sees Commerce springs of guiltless wealth explore,  
 Where frowns the Western world on Asia's neighbouring shore.

But, lo ! across the blackening skies,  
 What swarthy Dæmon wings his flight  
 At once the transient landscape flies,  
 The splendid vision sets in night—  
 And see Britannia's awful form,  
 With breast undaunted, brave the storm !  
 Awful, as when her angry tide  
 Overwhelm'd the wreck'd Armada's pride !  
 Awful, as when th' avenging blow,  
 Suspending o'er a prostrate foe,  
 She snatch'd, in vict'roy's moment prompt to save,  
 Iberia's sinking sons from Calpé's glowing wave,

Ere yet the tempest's mingled sound  
 Burst dreadful o'er the nations round,  
 What Angel-shape, in beaming radiance dight  
 Pours thro' the severing clouds celestial light ?  
 'Tis Peace !—before her seraph eye  
 The fiends of Devastation fly ;  
 Auspicious round our Monarch's brow  
 She twines her olive's sacred bough :  
 " This victory (she cries) is mine,  
 " Not torn from War's terrific shrine ;  
 " Mine, the pure trophies of the wise and good,  
 Unbought by scenes of woe, and undefil'd with blood."

VERSES written in the ISLAND of STAFFA, August 6, 1787. Addressed to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, by WILLIAM PARSONS, Esq. F. R. S.

[Communicated by a Friend.]

WHAT sounds harmonious mingle with the storm!  
 The stars dim gleaming through his misty form,  
 Does Cona's \* voice renew the thrilling rhimes,  
 The streamy Morven's tales of other times?  
 Or to revisit yon deserted fane †,  
 Does blest Columba leave the faintest train,  
 Tuning in golden clouds the solemn lyre,  
 Whose loud notes join the full celestial choir?  
 Vain fictions these, which youthful Bards delight,  
 When some new wonder strikes th' astonish'd sight!  
 No sounds are heard, except th' Atlantic wave,  
 That deeply murmurs in the twilight cave!  
 Awe-struck I enter!—This stupendous roof,  
 These adamantine walls of massy proof,  
 These groups of columns that in Ocean stand,  
 What hands have rais'd? what architect hath plann'd?  
 Did the bold Giant race, the Northern boast,  
 With vast Typhcean strength, each man a host,  
 Rear mid the raging deep a pillar'd floor ‡,  
 And link the Hebrides to dread Bengore?  
 Or, am I borne to that tremendous hall  
 Where Odin sat, and at his mighty call  
 The Runic Demi-gods in stern repose  
 Quaff'd their sweet beverage from the skulls of foes,  
 Illusions all!—Of art no traces near,  
 Nor Giant race nor Runic Chiefs were here:  
 His nobler work, proud || Nevis' towering head  
 Who rais'd, and sunk the Sea's capacious bed;  
 Who taught the enormous *whale*, while Ocean boils,  
 To stem the wave, and thrird the numerous isles;  
 Who bade the *Arctic eagle* in his flight  
 Drink the slant beam, and scorn the languid light!  
 O sacred Truth! O Energy divine!  
 Too long at specious Fancy's, gaudy shrine  
 Deluded loitering, mid Italian shades  
 In day-dreams wild I woo'd th' Aonian maids,

\* Ossian calls himself "the voice of Cona," "The ghost of Crugal came from his cave, the stars dim twinkled through his form." Macpherson's Ossian.

† The ruins of the church of Iona or Icolmkill, founded by St. Columba in the fifth century, are visible from Staffa.

‡ It has long been a popular superstition, that the columns of Staffa and those of the Giants Causeway in Ireland, were the work of Giants, and once united the two coasts. The Headland of Bengore is one of the most striking features of the Basaltic coast, of which the Giants Causeway is a part. See Hamilton's Letters on the Coast of Antrim.

|| Ben Nevis is the highest mountain in Scotland; it is about 100 miles from Staffa, and its height more than 4000 feet above the sea.

Who bade full oft their air-built visions rise  
 In glittering hues before my dazzled eyes,  
 Prone to forsake *thy* philosophic store  
 For fabled regions, and romantic lore;  
 Such thoughts the *local feelings*, there inspire,  
 Rous'd by the Mantuan trump, or Sabine lyre;  
 Such mad Orlando's strange adventures move,  
 And Godfrey's pious arms and Petrarch's hapless love!  
 At length, so reason wills, these raptures fail,  
 And ripper judgment must with tears bewail  
 Those hours devoted to the "thankless Muse."  
 More *wise*, more *blest* §, whose curious search pursues  
 Of *real wonders* each efficient cause,  
 Nature's prolific reign, and hidden laws.  
 Tracing each change of earth's all-passive frame,  
 Subdued by air, by water, and by flame,  
 While oft the fairest symmetry of things  
 From jarring powers and dire convulsion springs.

Were I *thus* gifted, I might now unfold  
 To yon poor seamen, ignorant as bold,  
 While from the dancing wave their lifted eyes  
 Gaze on this island with uncouth surprise,  
 And, widely erring, they ascribe each part  
 To manual labour or to magic art,  
 By what nice process powerful nature gave  
 These rocks their pillars, and their shadowy cave,  
 Which awe with grandeur, or with beauty please—

\* By fire ejected, or deposited by seas!

Such objects, Banks, provok'd thy gen'rous toils,  
 Scorning alike Ambition's gorgeous spoils,  
 The sports of pleasure, and the couch of rest,  
 To sail adventurous with undaunted breast  
 Through seas unknown, where fiercer billows roll,  
 And "curl their monstrous heads" round either pole;  
 From *southern* Isles, whence savage forms advance,  
 Raise the wild yell, and shake the hostile lance.  
 Then, fierce and reeking from the horrid meal,  
 † Their mangled foes to shuddering eyes reveal;  
 To *northern* Hecla, who his ice-crown'd head  
 Proudly uprears, while round his sides are spread

§ Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. Virg. Geo. lib. 2.

\* The volcanic theory of the Staffa Basalts has been generally adopted, though the character of the neighbouring islands, where the columnar appearance is nearly as perfect, is widely different from the usual one of a volcanic country, they being mostly formed of natural terraces, one above another, and all lying in exact horizontal directions, which confirms some observers in the opinion, that they were originally formed by deposition of water.

† See in Hawkesworth's Account of Cook's Voyage decisive proofs of the New Zealanders eating the flesh of their enemies.



Torrents of flame, and at his feet arise  
 ‡ The watry Geysers, glittering in the skies!  
 Great is the *merchant's* praise, whose active mind  
 In distant climes can some new *commerce* find,  
 And bring exulting to a grateful shore  
 Sources of wealth, and arts, unknown before:  
 And great the *berò's*, who on foreign plains,  
 'Mid toil and peril, his high task maintains  
 O'er conquer'd nations, with supreme command  
 To bear the sceptre of his native land:  
 But greater *his*, whom Science tempts to roam,  
 And bring the spoils of rich discovery home;  
 Whose better aim, and labours more refin'd,  
 Add to the *general knowledge* of mankind.  
 For *this* Britannia's studious sons decree  
 That sacred chair which Newton fill'd to thee;  
 For *this*, where'er her welcome flags unfurl'd,  
 Thy praise shall spread, and charm the list'ning world;  
 E'en these lone scenes thy keen research proclaim;  
 Fix'd on basaltic columns stands thy Fame!

TO WILLIAM LOCKE, Esq. Junior, on his PICTURE of the DEATH  
 of CARDINAL WOLSEY. By the same Gentleman.

[Communicated by a Friend.]

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,  
 Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*

HOR.

PAINTING! sweet injur'd nymph, whose matchless skill  
 Futile and vain yon cloyster'd pedant deems!  
 To move the passions and correct the will,  
 Great is thy force, if Genius chuse thy themes.  
 What boast so high can Bards or Sages raise,  
 Who win by slow degrees the list'ning ear?  
 Thy moral lightning through the eye conveys  
 Both tale and precept, sudden, strong, and clear,  
 In deep Contrition's pangs proud Wolsey dies,  
 Ye proud, behold his portrait and be wise;  
 The speaking record History approves,  
 And eloquence, struck dumb, with shame departs;  
 While Virtue from her starry threshold moves,  
 To hail thee noblest of the liberal Arts!

W. PARSONS.

‡ The Geysers are the most considerable of the boiling-water springs in Iceland, which have been said to rise as high as 60 fathoms.—See Von Troil's Letters on Iceland.

## DUNCAN'S WARNING.

[From Poems by J. Aikin, M. D.]

**A**S o'er the heath, amid his steel-clad Thanes,  
 The royal Duncan rode in martial pride,  
 Where, full to view, high-topp'd with glittering vanes,  
 Macbeth's strong towers o'erhung the mountain's side;

In dusky mantle wrapp'd, a grisly form  
 Rush'd with a giant's stride across his way;  
 And thus, while howl'd around the rising storm,  
 In hollow thundering accents pour'd dismay.

Stop, O King! thy destin'd course,  
 Furl thy standard, turn thy horse,  
 Death besets this onward track,  
 Come no further,—quickly, back.

Hear'st thou not the raven's croak?  
 See'st thou not the blasted oak?  
 Feel'st thou not the loaded sky?  
 Read thy danger, King, and fly.

Lo, yon' castle banners glare  
 Bloody through the troubled air;  
 Lo, what spectres on the roof  
 Frowning bid thee stand aloof!

Murder, like an eagle, waits  
 Perch'd above the gloomy gates,  
 Just in act to pounce his prey;  
 Come not near—away! away!

Let not plighted faith beguile;  
 Honour's semblance, Beauty's smile;  
 Fierce Ambition's venom'd dart  
 Rankles in the fest'ring heart.

Treason, arm'd against thy life,  
 Points his dagger, whets his knife,  
 Drugs his stupifying bowl,  
 Steels his unrelenting soul.

Now 'tis time; ere guilty night  
 Closes round thee, speed thy flight.  
 If the threshold once be cross'd,  
 Duncan! thou'rt for ever lost.

On he goes!—reftless Fate  
 Hastes to fill his mortal date:  
 Cease, ye warnings, vain, tho' true.  
 Murder'd King, adieu! adieu †!

### HORATIAN PHILOSOPHY.

[From the same Work.]

FROM scenes of tumult, noise and strife,  
 And all the ills of public life;  
 From waiting at the great man's gate,  
 Amid the slaves that swell his state;  
 From coxcomb poets and their verses;  
 From streets with chariots throng'd, and hearse;  
 From rattling spendthrifts, and their guests,  
 And dull buffoons with scurvy jests;  
 From fashion's whims, and folly's freaks;  
 From shouts by day, and nightly shrieks;  
 O let me make a quick retreat,  
 And seek in haste my country seat;  
 In silent shades forgotten lie,  
 And learn to live, before I die!  
 There, on the verdant turf reclin'd,  
 By wisdom's rules compose my mind;  
 My passions still, correct my heart,  
 And meliorate my better part:  
 Quit idle hope, and fond desire,  
 And cease to gaze where fools admire:  
 With scorn the crowd profane behold  
 Enslav'd by sordid thirst of gold,  
 Nor deign to bend at such a shrine,  
 While priest of Phœbus and the Nine.  
 Nor would I shun the student's toil,  
 But feed my lamp with Grecian oil.  
 Sometimes thro' Stoic walks sublime  
 Up the rough steep of Virtue climb;  
 From philosophic heights look down,  
 Nor heed if Fortune smile or frown;  
 In wisdom's mantle closely furl'd,  
 Defy the tempests of the world;  
 And, scorning all that's not our own,  
 Place every good in mind alone.  
 Then, sliding to an easier plan,  
 Put off the God, to be the Man;  
 Resolve the offer'd sweets to prove  
 Of social bowls, gay sports, and love;  
 Give froward life its childish toy,  
 Nor blush to feel, and to enjoy.

† The idea of this messenger of terror, have engrafted on the story of Macbeth, is derived from an incident which the French historians relate to have occurred to Charles VI. in the forest of Mans.

Yet ever, as by humour led,  
 Each path of life in turn I tread,  
 Still to my first great maxim true,  
 On Moderation fix my view ;  
 Let her with tempering sway preside  
 O'er Pleasure's cup and Learning's pride ;  
 And by her sage decrees o'er-rule  
 The dogmas of each sturdy school.  
 Opinion thus may various play,  
 While reason shines with steady ray,  
 And casts o'er all the shifting scene  
 Her sober hue, and light serene.

## AN AMATORY ODE.

[From Salmagundi ; a Miscellaneous Combination of Original Poetry.]

NOW hath the sun his evanescent fires  
 Quench'd in the billows of the western main ;  
 Cease their soft carols all the feather'd choirs,  
 And gloomy solitude usurps the plain.

Rise, ye deep shades, ye waves in darkness roll,  
 Ye feather'd choirs to silence yield the grove ;  
 For Lesbia sleeps :—nor cheers my pensive soul  
 The glance of rapture, nor the voice of love.

Ye Winds, whose havoc-spreading pinions ply  
 Their furious speed, and with dire yell invade  
 This nether world, whose wasteful tyranny  
 Pale Dryads mourn in many a ruin'd shade ;

Wake not my Love :—Let not your thund'ring cry  
 With dread alarm the haunt of peace infest ;  
 Here breathe in soft *Aolian* melody  
 Each cadence sweet that charms the soul to rest.

Ye Spectres (whom belated pilgrims fear,  
 Issuing in throngs from charnel, vault, or tomb,  
 What time deep-shadowing clouds thy radiant sphere,  
 Cynthia, involve in night's meridian gloom,)

Hence to deserted fane or mouldering hall,  
 Or the gaunt felon's ruthless course control ;  
 With monitory shriek the wretch appal,  
 And to compunction wake his torpid soul.

But walk not near the couch where Lesbia lies  
 Like some rich pearl in its enamell'd shell,  
 Or sainted relic, from profaner eyes  
 Secluded in the dim shrine's silver cell.

Wanton, ye Faries, round her tranquil bow'r,  
 With blissful elves fantastic measures tread;  
 O'er her soft eyelids dews of opiate pow'r  
 Cull'd from choice blooms, in show'rs of fragrance shed:

Let your bright tapers' visionary ray  
 The raven-tinctur'd robe of Night illumine;  
 And, streaming o'er your spangled crests, display  
 The wave-enamour'd hakyon's emerald plume.

And bid your Minstrel-Fays, a shadowy choir,  
 That charm the planets from their spheres sublime,  
 Celestial songs that love and joy inspire,  
 Chant to their golden harp's harmonious chime.

And, when morn's purple streaks th' horizon stain,  
 And Fairies fly the peal of Chanticleer,  
 Let Fancy still your glittering hues retain,  
 Still let your wild notes tremble on her ear. —

Then, Lesbia, wake thy beauties, fresher far  
 Than Galatea boasted when she lav'd  
 In the smooth deep her coral-axled car,  
 And the stern heart of Neptune's son enslav'd.

Wake at his call, to sooth whose soul in vain  
 Morn sheds her radiant beam, her od'rous airs,  
 Save when, attentive to his artless strain,  
 That radiant beam, those odours Lesbia shares:

He asks no laureate wreath to deck his brows,  
 No golden meed his bounded wishes claim,  
 Blest if the object of his tenderest vows  
 Smile on his lay—for Lesbia's smile is fame.

FREE IMITATION of a LATIN ODE, by WALTER de MAPES,  
 Archdeacon of Oxford in the eleventh Century.

[From the same Work.]

#### ORIGINAL.

**M** IHI est propositum in tabernâ mori,  
 Vinum sit appositum morentis ori,  
 Ut dicant, cum venerint angelorum chori:  
 "Deus sit propitius huic Potatori!"

Poculis accenditur animi lucerna;  
 Cor imbutum Nectare volat ad superna;

Mihi sapit dulcius vinum in tabernâ  
Quàm quod aquâ miscuit præfulis Pincerna.

Suum cuique proprium dat natura munus,  
Ego nunquam potui scribere jejunos:  
Me jejunum vincere posset puer unus,  
Sitim et jejunium odi tanquam funus.

Tales versus facio quale vinum bibo,  
Non possum scribere nisi sumpto cibo;  
Nihil valet penitus quod jejunus scribo,  
Nasonem post calices facile præibo.

Mihi nunquam spiritus prophetiæ datur  
Nisi cum fuerit venter bene satur;  
Cum in arce cerebri Bacchus dominatur  
In me Phœbus irruit ac miranda fatur.

### IMITATION.

I'll in a tavern end my days 'midst boon companions merry,  
Place at my lips a lusty flask replete with sparkling sherry,  
That angels hov'ring round may cry, when I lie dead as door nail;  
"Rise, genial Deacon, rise and drink of the well of life eternal."

'Tis wine the fading lamp of life renews with fire celestial,  
And elevates the raptur'd sense above this globe terrestrial;  
Be mine the grape's pure juice unmix'd with any base ingredient,  
Water to heretics I leave, sound churchmen have no need on't.

Various implements belong to ev'ry occupation;  
Give me an haunch of venison,—and a fig for inspiration!  
Verses and odes without good cheer I never could indite 'em,  
Sure he who meager days devis'd is d---d ad infinitum!

When I exhaust the bowl profound and gen'rous liquor swallow,  
Bright as the beverage I imbibe the gen'rous numbers follow;  
Your sneaking water-drinkers all, I utterly condemn 'em,  
He that would write like Homer must drink like Agamemnon.

Mysteries and prophetic truths, I never could unfold 'em  
Without a flagon of good wine and a slice of cold ham;  
But when I've drain'd my liquor out, and eat what's in the dish up,  
Tho' I am but an arch-deacon, I can preach like an archbishop.

ODE

## ODE on his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureate.

## I.

LOUD the whirlwind rang'd around  
 That shook affrighted Britain's shore,  
 In peals of louder thunder drown'd  
 That mingled with the wint'ry roar ;  
 Dreadful amid the driving storm  
 The gliding meteor's horrid form  
 With transient gleam illum'd the air,  
 While thro' December's murky night,  
 Refulgent with unwonted light,  
 The livid flames glare.

## II.

But see ! the radiant lord of day  
 Now Northward rolls his burning car,  
 And scatters with victorious ray  
 The rage of elemental war.  
 To rest the troubled waves subside,  
 And gently o'er the curling tide  
 Young Zephyr leads the vernal hours ;  
 Adorns with richest dyes the vale,  
 And fragrance wafts on every gale  
 From June's ambrosial flowers.

## III.

O may no low'ring gloom o'ercast  
 Th' auspicious morn to Britain dear,  
 Or Eurus check with envious blast  
 The promise of the rip'ning year !—  
 Or should some transitory cloud  
 Awhile th' ethereal splendour shroud,  
 Soon shall the sun his stream renew ;  
 Soon shall the landscape smile around  
 With more luxuriant verdure crown'd,  
 And bloom with livelier hue.

## IV.

Exulting in her prince rever'd,  
 Whose mild parental virtues grace  
 The sacred throne, by glory rear'd  
 On freedom's adamantine base,  
 While Albion pours the festive strain,  
 Responsive to her choral train  
 The muse enraptur'd joins the throng ;  
 Proud that a grateful people's praise  
 Echoes the votive verse she pays,  
 And consecrates her song.

CHARACTERISTICS of LIBERTY in the SAVAGE STATE of this ISLAND, its EXTINCTION in the early STAGES of our MONARCHY, and its REVIVAL and INFLUENCE in the present civilized STATE of MANNERS.

[From the Aboriginal Britons, by GEORGE RICHARDS, B. A.]

**I**N Albion's ancient days, midst nothern snows,  
 Hardy and bold, immortal Freedom rose.  
 She roam'd the sounding margin of the deep,  
 Conway's wild bank, and Cader's craggy steep :  
 A bloody wolf-skin o'er her back was spread ;  
 An axe she bore ; and wild weeds grac'd her head.  
 On Snowden's cliffs reclin'd she watch'd on high  
 The tempest-driven clouds, that cross'd the sky ;  
 Or caught with listening ear the sounding gale,  
 When the dread war-song shook the distant dale.  
 At battle's close she roam'd the ensanguin'd plain,  
 And gaz'd the threatening aspects of the slain.  
 Now from ignoble sloth she rarely rose,  
 For savage freedom sinks to mute repose ;  
 Now to wild joys, and the bowl's maddening powers  
 Gave up the torpid sense and listless hours ;  
 Now joyful saw the naked sword display'd,  
 Though brother's blood flow'd reeking from the blade.  
 By tyrants sunk she rose more proudly great,  
 As ocean swells indignant in the strait ;  
 And, borne in chains from Cambria's mountains bleak,  
 Rais'd virtue's generous blush on Cæsar's cheek.

But ah ! full many a dark and stormy year  
 She dropt o'er Albion's isle the patriot tear.  
 Retir'd to mountains from the craggy dell  
 She caught the Norman curfeu's tyrant knell.  
 Sad to her view the baron's castle frown'd  
 Bold from the steep, and aw'd the plains around :  
 She sorrowing heard the papal thunders roll,  
 And mourn'd the ignoble bondage of the soul :  
 She blush'd, O Cromwell, blush'd at Charles's doom ;  
 And wept, misguided Sidney, o'er thy tomb.

But now reviv'd she boasts a purer cause,  
 Refin'd by science, form'd by generous laws :  
 High hangs her helmet in the banner'd hall,  
 Nor sounds her clarion but at honour's call.  
 Now walks the land with olive chaplet's crown'd,  
 Exalting worth, and beaming safety round :  
 With secret joy and conscious pride admires  
 The patriot spirit, which herself inspires :



Sees barren wāstes with unknown fruitage bloom;  
 Sees Labour bending patient o'er the loom;  
 Sees Science rove thro' academic bow'rs;  
 And peopled cities lift their spiry towers:  
 Trade swells her sails, wherever ocean rolls,  
 Glows at the line, and freezes at the poles:  
 While through unwater'd plains and wondering meads  
 Waves not its own the obedient river leads:

But chief the god-like mind, which bears impress'd  
 Its Maker's glorious image full confest;  
 Noblest of works created; more divine,  
 Than all the starry worlds, that nightly shine;  
 Form'd to live on, unconscious of decay,  
 When the wide universe shall melt away:  
 The mind, which, hid in savage breast of yore,  
 Lay, like Golconda's gems, an useless ore;  
 Now greatly dares sublimest aims to scan;  
 Enriches science, and ennobles man;  
 Unveils the semblance, which it's God bestow'd;  
 And draws more near the fount, from whence it flow'd.

ODE on the distant VIEW of FRANCE from DOVER CLIFF, in the  
 Year 1789.

[From the fourth Volume of the Poetry of the World.]

**G**ENIUS of France! thy misty shore  
 From Albion's rocky verge I trace,  
 As high above the billowy roar,  
 I dart my view thro' subject space:  
 Thron'd on this cliff's embattled brow,  
 I seem the lord of all below,  
 And while my patriot passions boil,  
 I gaze indignant on thy crouching soil!

Has not old ocean's ruthless force  
 Torn thee from favour'd Britain's side?  
 And here with well-directed course  
 Still rolls he not his barrier tide?  
 Yes!—his dividing waves design'd  
 To give this lesson to mankind—  
 'Tis nature's voice, 'tis Heav'n's decree,  
 Britain! alone be great—alone be free."

Warm'd with the thought my fancy dreams  
 Of all the mighty deeds of old,  
 When Britain rous'd to martial themes  
 Her monarchs stern, her warriors bold:

I hear from off this airy steep  
 Her thunder rattle o'er the deep,  
 See in the field her fire display'd,  
 And mark the withering lily droop and fade.

Then proudly turn my mental eye  
 On scenes of council—scenes of peace,  
 Where freedom lifts her voice on high,  
 And bids each tyrant passion cease.  
 Illustrious isle ! let circling fame  
 Thy just pre-eminence proclaim !  
 In clashing arms, in sage debate,  
 Alike supremely brave—supremely great.

Such flattering visions sooth my soul,  
 Elanc'd from this aerial height ;  
 No narrow bounds her range controul,  
 No power restrains her daring flight,  
 Say what awakes the Eagle's fire ?  
 The pride his towering haunts inspire—  
 He wheels around his favourite stand,  
 And frowns contempt on every distant land.

Hush'd be the haughty strain ! a sound  
 Of maddening joy bursts on my ear !  
 From shore to shore its echoes bound—  
 'Tis new-born freedom's voice I hear !  
 Arous'd at superstition's death,  
 In Gallia's womb she pants for breath !  
 Fresh shouts announce the finish'd strife,  
 She breaks her bands—she springs to life !

Transporting sounds ! they check my pride,  
 My flattering visions melt away :  
 At wisdom's nod my vaunts subside—  
 I own her just, impartial sway.  
 From clime to clime may freedom's note  
 On ocean's wavy bosom float !  
 May rapid gales its spirit bear,  
 Till every distant tribe the blessing share :

Enlighten'd France ! no more I view  
 With cold contempt thy glittering coast—  
 To active worth is honour due ;  
 Th' unfetter'd mind has cause to boast.  
 Henceforth e'en Britain's splendid name  
 Can no superior lustre claim,  
 Nor singly now shall dart its rays,  
 But blend with thine in freedom's spreading blaze,

Enough

Enough of war, of proud disdain—  
 The selfish thought, the taunting jest;  
 Absurd distinction—preference vain,  
 Be banish'd from the liberal breast!  
 Ye swell'd the list of human woes!  
 Ye made of France and Britain foes!  
 Taught each to scorn its neighbouring state,  
 And thwart its views with unremitting hate.

Malignant shadows—hence, away!  
 Hie to some dark, unletter'd shore!  
 Behold the dawn of reason's day—  
 Britain and France contend no more.  
 In freedom's cause from age to age  
 Shall both with equal warmth engage,  
 Pursue the same exalted plan,  
 And vindicate on earth the Rights of Man.

## ON a T E A R.

[From the third Volume of the same Work.]

O H! that the Chemist's magic art  
 Could chrystalize this sacred treasure!  
 Long should it glitter near my heart,  
 A secret source of pensive pleasure.

The little brilliant, ere it fell,  
 It's lustre caught from Chloe's eye;  
 Then, trembling, left its coral cell—  
 The spring of sensibility!

Sweet drop of pure and pearly light!  
 In thee the rays of virtue shine  
 More calmly clear, more mildly bright,  
 Than any gem that gilds the mine.

Benign restorer of the soul!  
 Who ever fly'st to bring relief,  
 When first she feels the rude controul  
 Of love or pity, joy or grief,

The sage's and the poet's theme,  
 In every clime, in every age;  
 Thou charm'st in fancy's idle dream,  
 In reason's philosophic page.

That very law † which moulds a tear,  
 And bids it trickle from its source,  
 That law preserves the earth a sphere,  
 And guides the Planets in their course,

# LINES TO HIM WHO WILL UNDERSTAND THEM.

[From Mrs. Robinson's Poems.]

**T**HOU art no more my bosom's friend ;  
 Here must the sweet delusion end,  
 That charm'd my senses many a year,  
 Thro' smiling summers, winters drear.—  
 O, Friendship! am I doom'd to find  
 Thou art a phantom of the mind?  
 A glit'ring shade, an empty name,  
 An air-born vision's vap'rish flame?  
 And yet, the dear deceit so long  
 Has wak'd to joy my matin song,  
 Has bid my tears forget to flow,  
 Chas'd ev'ry pain, sooth'd ev'ry woe;  
 That truth, unwelcome to my ear,  
 Swells the deep sigh, recalls the tear,  
 Gives to the sense the keenest smart,  
 Checks the warm pulses of the heart,  
 Darkens my fate and steals away  
 Each gleam of joy thro' life's sad day.

Britain, farewell! I quit thy shore,  
 My native country charms no more;  
 No guide to mark the toilsome road;  
 No destin'd climes; no fix'd abode;  
 Alone and sad, ordain'd to trace  
 The vast expanse of endless space;  
 To view, upon the mountain's height,  
 Thro' varied shades of glimm'ring light,  
 The distant landscape fade away  
 In the last gleam of parting day:—  
 Or, on the quiv'ring lucid stream,  
 To watch the pale moon's silv'ry beam;  
 Or when, in sad and plaintive strains  
 The mournful Philomel complains,  
 In dulcet notes bewails her fate,  
 And murmurs for her absent mate;  
 Inspir'd by Sympathy divine,  
 I'll weep her woes—for they are mine.  
 Driven by my fate, where'er I go,  
 O'er burning plains, o'er hills of snow

† The law of Gravitation.

Or on the bosom of the wave,  
 The howling tempest doom'd to brave,  
 Where'er my lonely course I bend,  
 Thy image shall my steps attend ;  
 Each object I am doom'd to see,  
 Shall bid remembrance picture Thee.

Yes ; I shall view thee in each flow'r,  
 That changes with the transient hour :  
 Thy wand'ring Fancy I shall find  
 Borne on the wings of every wind ;  
 Thy wild impetuous passions trace  
 O'er the white wave's tempestuous space :  
 In every changing season prove  
 An emblem of thy wav'ring love.

Torn from my country, friends, and you,  
 The world lies open to my view ;  
 New objects shall my mind engage ;  
 I will explore th' historic page ;  
 Sweet poetry shall soothe my soul ;  
 Philosophy each pang controul :  
 The Muse I'll seek, her lambent fire  
 My soul's quick senses shall inspire ;  
 With finer nerves my heart shall beat,  
 Touch'd by Heaven's own Promethean heat ;  
 Italia's gales shall bear my song  
 In soft-link'd notes her woods among ;  
 Upon the blue hill's misty side,  
 Thro' trackless deserts waste and wide,  
 O'er craggy rocks, whose torrents flow  
 Upon the silver sands below.  
 Sweet land of melody ! 'tis thine  
 The softest passions to refine ;  
 Thy myrtle groves, thy melting strains,  
 Shall harmonize and sooth my pains.  
 Nor will I cast one thought behind,  
 On foes relentless, friends unkind ;  
 I feel, I feel their poison'd dart  
 Pierce the life-nerve within my heart ;  
 'Tis mingled with the vital heat,  
 That bids my throbbing pulses beat ;  
 Soon shall that vital heat be o'er,  
 Those throbbing pulses beat no more !  
 No—I will breath the spicy gale ;  
 Plunge the clear stream, new health exhale ;  
 O'er my pale cheek diffuse the rose,  
 And drink Oblivion to my woes.

## ODE TO HEALTH.

[From the same Work.]

COME, bright-eye maid,  
 Pure offspring of the tranquil mind,  
 Haste, my feverish temples bind  
 With olive wreaths of em'rald hue  
 Steep'd in morn's ethereal dew,  
 Where in mild Helvetia's shade,  
 Blushing summer round her flings  
 Warm gales and sunny show'rs that hang upon her wings.

I'll seek thee in Italia's bow'rs,  
 Where supine on beds of flow'rs  
 Melody's soul touching throng  
 Strike the soft lute or trill the melting song :  
 Where blith Fancy, queen of pleasure,  
 Pours each rich luxuriant treasure.  
 For thee I'll climb the breezy hill,  
 While the balmy dews distill  
 Odours from the budding thorn.  
 Drop'd from the lust'rous lids of morn ;  
 Who, starting from her slat'wy bed,  
 Binds her gold fillet round the mountain's head,

There I'll press from herds and flow'rs  
 Juices bless'd with opiate powers,  
 Whose magic potency can heal  
 The throb of agonizing pain,  
 And thro' the purple swelling vein  
 With subtle influence steal :  
 Heaven opes for thee its aromatic store  
 To bathe each languid gasping pore ;  
 But where, O where, shall cherish'd sorrow find  
 The lenient balm to sooth the feeling mind.

O, mem'ry ! busy barb'rous foe,  
 At thy fell touch I wake to woe :  
 Alas ! the flatt'ring dream is o'er,  
 From thee the bright illusions fly,  
 Thou bids the glitt'ring phantoms die,  
 And hope, and youth, and fancy, charm no more,

No more for me the tip-toe spring  
 Drops flowrets from her infant wing ;  
 For me in vain the wild thymes bloom  
 Thro' the forest flings perfume ;  
 In vain I climb th' embroider'd hill  
 To breath the clear autumnal air ;  
 In vain I quaff the lucid rill  
 Since jocund health delights not there

To greet my heart : — no more I view,  
 With sparkling eye, the silv'ry dew  
 Sprinkling May's tears upon the folded rose,  
 As low it droops its young and blushing head,  
 Press'd by grey twilight to its mossy bed :

No more I lave amidst the tide,  
 Or bound along the tufted grove,  
 Or o'er enamel'd meadows rove,  
 Where, on Zephyr's pinions, glide  
 Salubrious airs that waft the nymph-repose.

Lightly o'er the yellow heath  
 Steals thy soft and fragrant breath,  
 Breath inhal'd from musky flow'rs  
 Newly bath'd in perfum'd show'rs.  
 See the rosy-finger'd morn  
 Opes her bright refulgent eye,  
 Hills and valleys to adorn,  
 While from her burning glance the scatter'd vapours fly.

Soon, ah soon ! the painted scene,  
 The hill's blue top, the valley's green,  
 Midst clouds of snow, and whirlwinds drear,  
 Shall cold and comfortless appear :  
 The howling blast shall strip the plain,  
 And bid my pensive bosom learn,  
 Tho' Nature's face shall smile again,  
 And, on the glowing breast of spring  
 Creation all her gems shall fling,  
 Youth's April morn shall ne'er return.

Then come, Oh quickly come, Hygeian maid !  
 Each throbbing pulse, each quiv'ring nerve pervade,  
 Flash thy bright fires across my languid eye,  
 Tint my pale visage with thy roseate die,  
 Bid my heart's current own a temp'rate glow,  
 And from its crimson source in tepid-channels flow.

O Health, celestial nymph ! without thy aid  
 Creation sickens in oblivion's shade :  
 Along the drear and solitary gloom  
 We steal on thorny footsteps to the tomb ;  
 Youth, age, wealth, poverty, alike agree  
 To live is anguish, when depriv'd of thee.  
 To thee indulgent Heav'n benignly gave  
 The touch to heal, the extacy to save.  
 The balmy incense of thy fost'ring breath  
 Wafts the wan victim from the fangs of death,  
 Robs the grim tyrant of his trembling prize,  
 Cheers the faint soul, and lifts it to the skies,

Let not the gentle rose thy bounty drest  
 To meet the rising sun with od'rous breath,  
 Which glow'd with artless tints at noon-tide hour,  
 And shed soft tears upon each drooping flower,  
 With with'ring anguish mourn the parting day,  
 Shrink to the earth, and forrowing fade away.

# SUBJECTS for PAINTERS, from SHAKSPEARE'S TEMPEST.

[From the Shakspeare Gallery, by Mr. Jerningham.]

NOW, at the magic painter's wild command,  
 Girt with the sea, ascends th' enchanted land !  
 There stands Simplicity's endearing child †,  
 That artless maid ! the flow'ret of the wild !  
 Beside the margin of the wave-vex'd shore,  
 While all around conflicting thunders roar,  
 With unbound tresses, flutt'ring to the wind,  
 Her eye expressive of her tortur'd mind,  
 She views the vessel, by the surges tost,  
 Now seen—now lost—now found—now once more lost :  
 Till, madly rushing on the pointed rock,  
 Its bosom riven with the forceful shock,  
 Beyond the stretch of naval art to save,  
 Down, down, it hurries to the watery grave !

Now Prospero comes, with magic arts endu'd,  
 His sable garb with hieroglyphics strew'd ;  
 Long care, long study, solitude profound,  
 Has deepen'd on his brow reflection's wound ;  
 —His long-descending hair, o'er blanch'd with age,  
 Becomes the forc'rer, and adorns the sage :  
 Ah ! view him at that dread, momentous hour,  
 While he abjures his necromantic pow'r !  
 Within the ring of Incantation's ground,  
 Elves, fairies, spirits, demons, flock around :  
 Beneath his foot behold the potent wand,  
 Doom'd ne'er again to grace his lifted hand !  
 Behold the volume, which (with myst'ry fraught)  
 Predestination's darkling edicts taught,  
 And breath'd its solemn whispers on the mind,  
 With dust o'erspread, and to neglect consign'd !  
 Yet then the distant scenery imparts  
 A dire remembrance of his former arts :  
 The bright sun fading in his full career,  
 The wild stars madly starting from their sphere,  
 The storm encumber'd sky, the swelling main,  
 Th' uprooted cedars stretching o'er the plain,

† Miranda.



The mountain loosen'd by convulsive throe,  
 With ruin rushing to the vale below,  
 And the pale wretch, reversing nature's doom,  
 Abruptly rising from the rifted tomb!

What glowing artist with bold hand shall claim  
 To draw, oh Ariel! they resplendent frame;  
 Thou tricky spirit with benignant smile,  
 Thou playful meteor of th' enchanted isle!  
 Not like a sea-nymph, rob'd in sickly green,  
 With dappled wings, as on the stage thou'rt seen,  
 A gay transparency shalt thou appear,  
 Thy form celestial melting into air,  
 With foot light touching some fantastic height,  
 Prompt to depart, and stretching to thy flight.

Yet, ere we sail from this enchanted isle,  
 Let other scenes our ling'ring steps beguile:  
 There stands Anthonio, the suggesting fiend,  
 And half reveals his purpose to his friend;  
 His bosom swells, his madd'ning eye-balls roll,  
 And shew the workings of his inmost soul.  
 All that his lawless, wild conceptions dare,  
 In various forms hang hov'ring in the air:  
 A sword fresh-tainted with Alonzo's blood,  
 A sceptre swimming in a crimson flood,  
 A crown with dazzling ornaments o'erspread;  
 And lightly floating o'er Sebastian's head;  
 While, in the distance, rising o'er the bay,  
 Imperial Naples shall her tow'rs display.

# EXTRACT from PETER PINDAR'S ODE to his ASS, PETER.

[From the Remonstrance, a Poem.]

**O** Thou, my solemn friend, of man despis'd,  
 But not by me despis'd—respected long!  
 To prove how much thy qualities are priz'd,  
 Accept, old fellow-traveller, a song.

My great great-ancestor of Lyric fame,  
 Immortal! threw a glory round the horse;  
 Then, as I lit my candle at his flame,  
 That candle shall illumine thee of course.

For why not thou, in works and virtues rich,  
 In Fame's fair temple also boast a niche?  
 How many a genius, 'midst a vulgar pack,  
 Oblivion stuffs into her sooty sack,

Calmly as Jew old-clothes-men, in their bags,  
 Mix some great Man's lac'd coat with dirty rags;  
 Or fatin petticoat of some sweet maid,  
 That o'er her beauties cast an envious shade!  
 And what's the reason?—Reason too apparent!  
 Ah! "*quia date sacro carent,*"  
 As Horace says, that bard divine,  
 Whose wits so fortunately jump with mine.

Ah! Peter, I remember, oft, when tir'd,  
 And most unpleasantly at times bemir'd,  
 Bold hast thou said, "I'll budge not one inch further;  
 "And now, young master, you may kick or murder."  
 Then have I cudgell'd thee—a fruitless matter!  
 For 'twas in vain to kick, or flog, or chatter.  
 Though, Balaam-like, I curs'd thee with a smack;  
 Sturdy thou dropp'dst thine ears upon thy back,  
 And trotting retrograde, with wrigling tail,  
 In vain did I thy running rump assail:

For lo, between thy legs thou putt'dst thine head,  
 And gavest me a puddle for a bed.  
 Now this was fair—the action bore no guile:  
 Thou duck'dst me not, like Judas, with a smile.  
 O were the manners of some monarchs such,  
 Who smile ev'n in the close insidious hour  
 That kicks th' unguarded minion from his pow'r!  
 But this is asking p'rhaps of kings too much.

O Peter, little didst thou think, I ween,  
 When I a schoolboy on thy back was seen,  
 Riding thee oft, in attitude uncouth;  
 For bridle, an old garter in thy mouth,  
 Jogging and whistling wild o'er hill and dale,  
 On flocs, or nuts, or strawb'ries to regale—

I say, O Peter, little didst thou think,  
 That I, thy namesake, in immortal ink  
 Should dip my pen, and rise a wond'rous bard,  
 And gain such praise, sublimity's reward:

But not the laurel—honour much too high;  
 Giv'n by the king of isles to mister Pye,  
 Who sings his sov'reign's virtues twice a year,  
 And therefore cannot chronicle small beer.

Yet simple as Montaigne, I'll tell thee true;  
 There are, who on my verses look askew,

And call my lyric lucubrations stuff:  
 But I'm a modest, not unconnyinge elf,  
 Or I could say such things about myself—  
 But God forbid that I should puff!

Yet natural are selfish predilections!  
 Like snakes they writhe about the heart's affections,  
 And sometimes too infuse a poisonous spirit;  
 Producing, as by nat'ralists I'm told,  
 Torpid insensibility, so cold  
 To every brother's rising merit.

Wits to each other just like loadstones act,  
 That do not always like firm friends attract;  
 Though of the same rare nature, (strange to tell!)  
 The little harden'd rogues as oft repel.  
 But lo, of thee I'll speak, my long-ear'd friend!  
 Great were the wonders of thy heels of yore;  
 Victorious, for lac'd hats didst thou contend;  
 And ribbons grac'd thy ears—a gaudy store.

Buff breeches too have crown'd a proud proud day,  
 Not thou, but which thy rider wore away:  
 Triumphant strutting through the world he strode,  
 Great soul! deserving an Olympic Ode.

Thy bravery often did I much approve;  
 Rais'd by that queen of passions, love.  
 Whene'er in love's delicious frenzy crost  
 By long-ear'd brothers, lo, wert thou a host!  
 Love did thy lion-heart with courage steel!  
 Quicker than that of Vestris mov'd thy heel:  
 Here, there, up, down, in, out, how thou didst smite!  
 And then no alderman could match thy bite!

And is thy race no more rever'd?  
 Indeed 'tis greatly to be fear'd!

Yet shalt thou flourish in immortal song,  
 To me if immortality belong;  
 For stranger things than this have come to pass—  
 Posterity thine hist'ry shall devour,  
 And read with pleasure how, when vernal show'r  
 In gay profusion rais'd the dewy grass,  
 I led thee forth, thine appetite to please,  
 And mid the verdure saw thee up to knees!

How, oft I pluck'd the tender blade;  
 And, happy, how thou cam'st at my command,  
 And wantoning around, as though afraid,  
 With poking neck didst pull it from my hand,

Then scamper, kicking, frolicsome, away,  
 With such a fascinating bray !  
 Where oft I paid thee visits, and where thou  
 Didst cock with happiness thy kingly ears,  
 And grin so 'witchingly, I can't tell how,  
 And dart at me such friendly leers ;

With such a smiling head, and laughing tail ;  
 And when I mov'd, how, griev'd, thou seem'dst to say,  
 " Dear master, let your humble Afs prevail ;  
 " Pray, master, do not go away"—  
 And how (for what than friendship, can be sweeter ?)  
 I gave thee grass again, O pleasant Peter.  
 And how when Winter bade the herbage die,  
 And nature mourn'd beneath the stormy sky ;  
 When waving trees, surcharg'd with chilling rain,  
 Dropp'd seeming tears upon the haras'd plain,  
 I gave thee a good stable, warm as wool,  
 With oats to grind, and hay to pull :  
 Thus, whilst abroad December rul'd the day,  
 How plenty shew'd within, the blooming May !

And lo, to future times it shall be known,  
 How, twice a day to comb and rub thee down,  
 And be thy bed-maker at night,  
 Thy groom attended, both with hay and oat,  
 By which thy back could boast a handsome coat,  
 And laugh at many a fine court lord and knight,  
 Whose strutting coats belong p'rhaps to the tailor,  
 And probably their bodies to the jailor !  
 What though no dimples thou hast got ;  
 Black sparkling eyes (the fashion) are thy lot,  
 And oft a 'witching smile and cheerful laugh ;  
 And then thy cleanliness ! —'tis strange to utter !  
 Like fin, thy heels avoid a pool, or gutter ;  
 And then the stream so daintily dost quaff ;  
 Unlike a country alderman, who blows,  
 And in the mug baptizeth mouth and nose !

What though I've heard some voices sweeter ;  
 Yet exquisite thy hearing, gentle Peter !  
 Whether a judge of music, I don't know—  
 If so,

Thou hast th' advantage got of many a score  
 That enter at the Opera door.

ODE to HYMEN ; or, the HECTIC.

[From the Rights of Kings, &c. By the same Author.]

**G**OD of ten million charming things,  
Of whom our Milton so divinely sings,  
Once dove-tail'd to a dévil of a wife—  
Hymen, how comes it that I am so slighted?  
Why with thy mist'ries am I not delighted,  
Which I have try'd to peep on half my life?  
God of the down-clad chains, dispel the mist—  
O put me speedily upon thy list!  
A civil list, like that of kings, I'm told,  
Bringing in swelling bags of glorious gold!

What have I done to lose thy good opinion?  
Against thee was I ever known to fail;  
And say, (abusing thus thy sweet dominion)  
“Curse me! if this boy's trap shall catch my tail!”  
No! no!—I praise thy knot with bellowing breath,  
Which, like Jack Ketch's, seldom slips till death.

Lo! 'midst the hollow-sounding vault of night,  
Deep coughing by the taper's lonely light,  
The hopeless Hectic rolls his eye-balls, sighing:  
“Sleep on,” he cries, and drops the tend'rest tear;  
Then kisses his wife's cherub cheek so dear:  
“Blest be thy slumbers, love! though I am dying;  
“Ah! whilst thou sleepest with the sweetest breath,  
“I pump, for life, the putrid well of death!  
“I feel of Fate's hard hand th'oppressive pow'r;  
“I count the iron tongue of ev'ry hour,  
“That seems in fancy's startled ear to say—  
“Soon must thou wander from thy wife away.”

“Dread sound! too solemn for the soul to bear,  
“Murm'ring deep melancholy on my ear:  
“And sullen—ling'ring, as if loth to part,  
“And ease the terrors of my fainting heart.  
“Yet, though I pant for life, sleep thou, my dove,  
“For well thy constancy deserves my love.”

And, lo! all young and beauteous by his side,  
His soft, fresh-blooming, incense-breathing bride,  
Whose cheek the dream of rapt'rous kisses warms,  
Anticipates her spouse's wish so good;  
Feels love's wild ardours tingling through her blood,  
And pants amidst a second husband's arms;  
Now opens her eyes, and, turning round her head,  
“Wonders the filthy fellow is not dead!”

## The HUE and CRY.

[From Poems by the Author of the Village Curate, and Adriano.]

O YEZ, my good people draw near,  
 My story surpasses belief,  
 Yet deign for a moment to hear,  
 And assist me to catch a stray thief.

Have you chanc'd a fair damsel to meet,  
 Adorn'd like an angel of light,  
 In a robe that flow'd down to her feet,  
 No snow on the mountain so white.

Silver flowers bespangled her shoe,  
 Amber locks on her shoulders were spread,  
 Her waist had a girdle of blue,  
 And a beaver plum'd hat had her head.

Her steps an impression scarce leave,  
 She bounds o'er the meadow so soon;  
 Her smile is like Autumn's clear eve,  
 And her look as serene as his moon.

She seems to have nothing to blame,  
 Deceitless and meek as the dove;  
 But there lives not a thief of such fame,  
 She has pilfer'd below and above.

Her cheek has the blushes of day,  
 Her neck has undone the swan's wing,  
 Her breath has the odors of May,  
 And her eye has the dews of the spring.

She has rob'd of its crimson the rose,  
 She has dar'd the carnation to strip,  
 The bee who has plundered them knows,  
 And would fain fill his hive at her lip.

She has stol'n for her forehead so even  
 All beauty by sea and by land,  
 She has all the fine azure of Heaven  
 In the veins of her temple and hand.

Yes, yes, she has ransack'd above,  
 She has beggar'd both nature and art,  
 She has got all we honour and love,  
 And from me she has pilfer'd my heart.

Bring her home, honest friends, bring her home,  
 And set her down safe at my door,  
 Let her once my companion become,  
 And I swear she shall wander no more.

Bring her home, and I'll give a reward  
 Whose value can never be told,  
 More precious than all you regard,  
 More in worth than a house-full of gold.

A reward such as none but a dunce,  
 Such as none but a madman would miss,  
 O yes, I will give you for once  
 From the charmer you bring me, a kiss.

# PROJECT for the IMPROVEMENT of THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS.

[From Whist, a Poem.]

THAT dome, whose managers incessant strive  
 To keep the public appetite alive,  
 And feed their guests, on each returning night,  
 With varied treats of ever new delight;  
 Where yet delight is often sought in vain,  
 And languor and disgust too often reign;  
 One simple change might to a temple turn,  
 Where pleasure's lamp could never fail to burn.  
 How rich a feast would ev'ry play become,  
 If, like a pantomime, the scenes were dumb;  
 And liberty of speech to none allow'd,  
 But those distinguish'd from the vulgar crowd;  
 Who, thron'd betwixt the galleries and pit,  
 In vaulted cabinets of splendor sit!  
 We should not then frequent the house to know  
 What Hamlet said a thousand years ago:  
 But flock to catch, in the politest way,  
 The news and scandal of the present day.  
 What perfect bliss from such a scheme appears  
 To all our faculties of eyes and ears!  
 The one delighted with the charms that flow  
 From graceful action, and the pomp of show;  
 The other ravish'd with the full display  
 Of all that wit and elegance could say.

A plan which promis'd thus their toils to ease,  
 The slothful players could not fail to please;  
 Nor would it cost them one triumphant hour,  
 Or circumscribe their fascinating pow'r.  
 For sure the Siddons, whose expressive eye

Each pause of language can so well supply,  
 Requires no succour from poetic art  
 To rouse, to soften, or to tear the heart;  
 Which, were it made of penetrable stuff,  
 Would find her gestures and her looks enough.  
 Nor less applause would crown the graces wild  
 Of sportive Jordan, Nature's charming child;  
 Whose romps, tho' mute, would be resistless still,  
 And all the house with endless laughter fill.

But much as those would love the change who sit  
 Or in the boxes, or the crowded pit;  
 I fear those vulgar souls, who perch'd on high  
 Behold improvement with a jealous eye,  
 Would loudly all against the motion cry. }  
 But managers would from their duty stray,  
 Did they to such a voice attention pay;  
 Or risque offending the politer few,  
 To please the taste of such a tasteless crew.  
 Besides at times, or even once a week,  
 A play for them might be allow'd to speak.  
 The Orphan then, or some such vulgar thing,  
 Might 'prentice girls and country boobies bring;  
 Who there might all in maudlin concert whine,  
 And wet their handkerchiefs at ev'ry line;  
 And (silly souls!) to shew their sorrow, strive  
 That she should die who never was alive;  
 While we devoted the remaining nights  
 To those refin'd and elegant delights,  
 Which none can relish but the chosen band,  
 The flow'r and cream of each admiring land;  
 Who down the smooth expanse of fashion's tide  
 In pleasure's painted barge securely glide,  
 And o'er the glitt'ring wave in splendid triumph ride. }

#### DESCRIPTION of the HORRORS of a GUILTY MIND.

[From Seventeen Hundred and Ninety-one, a Poem, in Imitation of the  
 thirteenth Satire of Juvenal. By Arthur Murphy, Esq.]

**Y**ET think not that the wretch who finds a flaw,  
 To baffle justice, and elude the law,  
 Unpunish'd lives: he pays atonement due;  
 Each hour his malefactions rise to view.  
 Vengeance more fierce than engines, racks, and wheels,  
 Unseen; unheard, his mangled bosom feels.  
 What greater curse can earth or heaven devise,  
 Than his, who self-condemn'd in torture lies?  
 From agony of mind who knows no rest,  
 But bears his own accuser in his breast.



What charm shall bid these horrors rage no more,  
 Heal the hurt mind, and gentle peace restore?  
 That charm is virtue: virtue can supply  
 Comfort in life, and courage when we die.  
 Virtue the purest blessing can impart,  
 The conscience clear, and self-applauding heart.  
 At Delphos when a Spartan youth applied,  
 What think you then the Pythian Maid replied?  
 The treach'rous knave his friend's best treasure stole,  
 And meant by perjury to keep the whole:  
 Unpractis'd yet in fraud, he ask'd advice:  
 The priestless answer'd, "The bare thought is vice;  
 "Vice, that strikes deep infection to the mind;  
 "Vice, that in time will retribution find."  
 And if the slave no deeper plung'd in ill,  
 'Twas fear, not virtue, that controul'd his will.  
 Who but conceives a crime, with malice fraught,  
 Warps into vice, and kindles at the thought.  
 What though the embryo sin conceal'd with art,  
 In thinking die? Guilt rankles in his heart.  
 If the strong motive urge him to the deed,  
 Horror, remorse, and misery succeed.  
 See him at table, listless, wan with care,  
 In thick-eyed musing lost, and pale despair.  
 Within his mouth, now unelastic, slow,  
 The viands loiter, and insipid grow.  
 In vain for him the banquet spreads its store,  
 The rarest banquet now can please no more.  
 In vain for him the mellowing years refine  
 The precious age of the pure racy wine.  
 In vain gay wit calls forth her magic train;  
 He flies the scene, to think, and dwell with pain.  
 No respite from himself; with cares oppress'd,  
 If weary nature sink at length to rest,  
 In the dead waste of night pale phantoms rise,  
 Stalk round his couch, and glare before his eyes.  
 The temple bends its arches o'er his head,  
 And the long files their umber'd twilight shed.  
 He sees the altar perjur'd where he trod,  
 The violated altar of his God.  
 He groans, he rises, but the conscious mind  
 Wakes to worse horrors than he left behind.  
 Of his fix'd doom each object is a sign,  
 A visitation from the power divine!  
 Kindled in air if sudden meteors fly,  
 And hollow murmurs shake the vaulted sky,  
 No more the tempest springs from gen'ral laws;  
 The winds have now a preternatural cause.  
 'Tis god in wrath, that spreads his terrors round;  
 'Tis God, who now his enemies has found;

'Tis God's right arm, that shakes the distant pole,  
 Wings the red lightning, and the thunder rolls.  
 Soon as the warring elements subside,  
 And nature smiles with renovated pride,  
 Remorse and horror now no more appal;  
 'Tis chance, not providence, that rules the ball.  
 A fever comes: 'tis heaven's avenging rod!  
 Again he owns the attributes of God.  
 He dies; and leaves the church his children's share,  
 And hopes in heaven to make his soul his heir.  
 Such the deep pangs obdurate villains find;  
 Such the dire furies of the guilty mind.

## ODE to HOPE.

[From genuine Poetical Compositions, &c. By Eliz. Bentley.]

THOU! advance, whose heav'nly light  
 Can make each scene of sadness please;  
 On future bliss can fix the sight,  
 And anguish change to ease.

'Tis thou, sweet Hope, of race divine,  
 Who bid'st the Poet's thoughts aspire;  
 Thou breath'st thy influence o'er each line,  
 And add'st celestial fire.

Thou bid'st his anxious bosom glow,  
 To climb the steep ascent of fame;  
 To share that praise the just bestow,  
 And gain a deathless name.

The Painter fir'd by thee can trace,  
 Each genuine beauty Nature gives,  
 As on the canvas shines each grace,  
 Restor'd his mem'ry lives.

'Tis thou, sweet Hope, whose magic pow'r  
 The griefs of absence best can calm;  
 While Friendship chides each loitering hour,  
 Thou shed'st thy soothing balm.

Thou mak'st the captive's heart rejoice  
 In gloomy regions of despair;  
 In thought he hears his Freedom's voice,  
 And breathes in pure air.

But oh! when thou forsak'st his breast,  
 What dismal horrors round him rise!  
 His mind, with weightier chains oppress'd  
 Deep sunk in sorrow lies.

The sailor on the wat'ry waste,  
While boist'rous waves terrific roar,  
Thou bid'st ideal pleasures taste,  
And tread his native shore.

The wretch whom keen Remorse assails,  
Or he who feels Misfortune's dart,  
His hapless fate no more bewails,  
Such joy thy beams impart.

When life presents her closing scene,  
Thy radiant sun-shine cheers the soul;  
'Tis thou, bright Hope, with smile serene,  
Can Fear's dread hand controul.

No mist obstructs thy piercing sight,  
Thou bid'st the mind her greatness know,  
Soaring, thou point'st to realms of light,  
And scorn'st to rest below.

### The DISAPPOINTMENT, a RUSTIC TALE.

[From Poems, wherein it is attempted to Describe certain Views of Nature,  
and of Rustic Manners, &c.]

ON village green, whose smooth and well worn sod,  
Cross-path'd with every gossip's foot is trod,  
By cottage door where playful children run,  
And cats and curs sit basking the sun:  
Where o'er the earthen seat the thorn is bent,  
Cross-arm'd, and back to wall, poor William leant.  
His bonnet broad drawn o'er his gather'd brow,  
His hanging lip and lengthen'd visage shew  
A mind but ill at ease, With motions strange,  
His listless limbs their wayward postures change,  
Whilst many a crooked line and curious maze,  
With clouted shoon, he on the sand portrays.  
The half-chew'd straw fell slowly from his mouth:  
And to himself low-mutt'ring, spoke the youth.

"How simple is the lad! and rest of skill,  
"Who thinks with love to fix a woman's will,  
"Who every Sunday morn, to please her sight,  
"Knots up his neck-cloth gay, and hosen white:  
"Who for her pleasure keeps his pockets bare,  
"And half his wages spends on pedlar's ware,  
"When every niggard clown, or dotard old,  
"Who hides in secret nooks his oft told gold,

" Whose field or orchard tempts with all her pride ;  
 " At little cost may win her for his bride ;  
 " Whilst all the meed her silly lover gains  
 " Is but the neighbours' jeering for his pains.  
 " On Sunday last when Susan's bans were read,  
 " And I astonish'd sat with hanging head,  
 " Cold grew my shivering limbs, and loose my knee,  
 " Whilst every neighbour's eye was fixed on me.  
 " Ah, Sue! when last we work'd at Hodge's hay,  
 " And still at me you jeer'd in wanton play;  
 " When last at fair well pleas'd by Thow-man's stand,  
 " You took the new-bought fairing from my hand ;  
 " When at old Hobb's you sung that song so gay,  
 " Sweet William still the burthen of the lay,  
 " I little thought, alas! the lots were cast,  
 " That thou should'st be another's bride at last :  
 " And had, when last we tripp'd it on the green  
 " And laugh'd at the black'd Rob, I little thought I ween,  
 " Ere yet another scanty month was down,  
 " To see thee wedded to the hateful clown.  
 " Ay, lucky swain, more gold thy pockets line ;  
 " But did these frailty limbs resemble thine,  
 " I'd stay at home, and tend the household geer,  
 " Nor on the green with other lads appear.  
 " Ay, lucky swain, no store thy cottage lacks,  
 " And round thy barn thick stand the shelter'd stacks ;  
 " But did such features hard my visage grace,  
 " I'd never budge the bonnet from my face.  
 " Yet let it be: it shall not break my ease :  
 " He best deserves who doth the maiden please.  
 " Such silly cause no more shall give me pain,  
 " Nor ever maiden cross my test again.  
 " Such grizzly suitors with their taste agree  
 " And the black fiend may take them all for me!"

Now thro' the village rise confused sounds,  
 Hoarse lads, and children shrill, and yelping hounds,  
 Straight ev'ry matron at the door is seen,  
 And pausing hedgers on their mattocks lean.  
 At every narrow lane, and alley mouth,  
 Loud laughing lasses stand, and joking youth.  
 A near approaching band in colours gay,  
 With minstrels blythe before to cheer the way,  
 From clouds of curling dust which onward fly  
 In rural splendour break upon the eye.  
 As in their way they hold so gayly on,  
 Caps, beads, and buttons glancing in the sun,  
 Each village wag, with eye of roguish cast,  
 Some maiden joys, and vents the ready jest ;  
 Whilst village toasts the passing belles deride,  
 And sober matrons marvel at their pride,

But

But William, head erect, with settled brow,  
 In fullen silence view'd the passing shew;  
 And oft' he scratch'd his pate with manful grace,  
 And scorn'd to pull the bonnet o'er his face;  
 But did with steady look unmoved wait,  
 Till hindmost man had turn'd the church-yard gate;  
 Then turn'd him to his cot with visage flat,  
 Where honest Tray upon the threshold sat:  
 Up jump'd the kindly beast his hand to lick,  
 And, for his pains, receiv'd an angry kick.  
 Loud shouts the flapping door with thund'ring din;  
 The echoes round their circling course begin;  
 From cot to cot, in wide progressive swell;  
 Deep groans the church-yard wall and neighb'ring dell,  
 And Tray responsive joins with long and piteous yell.

STANZAS from the Ode for the 14th of July, 1791, the Anniversary of the Revolution in France. By Robert Merry A. M. Set to Music, and sung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.

**F**ILL high the animating glads,  
 And let the electric ruby pass  
 From hand to hand, from soul to soul:  
 Who shall the energy controul,  
 Exalted, pure, refin'd,  
 The Health of Humankind!

Not now a venal tribe shall raise  
 The song of prostituted praise,  
 To Sov'reign's who have seized their power;  
 But at this gay, this lib'ral hour,  
 We bless what Heaven design'd,  
 The Health of Humankind!

We turn indignant from each cause  
 Of Man's dismay; from partial laws,  
 From Kings who vainly seek by flight,  
 To shun the blaze of moral light;  
 We bless what Heaven design'd,  
 The Health of Humankind!

#### TRANSLATION of a POEM of HALLER.

[From Curiousities of Literature, &c.]

**A**H! woods for ever dear, whose branches spread  
 Their verdant arch o'er Hasel's breezy head,  
 When shall I once again, supinely laid,  
 Hear Philomela charm your list'ning shade;

Where

When shall I stretch my careless limbs again,  
Where, gently rising from the velvet plain,  
O'er the green hills, in easy curve that bend,  
The mossy carpet Nature's hands extend,  
Where all is silent! Save the gales that move  
The leafy umbrage of the whispering grove;  
Or the soft murmurs of the rivulet's way,  
Whose chearing streams the lonely meadows lave.

O Heav'n! when shall once more these eyes be cast  
On scenes where all my spring of life was pass'd;  
Where, oft responsive to the fallen rill,  
Sylvia and Love my artless lays would fill,  
While Zephyr's fragrant breeze, soft breathing, stole  
A pleasing sadness o'er my pensive soul,  
Care, and her ghastly train, were far away;  
While calm, beneath the sheltering woods, I lay

Mid shades, impervious to the beams of day.

Here—sad reverie! from scenes of pleasure far,

I wage with sorrow unremitting war:

Oppress'd with grief, my lingering moments flow,  
Nor aught of joy, or laugh of quiet, know,  
Far from the scenes that gave my being birth,  
From parents far, an outcast of the earth!  
In youth's warm hours, from each restriction free,  
Left to myself in dangerous liberty.

Now pale disease shoots through my languid frame,  
And checks the zeal for wisdom and for fame.  
Now droops fond Hope, by Disappointment cross'd;  
Chill'd by neglect, each sanguine wish is lost.  
O'er the weak mound stern Ocean's billows ride,  
And waft destruction in with every tide,  
While Mars, descending from his crimson car,  
Fans with fierce hands the kindling flames of war.

Her gentle aid let consolation lend,  
All human evils hasten to their end,  
The storm abates at every gust it blows;  
Past ills enhance the comforts of repose.  
He who ne'er felt the pressure of distress,  
Ne'er felt returning pleasure's keen excess.  
Time, who Affliction bore on rapid wing,  
My panting heart to happiness may bring.  
I, on my native hills, may yet enbale  
The purer influence of the ambient gale.

Ah! scenes of early joy! ah, much-lov'd shades!  
 Soon may my footsteps tread your vernal glades.  
 Ah; should kind Heav'n permit me to explore  
 Your seats of still tranquillity once more!  
 E'en now, to Fancy's visionary eye,  
 Hope shews the flattering hour of transport nigh.  
 Blue shines the æther, when the storm is pass'd;  
 And calm Repose succeeds to Sorrow's blast.  
 Flourish, ye scenes of ever new delight!  
 Wave wide your branches to my raptur'd sight!  
 While, ne'er to roam again, my wearied feet  
 Seek the kind refuge of your calm retreat.

## DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1791.

**T**HE Domestic Literature of the year 1791, has been uncommonly barren of publications in Biblical criticism.

The first article which we have to insert in our History is, a notice of the appearance of the fifth and sixth volumes of "A short and plain Exposition of the Old Testament &c. by the late Rev. Job Orton, published from the Author's MSS. by Robert Gentleman." These volumes, which complete the editor's plan, are executed in a similar manner with the preceding ones. For a general character of this work, we refer our readers to our history of the Domestic Literature of the year 1788.

In our Register for the last year we announced the publication of a "New Translation of Isaiah, with Notes supplementary to those of Dr. Lowth, &c. by a Layman." During the present year, there appeared "Short Remarks" on that work, "in a Letter to the Author, by John Sturges, LL. D." The object of Dr. Sturges is to support the translation of Dr. Lowth in many passages, in which the layman

contended that there occurred important mistakes and defects; particularly in passages cited in the New Testament from the prophet. In this publication, the abilities and learning of Dr. Sturges appear to considerable advantage; and the temper and moderation with which he writes are highly commendable. But we have not met with any thing in his reasoning, which has tended to diminish the value which we formerly put on the layman's version.

These remarks soon called forth an answer, in "A Letter to the rev. Dr. Sturges, &c. by Michael Dodson, Esq." who avows himself to be the author of the New Translation and Notes. In this letter Mr. Dodson vindicates his former translation and criticisms, as well as his remarks on Dr. Lowth, with admirable skill, and with becoming candour and liberality. To the lovers of Biblical learning we recommend this pamphlet, together with the remarks of Dr. Sturges, as what will afford them instruction and pleasure. To polemics they offer excellent specimens of the manner in which con-

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tests for truth ought to be conducted.

The "Essay on a Passage of St. Paul, 1 Cor. II. 10. addressed to the lord bishop of Exeter, and published at his lordship's Request, by John Hayter, M. A.," contains a specimen of conjectural criticism, which, without doing violence to the text, tends greatly to elucidate a passage at which the ablest commentators have stumbled. The following is the translation of the verse which he proposes: "on this account a woman, as the distinguishing mark of her sex, ought to have some covering on her head, on account of the spies." His reasons for the reading by which he supports this translation, discover much learning and ingenuity, and would have lost nothing of their force, had they been unaccompanied with that severity of sarcasm with which he speaks of the interpretations of former critics.

Mr. Ashdowne's "Attempt to shew that the Opinion concerning the Devil, or Satan, as a fallen Angel, and that he tempts Men to sin, hath no real Foundation in Scripture," is a publication which reflects credit on the author's industry and ingenuity. His criticisms on the texts in which the words Satan, devil, or evil spirit, occur are, in general, judicious and unexceptionable; and the arguments by which he supports his positions, are delivered with great candour and modesty. Those who contend that the opinion of fallen angels or malignant spirits having access to the minds of men, and the power to tempt them to evil, is one of the corruptions introduced into the Christian religion from the oriental philosophy, will find in Mr. Ashdowne a well informed and useful auxiliary.

The "View of the external Evi-

dence of the Christian Religion, by the Rev. James L. Moore," contains a short abstract of the testimonies in favour of our holy faith, arising from the fulfilment of prophecy, the miracles and resurrection of Christ, his moral character, the concurrence of incidental information in profane historians, and the progress of christianity notwithstanding the discouragement and opposition it met with. This little volume is drawn up in an easy and popular style, and is well adapted for the information of those, who have not either leisure or inclination to peruse larger treatises on this subject. We could have wished, however, that the author, in a work of this nature, which should have been unexceptionable to Christians of every different sentiment and opinion, had admitted of no expressions or reasoning, which can only be used by persons attached to particular systems of theology.

The "Essay on the Manner in which Christianity was intended to improve Morality, by the Rev. John Leadley, M. A." has been deemed worthy of the Norrisian prize in the university of Cambridge. It is a sensible and elegant production: and if the observations and arguments which it contains do not come recommended by the charms of novelty, that is to be attributed, in a considerable degree, to the nature of the subject proposed for discussion, which has so frequently been the theme of able christian moralists.

Dr. Edward Barry, in his "Theological, Philosophical, and Moral Essays," has delivered sentiments and observations on a variety of subjects of importance to human happiness, which are frequently animated and impressive, and always of a serious

or useful tendency. What he is principally to be blamed for is, too great an inattention to perspicuity and propriety of language, and a too great attachment to a diffuse declamatory style.

The "Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World, by one of the Laity," is a performance evidently written with the best views, and entitled to a considerable share of commendation. The design of the author is, to enquire into the causes of the decline of christianity in the more polite and higher ranks of life; to obviate the objections which are commonly urged against the supposed strictness and severity of manners which religion enjoins; and to expose their inconsistency who, while they profess to receive christianity as an object of faith, refuse to make it their rule of life. On these topics the author offers a variety of important observations and remarks, which he recommends not only by weight and force of argument, but by politeness and ease of style and language. To numbers of readers this estimate will be the more acceptable, on account of its proceeding from the pen of an orthodox and zealous member of our established church.

As a proper supplement to the last mentioned article, we may venture to recommend a little treatise entitled "Thoughts on Card-Playing," which, as well as the former, is an anonymous publication. In these thoughts the author, with much solid and serious argument, exposes the excess of a practice which has become almost universal, not only in the fashionable world, but in every class of society; and which is not confined to the hours of formal visiting, and occasional amusement, but is suffered to intrude on the moments which should be devoted to

wholesome recreation and exercise, to friendly and improving conversation, or to the discharge of necessary and domestic duties. It is on these grounds that he reprobates card playing, and not, as the more severe religionist would do, by contending for its sinfulness; excepting so far as it is sinful to be guilty of an imprudent waste of time.

Sir Adam Gordon's "Affectionate Advice from a Minister of the established Church to his Parishioners, upon the most plain and positive Duties of Religion, with some Cautions against the prevailing Spirit of Innovation," contains a number of hints and observations relative to the duties of religion in general, and to the institutions of public worship in particular, which deserve the attention of readers of every denomination. But his principal design is, to caution his parishioners against deserting the communion of the established church, and being led away by the seductions of methodistic enthusiasm. We have no reason to doubt but that the author's practice as a christian minister, is consistent with the affectionate advice which he instils into their minds, through the medium of this pamphlet; and that he is instant, in season and out of season, in the discharge of his pastoral duties. Such is the practice that will justify him in using the language of this little work, and prove, at the same time, the most effectual preventative of the mischief which he deprecates.

Mr. Wakefield, in his "Enquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of public or social Worship," endeavours to establish the following curious and novel positions: that the practice of our Saviour discountenances public worship; that his precepts, either directly or indirectly

directly, prove it not only to be unauthorized by christianity, but inconsistent with it; and that with respect to the practice of the apostles, whatever he has been able to discover relative to the subject, "is either wholly consistent with private worship; or from the peculiarity of its circumstances, or its dissimilarity to what is now called social worship, cannot, with any cogency, or shew of reason, be pressed into the service of the cause which he is combating." In reading this pamphlet we have had frequent opportunity for admiring Mr. Wakefield's ingenuity, in commenting on those parts of scripture which are generally thought to afford authorities for the practice of public worship, as well as the bold decisive spirit with which he draws his conclusions. But we cannot say that we have so far felt the weight of his arguments, as to be induced to admit his positions, or convinced of the inexpediency of social worship. In different parts of his work, he introduces pointed and severe strictures and sarcasms on the manner in which public worship is conducted in the established church, and particularly among the Dissenters, which will afford a high gratification to those of his readers who may not possess that spirit of seriousness and piety, which, we doubt not, actuates Mr. Wakefield's mind; but which were neither necessary nor proper to be introduced into a discussion, in which truth, and not applause, is the author's object.

Mr. Williams's "Discourse on the Influence of religious Practice upon our Enquiries after Truth, &c." appears to have been written, chiefly, with a view to controvert an opinion suggested by Mr. Belsham, in his sermon to the supporters of the New College at Hackney, "that men who are the most indifferent to

the practice of religion, and whose minds therefore are least attached to any set of principles, will ever be first to see the absurdity of a popular superstition; and to embrace a rational system of faith." In this discourse the author displays great piety, and goodness of intention, and an ardent zeal for the interest of the calvinistic system, which Mr. Belsham has renounced. These are more pre-eminent features in his pamphlet, than strength and acuteness of reasoning.

"A Plain Man's Creed, or the Principles of genuine Christianity, endeavoured to be candidly and impartially stated, by a Layman," is the production of a person of plain good sense, who is willing to assist in disrobing Christianity of the veils under which enthusiasm and superstition have endeavoured to conceal her simple and beautiful form. His intention is laudable; and if we cannot subscribe to all his articles, we think them, on the whole, rational and unexceptionable.

The "Plain and rational Account of Salvation by Jesus Christ, &c. by J. Gough, A. M." is intended to combat the doctrine of a vicarious sacrifice; and to shew, that where it is said in scripture Christ died for us, the meaning is, he died on account of, not instead of us; and that his death was necessary, not to satisfy the demands of divine justice, but to ensure to mankind the blessings of the new covenant, which could not have been conveyed to them but through a mediator. For this idea of the Christian redemption, which differs little, if at all, from that of Clarke, and of others who have sometimes been classed in the middle theological school, the author contends with modesty and good temper.

The treatise entitled "Elementa  
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Christiana; the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England proved to be agreeable to the Word of God, in their literal and grammatical Sense, &c. by the Rev. Thomas Hervey," is drawn up in the catechetical form, and details, in plain and perspicuous language, the arguments commonly adduced to prove that the articles are conformable to Christian verity. The author, however, does not bring any accession of force to the side which he espouses.

The "Syllabus of Christian Doctrines and Duties, in the Catechetical Form, &c. by S. Newton," is published "for the use of those who would wish to judge for themselves of the nature and influence of the Christian religion, from the uncorrupt language of divine revelation, and who are desirous of communicating the knowledge of it in an easy and familiar manner to their families." The questions and the answers of Mr. Newton are drawn up in such a manner, as to instil into the minds of young persons a bias in favour of the Calvinistic system. It will be acceptable, therefore, to those who agree with him in sentiment, and who think it their duty to initiate their children early in the principles of their own orthodox creed.

"The Doctrine of the Divine Trinity in Unity briefly asserted and vindicated; confided to a generous Public, by the Rev. Henry Evans Holder," contains a number of comments on texts of scripture, and arguments for the commonly received doctrine, which are sufficiently familiar to those who have paid any attention to the Trinitarian controversy. But we have seen them used by abler advocates, and with much greater advantage. In zeal, however, Mr. Holder gives

place to none of his fellow combatants; and we are sorry to find, that it occasionally transports him beyond the bounds which a liberal and Christian spirit would prescribe.

"Arius slain, and Socinus mortally wounded, &c. and addressed to Joseph Priestley, LL.D. F.R.S. by an Old Seaman," is a treatise, the style and phraseology of which are occasionally well adapted to the wits of the fore-castle, and will be relished by such of the author's old messmates as are fond of dabbling in theological controversy. How likely his arguments are to produce conviction in landmen, we must leave his readers to determine. According to his own account, he "has the testimony of the whole word of God, even that of all the inspired prophets, and apostles" on his side; while the advocates for the heresies which he opposes, have only their own assertions, or those of other fallible men, to support their opinions. And he thanks God that Dr. Priestley, who, he supposes, is endeavouring to destroy the truth as it is in Christ, has no other weapons to make use of than artillery which is "only single cast, honeycombed with rust, of wicked Cain's mould, therefore, in a short time will burst, and destroy the whole crew with an utter and eternal destruction."

"Socinianism unscriptural, or the Prophets and Apostles vindicated from the Charge of holding the Doctrine of Christ's meer Humanity, &c. by the late Rev. John Fletcher, Vicar of Madely", continued by Joseph Benson, consists of a number of letters, in which the author introduces a long detail of quotations from the Old Testament, and from the Evangelists and Apostles, to prove the Divinity of Christ; and that he appeared to Abraham, Ja-  
cob,

cob, Moses, and the other Old Testament saints. Mr. Benson's Continuation is entitled, "A Demonstration of the Want of Common Sense in the New Testament Writers, on the Supposition of their believing and teaching the above mentioned Doctrine", i.e. Socinianism. Mr. Fletcher's letters were confessedly left by him in a very unfinished and imperfect state; and it would not have proved any injury to the cause they are intended to support, or to the memory of the author's catholicism, if they had been entirely kept from the notice of the public. Mr. Benson's Continuation possesses no great claims to merit, when considered as an exhibition of his argumentative powers.

The "Letter to the Rev. J. Edwards, &c. by G. Hodson, jun." contains Strictures on the unitarian creed, as explained in an address from Mr. Edwards to a congregation of baptists at Liverpool: and an attempt to support the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. Whatever applause Mr. Hodson may be thought entitled to from the goodness of his intention, and the temper with which he writes, we do not think that he will be considered as having effected much towards terminating the controversy.

Mr. Edwards, in his "Vindication of the Sentiments contained in a late Address, &c." enters into a fuller and more particular discussion of the question in debate. In this treatise he shews that he is well acquainted with the controversy; and presses on his opponents those passages of Scripture, and those arguments, which have been advanced by the ablest supporters of unitarianism. The heat and animosity, however, which occasionally

appear in his pages, do no service to his cause.

The "Letter addressed to a Member of the Church of England, containing Remarks on his Defence of the Trinitarian Doctrine", is the work of an anonymous author, who possesses considerable knowledge and abilities, and delivers his opinions and arguments, with that dispassionate liberal spirit which we wish always to prevail among polemics. The cause of Mr. Edwards meets with a strenuous supporter in this writer.

It is not in our power to give our readers any clear idea of what they may expect to meet with in Mr. Lewelyn's, Tracts, entitled "An Exposition of the Beginning of Genesis, vol. I. An Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, vol. II. The Doctrine of Baptism, "vol. III. ΜΟΡΗ ΘΕΟΥ, vol. IV." They contain such a farrago of mysticism and absurdity, that we can scarcely conceive them to have been penned by a serious religionist, in the competent possession of his faculties. If the author in writing them, had any particular object in view, it should seem that it was to revive the long forgotten sect of the Anthropomorphites.

"Antinomianism unmasked and refuted, &c. by Maria de Fleury", attempts to reconcile high orthodoxy with morality; or to shew, that the principles of Calvinism do not militate against the moral law, which the scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments declare to be still in full force, as the rule of the Christian's conduct. The design is well meant; and is pursued with spirit and with zeal, more than proportioned to the experience of the author in theological disputation.

"Mystery Babylon encompassed for utter Destruction, &c. by Thomas Jones," is written in answer to the last mentioned article, and contains a weak defence of principles which cannot be espoused by any who are not Antinomians, although the author is unwilling to be ranked in that class.

"The Barber, or Timothy Priestley shaved, as reflected from his own Looking Glass, the Operator William Huntingdon," and "The Barber's Mirror, &c. being Remarks on that Gentleman's Pamphlet," relate to the squabbles of two pulpit quacks, about the infallibility of their respective nostrums; and contain more nonsense and illiberality, than seriousness or wit.

In taking notice of the different treatises in controversial theology, which have engaged the public attention during the present year, we must not omit to mention, that the old dispute about infant baptism has been attempted to be revived by the Rev. Edward Williams, in his "Antipædobaptism examined, in two vols." In this work the author professes, not only to give a full reply to Mr. Booth's Pædobaptism examined, which we noticed in our Register for 1784, but also to the arguments and objections of Dr. Stennet, in answer to Dr. Addington, to Dr. Gale's Reflections on Dr. Wall's History of Infant Baptism, and to other writers who have maintained the same side of the controversy. He likewise enters into an investigation of the nature of positive institutions in general, and occasions strictures on human ceremonies in matters of religion. Mr. Williams appears to have paid great attention to the subject which he engages to discuss, and to have suffered none of the former writers on the question, of any established fame,

to pass by without a close and particular examination. The scope which he prescribed to himself has necessarily rendered his work prolix; but it must be acknowledged, that he has in a great measure compensated for this evil, by the value of his matter, and that his argument is managed with great shrewdness and ability. The view of the question which Mr. Williams takes, is consistent with the Calvinistic doctrine.

"The Divine Economy of Christ in his Kingdom, or Church, as practised, taught, and ordained by himself, to continue according to Scripture alone, by George Bruning," appears to have been published in consequence of the resentment which the author has felt, on viewing the depredations committed by the bold innovators of the present day on the patrimony of St. Peter; and the rapid progress of opinions, which threaten, eventually, to deprive the head of the church of all power and dignity, excepting in *spiritualibus*. Alarmed for the honour and rights of the keeper of the keys, this writer, with the scriptures in his hands, undertakes to prove, that the authority conferred by our Saviour on St. Peter, was superior to what was granted to any other of the apostles; and that all invasions on the privileges or the property of his successors, are profane and sacrilegious. For the manner of his accommodating the scriptures to this doctrine, which is growing very unfashionable in the world, we must refer our readers to his publication.

Falkland's "Essay on Bigotry, Innovation, and Infidelity, as respectively supported by Doctors Burke, Priestley, and Toulmin," &c. is a publication, in perusing which we found ourselves alternately pleased, and dissatisfied; dis-

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posed to bestow a high share of commendation on the author, for the sound and incontrovertible arguments which he advances in support of an unlimited and universal extension of religious liberty, and obliged to censure him for his frequent inconsistency with his own principles, and for advancing sentiments and observations that savour strongly of the intolerance and bigotry against which he protests. While he laments that "the mind of many a Briton remains enslaved by inquisitorial decretals, scared by the obsolete penalties of a cruel code"; and expresses a hope that "even this generation may see the happy day, in which the hand of liberality will pull down the old partition wall which bigotry has erected in the face of christianity"; we applaud and sympathise with his liberal and philosophic spirit. But when we find him condemning the efforts of the men who would abolish that cruel code, and remove that partition wall, which belongs not to the building, and conceals its proportion and beauty; we are sorry that the author is no better acquainted with the principles, and that he would entirely destroy the value of that liberty of which he would be thought the advocate. We think the general principles of this essay better calculated to represent that spirit of cruelty and inhumanity, which bigotry too commonly excites in its votaries, than to emancipate the world from the tyranny of prejudice and superstition.

The "short Treatise in support of National Religion, &c. by a Gentleman of the Church of England," is the production of a mind very differently constituted from that of the last mentioned writer. He speaks of the unrestrained toleration of sectaries as a most "pernicious li-

berty;" and would inflict the wholesome severities of "fine, imprisonment, or bodily punishment, steadily and unremittingly," on every person who, by any means whatsoever, publishes opinions or suppositions contrary to those of the mother church. What an admirable auxiliary would this gentleman prove to the humane fathers of the inquisition, in practising their gentle methods of propagating the pure orthodox faith! We commend him to the pity of every charitable heart; and to the illumination of that divine religion, which was intended to promote among men mutual forbearance, and the interchange of the mildest and most benevolent affections, and which uniformly protests against every species of despotism over conscience, by whomsoever, and under whatsoever pretences it may be assumed.

Of a very different and opposite complexion is "An Essay on Ecclesiastical Establishments in Religion, shewing their hurtful Tendency, &c. by a Protestant Dissenter." The intention of this author is to prove, that the connexion of the church with the state, by means of which one sect alone became exclusively established and patronized, has been the principal cause of the evils which have taken place in the world, on account of religion; that such establishments are inconsistent with reason, since they interfere with the unalienable rights of individuals to worship God, without suffering any injury or oppression on that account; that they are inconsistent with the genius of christianity, since they discourage that liberality and freedom of enquiry, which that religion not only recommends but enjoins on its followers; and since all the genuine and useful purposes of that religion, would be more completely

answered without such adventitious and ruinous support. Whatever be the opinion of his readers, relative to the principle for which the author contends, and his success in establishing it, they must acknowledge that he writes with calmness and good temper; and that many of the observations which occur, could not have proceeded but from a well-informed and liberal mind. To this essay are added two discourses, containing a comment on the 24th chapter of the book of Revelation, in which, as the author conceives, is predicted the destruction of all civil establishments of religion. How far he has been able to unravel the difficulties of that dark and mysterious book, we must leave his readers to determine.

The "Review of the Policy, Doctrines, and Morals of the Methodists," is the production of a sensible writer, and contains a number of important remarks, worthy of the notice of the people whom he undertakes to describe, as well as of readers in general. But we do not think him sufficiently informed in the history of methodism, nor sufficiently candid towards its professors. Disapproving as we do of the theological tenets of that people, and of the methods by which they have propagated them, we think, notwithstanding, that they have produced much more good than evil to society. Under this conviction, we adopt a part of the author's concluding reflection, but with greater confidence than he seems to profess in the result. "Providence may be employing this instrument for introducing more knowledge and virtue among men. If it should prove the means of directing the ignorant to serious enquiry, and rousing men of virtue and understanding to the defence and support

of genuine religion: if it should stimulate the ministers of religion to exert themselves in recommending the sublime doctrines and pure precepts of the Gospel, and in adorning them by the meekness, and innocence of their lives; this would be the way to rescue the ignorant and deluded from the hands of enthusiasts and impostors; and then Christianity would become a light to enlighten the Gentiles, the honour and ornament of human nature, and the glory of all its professors."

Dr. Priestley's "Letters to the Members of the New Jerusalem Church, formed by Baron Swedenborg," were written, in consequence of his attention being drawn to that persuasion, by the forming of a church, and the building of an elegant place of worship for them at Birmingham, as well as his acquaintance with the ministers and leading members of that church. With these persons the doctor lived in friendship; and was supplied by them with as many of the writings of Mr. Swedenborg, as he wished to see. These writings he read with much care; and the result was a determination to publish the letters before us. The doctor's object is, partly, to lay before the public a clear and accurate view of the distinguishing and peculiar tenets of that new sect; and, partly, to expose the incongruities in their system, and to conciliate them to unitarianism. To those who have a curiosity to know what are the opinions which are held by this "striking variety in the modes of Christian faith and practice," without undergoing the drudgery of reading the voluminous and heavy works of the baren, they will prove an acceptable present; and we think them well calculated, from the candid liberal manner in which they are



are written, to prevent those who will read and think for themselves, from becoming converts to his system.

The "Candid and impartial Reply to the Rev. Dr. Priestley's Letters, &c. by J. Proud, N. H. M." is the production of a shrewd and ingenious writer, and is penned with good temper and urbanity. This gentleman, who is the minister of the New Jerusalem Church at Birmingham, frankly acknowledges that Dr. Priestley has given a fair statement of the peculiar notions of the Swedenborgians, the objections to which he endeavours to do away, and to vindicate them both from reason and scripture. We do not think, however, that his attempt to remove the doctor's objections, will be thought successful by any who are not initiated in the *science of correspondences*, that inexplicable key to the scriptures, which was lost to the world till happily restored by the baron. Nor do we think his arguments likely to make converts, excepting among such as are possessed of minds sufficiently docile to believe implicitly in the inspiration of that modern apostle, on the ground of his own confident assertions, and of what the most subtle logician would be puzzled to make amount even to presumptive evidence.

"Emanuel Swedenborg's New Year's Gift, for the Year 1791," is intended to vindicate the writings of that author from a suspicion, entertained on mistaken grounds, that they were favourable to the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment. It also contains an account of some of the choice mysteries of Emanuel, which we are unable to comprehend; and an invitation to the enlightened "to separate themselves from all other

bodies of Christians, and form associations, here and there, in order to serve the Lord together in a manner more rational, as well as more agreeable to the fundamental doctrines of the true church."

The "Liturgy, compiled from the Book of Common Prayer, Reformed, according to the Plan of the late Dr. Samuel Clark, &c. printed at Plymouth," contains an order for morning prayer, and two orders for evening prayer; orders for the administration of the Lord's supper, for infant baptism, for that of adults, and for the burial of the dead; morning and evening prayers for a family; occasional payers; occasional thanksgivings; and a collection of psalms and hymns for public worship, taken, for the most part, from those of Dr. Watts, with alterations. In this liturgy, which is intended for the use of unitarian congregations, a number of judicious additions and alterations from Dr. Clarke's plan are introduced, which, in our opinion, add greatly to its value, while it is rendered more unexceptionable to persons holding different religious sentiments.

Of a similar character are the "Forms of Prayer, for public Worship," which, as the advertisement informs us, were compiled for the use of an evening lecture among the protestant dissenters in Portsmouth. In this volume, however, there is a greater variety than in that which we have just noticed. It contains five distinct orders for prayer; of which the first and second are taken from Dr. Clark's reformed liturgy, with a few alterations, and the other three from the liturgies published about thirty years ago, for the use of a protestant dissenting congregation in Liverpool. From the appearance of these

and similar publications, it is evident, that the aversion to liturgies, which formerly characterized almost all the dissenters from our established church, is rapidly declining. And the measure which numbers of them have adopted, of accommodating our public liturgy to their own sentiments, affords more than a presumption, that a judicious revival of our public service and doctrines, would greatly diminish the number of non-conformists. Both these circumstances certainly deserve the notice of the governors of our church; and they add considerable force to the reasoning in the excellent treatises entitled, "Hints, submitted to the serious Consideration of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, newly associated, by a Layman," and "Considerations on the Expediency of revising the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England, by a consistent Protestant;" of which we freely expressed our opinion, in this department of our Registers for the years 1789 and 1790.

Among the Sermons of the year 1791, we shall, in the first place, call the attention of our reader to such as are posthumous.

In this number we meet with a second volume of Sermons by the late rev. John Logan, F.R.S. Edin. The general character which we gave of the first volume of these discourses, in our Register for the last year, is, upon the whole, applicable to the volume before us. The subjects which have been selected, are miscellaneous, but chiefly practical; and are treated in a pleasing and popular manner. Some of them are of that species of composition which in the Scotch church are called lectures, and consist of explanations of connected portions of scripture, together with practical observations and reflections deduced from

them. Others appear to contain little more than outlines, which were filled up by the author in the course of his delivery.

The "Sermons now first printed from the Original Manuscripts of John Wallis, D. D. sometime Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II." have been published by a descendant of that celebrated and good man, who thought them too valuable to be buried in oblivion; and who imagines that they will be acceptable and useful to those who have no objection to discourses of a puritanical cast. The subjects of these sermons are chiefly practical; their style and language are plain and simple; and their doctrinal part is Calvinistic. That class of christians with whom the opinion of Mr. De Coetlogon is of any weight, are informed by him, in a recommendatory introduction to the volume, that "it is absurd and ignorant to deny, that the doctrines contained in them are the doctrines of the reformation of the church of England, and which is more than all, of the sacred scriptures." Prefixed to these sermons we have memoirs of the author, which appear to be authentic, and which are more particular and interesting than any before communicated to the public.

The two volumes of "Sermons on several Subjects, by John Pilkington Morgan, M. A. late Vicar of Hitchin, Herts, &c." are, on the whole, plain, practical, and useful. They were not, however, intended by the author for the press, but are a posthumous publication; the favourable reception of which by the public will be an act of benevolence towards the relations of the deceased.

Dr. Tatham's "Chart and Scale of Truth, by which to find the Cause of

of Error, &c. in two Volumes," belongs more properly to philosophy than to theology. The substance of these volumes, however, was delivered at the lecture founded by the Rev. John Bampton, under the name of divinity sermons, in order to be entitled to the sum left by that gentleman, to be annually distributed to such lecturers as shall be appointed by the heads of colleges in Oxford, to preach on particular subjects specified in his will. With the form of them, Dr. Tatham has taken a considerable liberty in this publication; which he thought himself justified in doing, as it appeared to be the best method of accomplishing the end he had in view. And notwithstanding that he is more voluminous than his predecessors, so prolific is his invention, and so ex-cursive his pen, that in these volumes he has only executed one third part of his intention. The plan of the author, in what he has already completed, is, "to trace the distinct and proper principles, to point out the right method of reasoning, and to mark that just assent, all corresponding with each other, which appertain to the different kinds of truth, as they severally relate to intellect, the will, and the imagination; and this for the express and special purpose of ascertaining the proper nature, the particular method, and the peculiar genius of theological truth." The first volume is chiefly scientific, and is divided into a number of heads and subdivisions, in which few readers will take any pleasure in accompanying the author, excepting such as have been accustomed to mathematical deduction. The object of it is, to combat the logic of Aristotle, and to exalt the fame of Bacon at the expence of the Stagirite. The second volume, which is more miscellaneous, treats of theological principle, and its effect

upon the mind; of theological reasoning, and theological truth. The minuter divisions, our limits will not permit us to specify. In this part of his work we meet with frequent opportunities of admiring Dr. Tatham's ingenuity and learning; although we are obliged more frequently to dissent from his principles, and to deprecate the consequences of the system which he would establish. In our opinion, it tends to destroy all connection between reason and religion, which must prove fatal to the interests of both; and instead of serving as a guide to our acquaintance with truth, is calculated "to thicken and confirm the clouds of ignorance and superstition, which continue to envelope the greater part of the Christian church." But we shall probably have it in our power to return to an examination of his principles, when more fully unfolded, and applied to the other parts which are intended to complete the author's plan. In the course of his lectures, Dr. Tatham finds opportunity to express the contempt in which he holds the learning of the dissenting ministers, "that formal and pompous class of men;" and to treat the abilities of the late bishop Lowth, as displayed in his *Prælectiones de sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, in a manner rather unbecoming the rank which has been generally assigned him in the learned world.

Mr. Kett's "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1790, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton," are intended to support the orthodox system of doctrine maintained by our established church, against the insinuations, or direct attacks, of Dr. Middleton, Mr. Gibbon, and Dr. Priestley. His labours commence with an apology for the fathers of the church, whose

character, as historians, as learned men, and as faithful depositaries of the true doctrine of the gospel, he defends with great zeal and animation. Miraculous powers, he contends, were exercised in the church, till the reign of the emperor Julian. In opposition to the animadversions of Mr. Gibbon, he vindicates the apologies of the primitive Christians, and corrects the misrepresentations which that gentleman had given of the causes which contributed to the propagation of the Christian faith. Mr. Kett afterwards undertakes to discuss and refute the leading principles in Dr. Priestly's History of the early opinions concerning Christ. The concluding sermons of the volume are employed in establishing the authenticity and inspiration of the books of the New Testament, and in tracing an analogy between the primitive church and the church of England, on which he bestows a warm and elegant eulogy. From the perusal of these sermons we have received a high degree of pleasure, although we have frequently found ourselves obliged to differ from the learned author, in his construction of the sense of ecclesiastical history, in his reasonings, and in his deductions. We think him, however, entitled to very respectful attention, from the unquestionable marks of learning and ingenuity which he discovers; which are likewise recommended by great perspicuity, manliness, and elegance of style.

Mr. Morres's "eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1791," at the Bampton lecture, are principally employed in tracing the evidence of divine revelation. These he examines, as consisting in the complete proof which is afforded of the authenticity and authority of the scrip-

tures, as far as it depends on human testimony; the nature and value of their internal testimony, as far as it is necessary or expedient to consider that as a criterion of truth; the reasonableness of the doctrine, the morality, and the economy of the gospel; and the necessity of the Christian faith, and its sanctions, to our religion, and to our morality. On these topics, which have at different times employed the pens of many of our ablest writers, Mr. Morres has not introduced any thing which can give him a claim to originality of thought, or to superiority in argument, over his predecessors. The other subjects which he discusses are, religious establishments, heresy, and the application of the general doctrine of his sermons to the present times. What he has said on these subjects shews, at least, that he is not inferior in zeal to any of the champions of our national church. For he contends, under apprehension of the mischiefs which would follow from the slightest innovations or attempts to examine what he acknowledges was left imperfect at the Reformation, "that the liturgy and discipline of the church of England must be complied with, notwithstanding all imperfections and improprieties, if nothing positively wicked can be discovered; which is not the case." As compositions, these sermons do not possess any distinguishing merit.

Dr. Parker's two volumes of "Discourses on special Subjects, preached before the University of Oxford, and upon other Occasions," are to be announced as a republication, and not as a new work; since they contain only a collection of such discourses as the doctor had before printed, and concerning which the public opinion has already been formed.

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The two volumes of "Sermons, by the Rev. Geo. Butt, A. M. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, &c." after being preached in the Chapel Royal, are offered by the author as candidates for the approbation of the public. The subjects of them are, "Consideration, Faith, Repentance, Love to God and Man, the Beatitudes, and the Importance of early religious Instruction; to which is added, a Discourse delivered during the Late Indisposition of the King." It is but justice to say, that Mr. Butt has discovered in these sermons, considerable abilities and application. His sentiments are often striking, and his language bold and energetic. But he frequently betrays a bad taste in his choice of words; and introduces false ornaments into his composition, which destroy its chasteness and perspicuity. These volumes are recommended by a very respectable list of subscribers.

The "Sermons on moral and religious Subjects, by Will. Jones, M. A. F. R. S. in two volumes." are, chiefly, of a practical and useful tendency; and seem to have been dictated by a truly pious and benevolent spirit. They are not, however, to be commended for any great depth of thought, or closeness of reasoning. Neither do such of them as are intended to display the goodness of God, from those wonders which an acquaintance with natural history unfolds, discover any accurate knowledge of true principles in philosophy. The author is, likewise, so fond of allegory, and spiritual allusions, that plain and common readers will not easily understand many of his remarks and illustrations.

"Caustoniana, or twelve Discourses, addressed to the Inhabitants of the Parish of Causton, in Norfolk, by Thomas Bowman, M. A." ap-

pear to be the productions of a pious, orthodox clergyman, who is not willing that his services to those over whom he has watched for twenty years, should be confined to his labours in the pulpit; and, therefore, with a disinterested zeal for their best interests, offers them this little volume. The design is truly commendable; and will, doubtless, meet with acceptance from those who have been edified by Mr. Bowman's discharge of his pastoral duties.

Mr. Percival Stockdale's "Thirteen Sermons to Seamen, preached on Board of his Majesty's Ship *Leander*, in the Bay of Gibraltar," are chiefly on practical and moral subjects, within the comprehension of the audience to whom they were delivered. They abound in pure and just sentiments, judicious remarks, and serious pathetic address. Occasionally the author is guilty of a redundancy of style, and affected phraseology, which could not have rendered his meaning very intelligible to his hearers. And he has, in his preface, introduced severe and uncandid reflections on modern reformers, which might have been omitted, without leaving any room for suspecting his own orthodoxy.

The merit of the publication, entitled, "Family Lectures, or Domestic Divinity," consists in its comprehending, in one large volume, at a reasonable price, a great number of sermons, by different authors of the present century, who have acquired an established reputation as sound divines, and as able judicious writers. The following is the list of their names: Atterbury, Newlin, Sherlock, Butler, Balguy, Fothergill, Tottie, Newton, Ashton, Horberry, Waterland, Stone, Langhorne, Gerard, and Stebbing.

The volume of "Sermons on prac-

practical Subjects, by Andrew Kippis, D. D. F. R. S., &c." is the production of an author, who hath sufficiently established his reputation in the literary world, by different valuable publications. These discourses were not sent abroad to increase his fame, or to rival the popular labours of his contemporaries; but were selected from his usual pulpit compositions, in compliance with the desire of several of his congregation, who had frequently urged him to present them with such a specimen of his services, as their pastor. The subjects which they discuss are important and edifying; and the manner in which the author has treated them, will be acceptable to every well-wisher to the interests of piety and virtue, whatever his own peculiar opinions may be. As compositions, they are regular, argumentative, and impressive; and clothed in perspicuous, easy, and often elegant language.

The "Sermons by Robert Walker, senior Minister of Canongate, Edinburgh, and F.R.S. Edinburgh," are chiefly on practical subjects, and contain a number of just and important sentiments, and seasonable truths, which are particularly deserving the notice and recommendation of those who would guard the rising generation against the scepticism and immorality of the fashionable world. The style in which they are written, is such as is best adapted to popular discourses; perspicuous, easy, and often animated. When theological opinions are introduced by the author, they are such as are conformable to the creed of the Scotch national church.

The "Sermons preached before the University of Glasgow, &c. by James Bell, D. D." are the productions of a sensible and judicious author, and will be found highly in-

structive and useful. They abound much in striking and well-drawn delineations of character, and discover an intimate acquaintance with men and manners. Their style, with the exception of a few Scotticisms, is chaste, clear, and nervous. With respect to controversial theology, Dr. Bell has wisely avoided intermixing its dogmas with his moral and practical reasonings, which are adapted to benefit persons of the most discordant opinions.

The "Sermons on the Heart, by John Jameson, M. A. in two Volumes," will be principally acceptable to those who are familiar with the paraphraseology of the puritanical writers, and who have imbibed the tenets of systematic Calvinism. With peculiar recommendations to such readers, Mr. Jameson discovers, likewise, abilities much above mediocrity, and a serious devotional spirit, which every person must admire and commend.

"Parental Duty, or the religious Education of Children illustrated and urged, in several Discourses, by the Rev. George Jerment," is a publication which contains much serious and useful advice to parents, delivered in plain and unaffected language. What we chiefly find in them to commend is, the stress which the pious author seems to lay on peculiar opinions in theology, and the zeal with which he urges the early initiation of youth into the trammels of system.

Turner's "Expositions of some of the most highly picturesque and interesting Passages of Scripture, &c." although they are not published under the name of Sermons, cannot be properly referred to any other class of composition. The subjects of them are, Abraham offering up Isaac; the case of Jacob, under the apprehension of an attack from his brother;

brother Esau ; Joseph making himself known to his brethren ; the Jewish and Christian churches contrasted ; the parable of the sower ; the parable of the prodigal ; the rich man and Lazarus ; and the story of Zacheus. We cannot say that we have met with any thing in these expositions, which entitle them to much commendation. They are written in a familiar and declamatory manner ; and are, in general, of a practical and useful tendency. But we cannot approve of the frequency with which the author indulges to fanciful and mystical interpretations, which instead of elucidating historical narrative, and the lessons which it is intended to enforce, endangers the rendering of them confused, perplexing, and of little advantage to the reader.

Among the single sermons and episcopal charges of the year 1791, of which our limits will permit us to take notice, the first which we shall introduce to our readers is, "a Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, on Monday, Jan. 3. 1791, by William, Lord Bishop of Chester." In this discourse, after expatiating on the design of Christianity to strengthen and support law and government, and insisting on the peculiar force which our ecclesiastical establishment adds to the civil constitution of this country, and contending that they cannot be separated without the ruin of both, the learned prelate enters the lists against the political and ecclesiastical reformers of the age. To whatever suspicions, among good churchmen, some particular members of the episcopal bench may have exposed themselves, by the liberality of their discourses on the 30th of January, and their favourable disposition towards sectaries,

Dr. Cleaver has left no room to doubt his principles. Against the fashionable doctrine of the Rights of Man, he erects the banners of hostility. The French revolution he characterises as "an humiliating spectacle of above twenty millions of people, melted, as it were, into a shapeless mass, and waiting till providence shall determine their fate." Against innovation, whatever form of moderation it may affect, he zealously protests, when it approaches the fences which our ancestors have drawn round church and state. He even goes so far against every species of reform, as to assert, that the establishment of the church must fall with the liturgy. And he draws a melancholy picture of the consequences to be expected from the spread of Socinianism, which, in his opinion, opposes the doctrines which "comprise nearly all that can interest the hopes and fears, and therefore all that can influence the practice of a Christian." How far the right Rev. preacher's principles and statements are consistent with the true spirit of the British constitution, with fact, right reason, and Christian charity, our readers will determine for themselves.

"The Charge of Samuel, Lord Bishop of St. David's, to the Clergy of his Diocese, delivered at his primary Visitation, in the Year 1790," is the next article which we shall present to our readers. The principal object of the author is, to convince the clergy of the impropriety of fixing on moral duties, as the favourite and almost exclusive subjects of their pulpit discourses ; and to engage them chiefly to insist on the great topics of faith, the peculiar doctrines of Revelation, such as "the trinity of persons in the undivided godhead, the incarnation of the second person, the expiation of sin by the Redeem-

Redeemer's sufferings and death, the efficacy of his intercession, and the mysterious commerce of the believer's soul with the divine spirit." The effect which he encourages them to hope for, from complying with his advice, is, that the common people, "nourished with the sincere milk of the word, by their proper pastors, would refuse a drink of doubtful quality, mingled by a stranger; the churches would be thronged, while the moralizing unitarian would be left to read his dull weekly lecture, to the walls of his deserted conventicle; and the field-preacher would bellow unregarded to the wilderness." We have seldom met with a composition more reprehensible for some of its singular and irrational opinions, or more illiberal and intolerant in its spirit and tendency, than this Charge of Dr. Horsley. The use of reason in religion he utterly explodes. In his zeal for revelation, he speaks of the insignificance of natural religion, which is its basis; and makes morality the same as social virtue, which is only a branch of it. But the haughty intolerant spirit which this Charge breathes, is peculiarly disgraceful to his character as a christian bishop; as is the gross personal obloquy which he pours on some of the principal of his theological opponents, whom he associates with infidels and atheists. How could Dr. Horsley prepare himself for, and engage in, the discharge of one of the most solemn duties of his office; with a temper so dissimilar from the humble, mild, charitable spirit of the gospel?

Of a very different nature from Dr. Horsley's, is the "Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Landaff, June 1791, by Richard Watson, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bishop of Landaff." This excellent dis-

course, instead of irritating the minds of its readers, and exciting a spirit of bigotry and intolerance, is admirably calculated to promote that candour, christian benevolence, and liberal views of religion and policy, which have ever distinguished the good prelate's character, and which are peculiarly honourable to the rank he holds in the church. The sentiments which he expresses respecting the French revolution, and the changes which it has introduced in civil and ecclesiastical matters, are such as must have been dictated by an enlarged, well-informed mind, and a genuine love of freedom. So likewise must his direct and explicit disapprobation of the penal statutes and restraining laws of this country, which render our toleration incomplete, and exclude dissenters from the common rights of citizens. But that his opinions may not be mistaken, or misrepresented, his lordship takes the opportunity of avowing that, with the most liberal sentiments towards those who are of a different persuasion, his predilections are in favour of the establishment of which he is a member; that on serious and well considered grounds, he prefers prelacy to presbytery, the use of a liturgy to extempore prayers, and a legal payment to a gratuitous support of the clergy. He, however, execrates that bigotry which many of its members possess, which, claiming a blind and implicit reverence, reprobates discussion, and would oppose everlasting barriers against becoming and necessary improvement. We recommend this Charge to our readers, for the good sense, important observations, and truly conciliating Christian spirit by which it is distinguished; and on account of its being peculiarly seasonable at this very interesting period,

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The last single sermon of which we can take any notice, is entitled "The proper Objects of Education in the present State of the World, represented in a Discourse delivered on the 27th of April, 1791, at the Meeting-House in the old Jewry, London, to the Supporters of the New College at Hackney, by Joseph Priestley, L. L. D. F. R. S, &c." This discourse will be found to contain numerous evidences of the author's strength and comprehensiveness of mind, and of his usual boldness and freedom in discussion, as well as a variety of observations worthy the attention of those who wish for the improvement of the human species. What the doctor recommends, as principally deserving the notice of the instructors of youth, at the present period, when "we must be at the eve of great revolutions, such as will rouse the faculties and call forth the exertion of great numbers," are the forming them for the proper discharge of their duty, as members of domestic and civil society, and leading them to an interested attention to general truth, general liberty, and general happiness. On these topics he expatiates in a manner peculiarly suited to the business of the day, and in correct, nervous, and animated language. Many of his incidental reflections, likewise, are very important and interesting; particularly those to which he is led when contemplating the progress of reformation in the religious as well as civil state of society, to which an accelerated force is communicating by the general diffusion of "knowledge that finally governs mankind; and to which power, though ever so refractory, must at length yield."

Under the head of Philosophy, the first work which claims our no-

tice is "The History of Philosophy, from the earliest Times to the Beginning of the present Century, drawn up from Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, by William Enfield, L. L. D. in 2 vols. 4to." This work is a valuable acquisition to the British student. It contains the substance of a voluminous publication, in six closely-printed 4to vols. which Dr. Enfield properly calls "a vast magazine of important facts, collected with indefatigable industry, digested with admirable perspicuity of method, and written with every appearance of candour and impartiality." Stanley's History of Philosophy was the only one which, before this publication, seemed to promise much assistance to those who were desirous of taking a general survey of the rise and progress of opinions, on the more important subjects of speculation, and of drawing conclusions for themselves, from a fair comparison of different systems. The plan of that work, however, extends little farther than to the history of the Grecian sects; and the author is to be considered rather as an industrious compiler, than a judicious critic. The present history is divided into three periods. The first period, which is extended from the earliest times to the decline of the Roman republic, comprehends the Barbaric philosophy, including that of all ancient nations among whom the Greek language was not spoken; and the Grecian philosophy, as divided into the fabulous, political, and sectarian. The second period, from the decline of the republic to the revival of letters, comprehends the philosophy of the Romans; the oriental philosophy; the philosophy of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, under which is included the philosophy of the Saracens or Ara-

Arabians; and the philosophy of the Christians, from the birth of Christ to the seventh century. The third period, extending from the revival of letters to the beginning of the present century, contains the history of attempts to restore and correct the sectarian philosophy, for which we are indebted to the restoration of learning, and particularly to the revival of the study of the Greek language; of attempts to introduce new methods of philosophising, by modern sceptics, scriptural philosophers, theosophists, and professed enemies of philosophy; and of attempts to improve philosophy in general, or particular branches of it, in the true eclectic method. From this short account our readers may be able to form a general idea of the information and entertainment they may expect to derive from the work before us. Dr. Enfield's labours, in compressing the original, in selecting the most interesting materials, and in giving a faithful representation of its genuine sense and meaning, entitle him to a considerable share of praise. It was a difficult task which he undertook: and he has executed it in such a manner as will, doubtless, secure to his work a favourable reception in the literary world. In the arrangement, in the style, and in the language, his judgment and taste are equally conspicuous.

The next article which we have to introduce to our readers is, "The Philosophy of ancient Greece investigated, in its Origin and Progress, to the Æras of its greatest Celebrity, in the Ionian, Italic, and Athenian Schools, with Remarks on the delineated Systems of their Founders, &c. by Walter Anderson, D. D." Dr. Anderson, after bestowing due encomiums on Mr. Stanley's work, to whose extensive researches he ac-

knowledges himself considerably indebted, sets out with observing, that the deficiencies of that author, in information respecting the first and early traces of literature and philosophy among the Greeks, and in confutations of such principles and tenets as are of impious or immoral tendency, were the principal circumstances that engaged him to publish this volume. His object, therefore, is to correct such faulty omissions; to give place "to remarks upon the reasoning employed by the most eminent of the Grecian philosophers, in support of their *physical, theological, and moral* systems; to give a fuller and more connected display of their theories and arguments; and to relieve the frigidity of their bare details, by interpersing observations." This work is divided into nine parts, which treat, 1. Of the appearance and character of the seven sages of Greece. 2. Of Pythagoras, and his institution of the Italic school. 3. Of the atomical philosophy, and the Sophists. 4. Of Socrates, Aristippus, the Cyrenaics, and the Cynics. 5. Of Plato, and his successors in the academy. 6. Of Aristotle, and his successors in the Lycæum. 7. Of Arcefilas, and the middle academy. 8. Of Epicurus, and his school. 9. Of Zeno, and the Stocis. Dr. Anderson appears to be possessed of a sufficient stock of erudition, and metaphysical acuteness, to have qualified him for the undertaking in which he engaged; and his account of the different Grecian schools, and of their theories and reasonings, is accurate and perspicuous. It is not, however, recommended by equal graces of style and language with the last publication which we noticed.

The "Notes and Additions to Dr. Hartley's Observations on *Mind*," by

by Herman Andrew Pistorius, translated from the German Original, &c." constitute a third volume of a new edition of that celebrated work. The character which Dr. Hartley's system bears in the philosophical world, is sufficiently known to our readers, as well as the extensive and rapid spread of his doctrine. These notes of Pistorius contain much accurate and judicious reasoning, in illustration of what is rather obscure in the original work; and shew, that, like Dr. Hartley, he has united to an acquaintance with philosophy, an intimate knowledge of theology and morals. And they are distinguished, not only by great metaphysical acuteness and ingenuity, but by abundant evidences of an enlarged, liberal, and pious mind. To this volume is prefixed a short and well-written sketch of Dr. Hartley's life and character, by his son, David Hartley, esq.

The treatise intitled, "The Freedom of Human Actions explained and vindicated, in which the Opinions of Dr. Priestley on the Subject are particularly considered," is the publication of an author, who does not consider the question to have been discussed with sufficient precision, by modern metaphysicians; and who imagines that he is able to throw that light upon it, which will completely overturn the arguments of the Necessitarians, and firmly establish the doctrine of liberty. We cannot say that he is the most accurate and profound metaphysician, who has undertaken to contest the doctrine of philosophical necessity; nor is there any thing sufficiently novel in his reasonings, to call for a particular reply from the defenders of that doctrine.

"The Nature, Extent, and Province of human Reason considered," is intended to oppose the objection which is frequently urged against

particular theological tenets, that they are contrary to reason, and therefore cannot be founded in truth. The definition which is given of reason, in this work, is not precise and determinate. It is sometimes confounded with comprehension, and sometimes with judgment. Such an indiscriminate use of the term, leads, as may be supposed, to reasonings that are not always correct, and to conclusions not strictly logical. This observation will meet with the concurrence of such readers of this treatise, as may differ essentially with respect to the principle which it is meant to establish.

Among the different treatises of the year on subjects relative to Government, Political Economy, and Law, the first which attracts our notice is, the "Analysis of the Science of Legislation, from the Italian of the Chevalier Filangieri." This treatise contains only the prospectus of a larger work, which was published in part during the author's life-time, and the remainder from materials which were left by him in proper arrangement. The plan of the chevalier, which has employed his time and attention for several years, is divided into seven books, under the following heads: 1. The general rules of legislative science. 2. Laws political and economical. 3. Criminal laws. 4. Education, manners, and public instruction. 5. Laws which respect religion. 6. Laws which respect property. 7. Laws relating to paternal authority, and the good order of families. The reception which this work has met with in Italy, is highly honourable to the character of the author, as a writer on subjects of legislation; and affords striking testimony to the progress which freedom of enquiry, and liberality of sentiment, are

are making in countries not yet emancipated from the yoke of despotism. And the author's diligence of investigation, accuracy of judgment, and bold spirit of enquiry, have contributed to render it a work of peculiar merit, which deserves the attention and encouragement of every friend to the liberties and happiness of mankind. We hope that the translator of this analysis, who appears to be well qualified for such a task, will be encouraged to proceed in laying before us, in our native tongue, the whole of the *Chevalier Filangieri's* valuable work. We perfectly concur with him in opinion, "that the liberal and manly style adopted by this writer, in exposing the numerous errors which disgrace our present systems of jurisprudence; the sagacity which seems to have pointed out remedies necessary to be applied to those errors; the enthusiasm of liberty, and the amiable spirit of philanthropy which pervade his whole theory, not to mention the prophetic effusions which animate many passages of his work, will render a translation, executed with fidelity, by no means unacceptable to an English reader."

"The *Hedaya*, or Guide, a Commentary on the Mussulman Laws, translated by Order of the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, by Charles Hamilton," in 4 vols. 4to," is a work which may be considered as a very valuable addition to English literature. It includes in it a complete system of Mussulman jurisprudence. In the words of the translator, "the *Hedaya* is an extract from a number of the most approved works of the early writers on jurisprudence, digested into something like the form of a regular treatise, although in point of arrangement it is rather desultory. It pos-

sesses the singular advantage of combining with the authorities, the different opinions and explications of the principal commentators on all disputed points, together with the reasons for preserving any one adjudication in particular; by which means the principles of the laws are fully disclosed, and we have not only the dictum, but the most ample explication of it." Our limits will not permit us to enter into a more particular specification of the contents of these volumes, which are divided into fifty-three chapters. From this account, however, and from the consideration of the intimate connexion of our own country with the numerous governments whose conduct is regulated by these laws, our readers will expect to find it a singularly important and interesting publication. And we can assure them that they will not be disappointed. To the legislator, to the historian, and to the curious inquisitive scholar, they will afford much information and entertainment.

The essays "on Government, addressed to the Public, by Thomas Wycliffe," consist, partly, of treatises on government, with a particular reference to the situation and constitution of this country, which have already been submitted to the public, in detached forms; and, partly, of additional essays, in continuation of the author's plan. The subjects of the latter are, the art of civil government according to St. Paul; a plan for emancipating the negroes in the West Indies from slavery, and thereby eventually abolishing the slave-trade; charters; the liturgy of the church of England; a supposed scale of rank in the state, for the purpose of raising a voluntary revenue, either for the particular service of the church, or for the general service

vice of the state; and taxes, and the expenditure of the public money. The author of these essays appears to be actuated by pure motives of patriotism; and many of his observations are such as will meet with the approbation of the friends to improvement, and to human nature. Some parts of his plans may be deemed too eccentric; and others inadequate to the rational objects which he has in view. They are, however, deserving of an attentive and candid examination.

"The great and important Discovery of the Eighteenth Century, and the Means of setting right the National Affairs, by a great addition of numerous and inestimable useful Designs, and Public Improvements, &c. by George Edwards, esq. M.D." was written in continuation of the plans recommended by him in the "Royal and Constitutional Regeneration of Great Britain," and "the Practical Means of effectually exonerating the Public Burthens," which were noticed by us in our Register for the last year. It contains sufficient evidence of the author's patriotism and public spirit, and of his persevering industry in calling the attention of his countrymen to objects, with which he thinks their prosperity and happiness are connected. This tribute of praise, at least, will be allowed to the doctor, by those who may not be sanguine with respect to the practicability or expediency of the means which he recommends. To the present volume are added addresses to the several classes of society, pointing out the measures which they ought to pursue as their respective duties, in redressing public affairs.

The "Account of the Origin, Proceedings, and Intention of the Society for Promotion of Industry, in the Southern District of the Parts of Lindsey, in the County of Lin-

coln, &c." affords a convincing proof of the benefit which would result to the community, from a regular and systematic attention in the higher and middle classes, to encourage a spirit of industry among the poor. This society was formed with a view to concur with, and support a number of regulations which had been adopted by the magistrates of the southern district, at one of their meetings at the quarter session, and which they had agreed to pursue in their management of the poor. Of these the following were the principal: that the overseer should purchase stock, and materials, and provide proper and convenient places in which the poor might work; that no relief should be granted in money, till the person asking it had done such work, as he or she was capable of; and that all the poor children within their district, excepting in cases of sickness, should be taught to knit before they were six, and to spin before they were nine years old. That these regulations might prove the more efficacious, the society determined on offering various rewards for the encouragement of infant industry. In their account which is here presented to the public, we have a pleasing picture of the success which has attended their laudable and benevolent exertions; as well as a number of observations which may afford useful hints to the political economist. It would give us real pleasure to learn, that the example of this part of the county of Lincoln were followed in many other parts of the kingdom.

The "Account of the Shrewsbury House of Industry, its Establishment and Regulations, with Hints to those who may have similar Intentions in View, by J. Wood," gives us another pleasing proof of what may be effected by a persever-

ing public spirit, both in improving the condition of the lower orders of society, and lightening the insufferable burthen of taxes imposed by our present imperfect poor laws. Whether the forming associations of parishes, similar with that which has taken place at Shrewsbury, be, all circumstances considered, the best and most desirable mode of accomplishing those objects, is a matter about which the general opinion is very much divided. But if not the best practicable, it possesses great and unquestionable advantages over the manner in which the management of the poor is at present conducted in most of the parishes in the kingdom.

Mr Lucas's "Impartial Enquiry into the present State of Parochial Registers, Charitable Funds, Taxation, and Parish Rates," contains the sentiments of a judicious and well informed mind, on subjects which have for a long time excited the observation and complaints of the thinking part of the community. The expediency of introducing a general reform is sufficiently shewn by him; and many improvements are suggested, which would be attended with considerable public benefit.

The treatise entitled "Wool encouraged without Exportation, or practical Observations on Wool and the Woollen Manufacture, &c. by a Wiltshire Clothier, F. A. S." is the work of an acute and sensible writer, who to twenty-five years experience has united a considerable share of reading on the subject which employs his pen. This pamphlet is divided into two parts. The first part contains strictures on the Appendix, No. 4. to a report made by a committee of the Highland Society, on the subject of Shetland wool. In these strictures, the accuracy of Dr. Anderson's Historical Deductions

is questioned; and the author, with some degree of acrimony, endeavours to vindicate the conduct of the manufacturers of wool, against the charges implied in the doctor's remarks. The second part, which consists of a brief history of wool, and the nature of the woollen manufacture, as connected with it, contains also, a number of miscellaneous observations worthy the attention of those who are desirous of improving the condition of our staple commodity. Without undertaking to determine between Dr. Anderson and the author of this publication, we cannot but rejoice, that a subject so very important and interesting to this kingdom, is likely to meet with repeated discussion by men of speculation, and by men of experience. However contradictory their opinions may be, and however different their conclusions from facts to which both sides may make their appeal, their collision will prove the means of exciting public notice, and of diffusing, more generally, useful hints and information.

Mr. Nichols's "Observations on the Propagation and Management of Oak Trees in general, but more immediately applying to his Majesty's New Forest, in Hampshire &c." in a letter addressed to the earl of Chatham, first lord commissioner of the admiralty, contain a variety of authentic and interesting information, on a subject intimately connected with the prosperity and security of the kingdom. Beside pointing out a number of existing evils, of the most serious tendency, in the management of those tracts of land which are designed to produce timber for the use of the navy, he offers to the public, much judicious advice, and important remarks, the result of experiment and observation for more than thirty years, to which they

they cannot pay too particular or too early attention. Mr. Nichols seems to have published these observations, which are written with great openness, and plainness, from very disinterested and patriotic motives.

The Representation of the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade, and Foreign Plantations, upon the present State of the Laws for regulating the Importation and Exportation of Corn, which we announced in our Register for the last year; and the bill brought into parliament on the ground of that representation, have excited the animadversions of some able writers in political œconomy.

Among others, Lord Sheffield, in his "Observations on the Corn-Bill, &c." offers a variety of forcible arguments against several parts of the principle of that bill. In particular, he is decisive against the system of establishing warehouses for foreign corn, which, he thinks, must place the farmer at the mercy of the merchant, and eventually produce that scarcity which it is intended to prevent.

The same, and other strong objections are supported by sir John Sinclair Bart. in an "Address to the Landed Interest on the Corn Bill, &c." who treats the supposed inability of this country to support itself with grain, as a dangerous absurdity, which a proper regulation of the bounties on exportation would effectually cure. Among other encouragements to agriculture, he warmly recommends bounties on the transportation of grain from one district of this island to another. This plan he considers to be founded not only on policy but justice; as the whole kingdom would thus be put upon the same footing, and some districts be furnished with a constant

market for their commodities, and others with a regular supply of food. By adopting such a system, which under proper regulations could not occasion any very considerable expence, not only the agriculture, but the navigation of the country would be promoted.

The "Considerations on the Opinion stated by the Lords Committee of Council, &c. by William Mitford, esq." are on the same side of the question with the two last mentioned publications. Among other evils of which he complains, as detrimental to agriculture, are the exaction of tithes, which he calls the most oppressive and impolitic of all taxes, the attaching the poor to their parochial settlements, and the encouragement offered by the legislature for the growth of hemp, than which, he says, no other object interferes more with the growth of corn.

The "Considerations on the Corn Laws, with Remarks on the Observations of Lord Sheffield on the Corn Bill, &c." embrace opposite opinions, from the publications just mentioned, and with great ingenuity support the statement of the lords of the privy council, and the principles of the corn bill. The author of these Considerations, as well as his opponents, has paid a close attention to his subject, and possesses considerable commercial and agricultural knowledge.

They who have been interested in the endeavours made at different times to establish an equalization of the weights and measures of Great Britain, will consider themselves obliged to the editor of "A Plan for Introducing an Uniformity of Weights and Measures within the Limits of the British Empire, by the late sir James Stewart, bart. Author of the Political Economy; published from the original Manuscript,

script, by his son, sir J. Steuart, bart." This treatise was written more than thirty years ago, when Mr. Bird's plan engaged the attention of the legislature. It displays an intimate acquaintance with the subject on which the author treats; and offers many remarks and observations worthy the attention of those who are engaged in similar pursuits. The particulars of his plan our limits will not permit us to lay before our readers.

The "Tracts on Weights, Measures, and Coins, &c. by George Skene Keith, M. A." likewise, contain satisfactory evidence of the author's ingenuity and abilities; and of the laborious industry with which he has applied himself to investigate the subjects mentioned in his title-page. In many respects he differs from preceding writers; and particularly from Mr. Whitehurst, to whose plan he offers several objections. Whoever shall prove the fortunate man whose system shall abide the test of repeated and accurate experiment, and meet with general acceptance, we consider the public to be much indebted to every gentleman who devotes his abilities and time to subjects of such great importance and utility.

The author of "An Enquiry into the Legality of Capital Punishments, in a Letter to Lord Thurlow," in order to shew that there exists no right in any government to inflict capital punishments, enters into a discussion of the following points: Does the sovereign possess any power that has not been delegated to him by society? Does society, as an aggregate body, possess any rights which had not previously appertained to the individuals who compose it? Did individuals ever possess the right of abridging the duration of their own lives? In reading this

sensible and elegant little treatise, we were frequently led to admire the ingenuity and acuteness of the author, although we could not always admit of the correctness of his reasoning, or allow his conclusions.

The "Treatise on Civil Imprisonment in England, with the History of its Progress, and Objections to its Policy, &c. by Thomas Macdonald, esq. Barrister at Law," is a publication in which the author has displayed great labour and accuracy in investigating a difficult and important subject; and in suggesting alterations and amendments in those laws which respect the interests of creditors, and the punishment or protection of debtors. Mr. Macdonald's reasoning, which is delivered in elegant and forcible language, will meet with the approbation of the well-wishers to the attempts which have been lately making, to meliorate that part of our civil code which enjoins imprisonment for debt, and to render it more conformable with the interests of true policy, and humanity.

The "New, Candid, and Practical Thoughts on the Law of Imprisonment for Debt, with a View to the Regulation of it," contend for the same humane and liberal alterations of our laws, with the last mentioned publication. The author of them, likewise, suggests many judicious observations on the proper methods of preventing and punishing frauds, of maintaining credit, and for the better and more speedy satisfaction of creditors.

The "Treatise upon the Laws of England now in force for the recovery of Debts, &c. by John Prujean, esq." points out many abuses in the laws as they now exist; and offers a plan for more speedy and equitable justice to creditors, and to debtors, which, the author informs us, was



suggested to him by the municipal regulations of a town on the continent, which experience has shewn to be productive of the greatest advantages.

The "Considerations on the respective Rights of Judge and Jury, particularly upon Trials for Libel, by John Bowles, esq. Barrister at Law," are intended to support the doctrine, that in the case of libels, the jury have no right to determine with respect both to the law and to the fact; that they have only a jurisdiction over the latter, while the former belongs exclusively to the judge. Notwithstanding that this doctrine, has been too fashionable in our courts of law, we conceive it to be highly unconstitutional and dangerous. And we are happy that, as these pages are committing to the press, the legislature of our country has determined it to be so, by passing a bill which clearly ascertains the rights of juries, and puts an end for ever to that legal quibbling which has so frequently proved injurious to the liberty of the subject, and which threatened gradually, but effectually, to destroy that of the press.

The "Letter to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, occasioned by his late Motion in the House of Commons respecting Libels, &c." by the same author, expresses his serious apprehensions that if the bill above mentioned should pass into a law, the whole body of our criminal law will be endangered, and the most alarming consequences ensue. We do not consider Mr. Bowles to be fortunate in his reasoning; and doubt not but that he will soon have the pleasure of being convinced, that his fears were groundless and chimerical.

In the "Reflections on the Disjunction usually adopted in Criminal

Prosecutions for Libels, &c." Mr. A. Highmore, jun. attorney at law, with much ingenuity and success, attacks the positions laid down by Mr. Bowles, and supports the sound constitutional principle, that if a juror does not find any criminality in a publication stated to be libellous, he ought to acquit the defendant by means of the general verdict of, "not guilty."

The same side of the question is adopted in the "Considerations on the Matter of Libel, by John Leach, esq." who supports it with great ability, and offers some excellent observations on the policy of restraining the discussion of public subjects by government prosecutions. Free discussion, he very justly contends, is the best method of checking abuses; and instead of endangering, it will ever tend to secure the public tranquillity.

Among the publications in Law, more immediately intended for professional men, we find continuations of the following works: "Reports of Causes in the King's Bench, Part. IV. Vol. IV. by Dornford and East," and "the Practice of the Office of Pleas in the Court of Exchequer, by Philip Burton, esq. vol. II."

To these are to be added the following new publications: "a Digest of the Statute Law, by T. W. Williams, 2 Vols. Quarto." "the Law of Evidence, on an extended Plan, with some account of Baron Gilbert, by C. Lofft, Esq. 2 vols;" a "Collection of Cases, with opinions of Mr. Booth, and other eminent Council in Matters of Law, Equity, and Conveyancing, 2 Vols." "An Essay on the Law of Contingent Remainders, by C. Fearne, esq. Vol. I.;" "Report of Proceedings on controverted Elections, during the first Session of the seventeenth

Parliament, by S. Frazer, esq;” “An Essay on the Nature and Laws of Uses and Trusts, by F. W. Saunders, esq.” “A Law Grammar, or Introduction to English Jurisprudence;” “A Treatise on the Law of Awards, by S. Kydd, esq;” “A Digest of the Poor Laws, by S. Pritchard, Pt. I;” “Law of Bills of Exchange, by J. Blagrove;” “A Succinct Digest of the Laws relative to Bankrupts;” and “Proceedings in the Cause, the King against Amory and Monk, in 2 Vols.”

The following republications have also appeared during the year 1791, “Wood’s Body of Conveyancing, a new Edition, with great Improvements, by I. I. Powel, esq. Vol. II;” “Raymond’s Reports, a new Edition, by I. Bayley, in Three Vols;” “The Touchstone of Common Assurances, by W. Sheppard, a new Edition, by E. Hilliard;” and “Collectanea Juridica, Vol. I.” which is designed to be a repository for scarce and useful tracts relative to the laws and constitution of England.

Among the books of a mathematical kind which it falls within our province to enumerate, the first which we have to announce is, “A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture, &c. by sir William Chambers, K. P. S. &c. the third Edition, considerably augmented.” It will not be expected that we shall enter into a particular account of a work, which is so well known to the architect, and to the connoisseur, and on which the public approbation hath already been stamped. We thought it, however, improper to omit mentioning, that a new edition had appeared of a scientific performance, universally acknowledged to be of great utility; especially as the author, stimulated by a desire of rendering it still more worthy of public notice, has careful-

ly revised, and considerably augmented it; he does not presume to say improved it: but flatters himself the experience gained by thirty years very extensive practice, since the original publication, has enabled him to judge with some degree of certainty, at least, of what might be left out, be added, or altered to advantage.”

The “Collection of Papers on Naval Architecture, Pt. I.” was originally communicated to the public, through the channel of the European Magazine, and promises to be followed by a succession of treatises, which may eventually prove objects of considerable national benefit. What encourages us in this expectation is the circumstance, that a respectable society has been formed, under the patronage of many persons of rank and fortune, for the express purpose of improving “naval architecture in all its branches; extending their enquiries and improvements to vessels for navigation of every kind;” and who have already offered considerable premiums to encourage the attention of philosophers, mathematicians, and mechanics, to the object of their institution.” It was the patriotic spirit of Mr. Sewell, the publisher of these papers, which led the way to the institution of that Society, and he will be deservedly honoured by posterity, as its father.

The “Geometrical and Graphical Essays, containing a Description of the Mathematical Instruments used in Geometry, Civil and Military Surveying, Levelling, and Perspective; with many new Problems, Illustrative of each Branch, by G. Adams.” will be found an useful and valuable work to such students as have not the opportunity of consulting larger publications, on the different subjects mentioned in the title

title page. Many of his solutions of the geometrical problems, are superior to those generally met with ; and they are all easy and familiar. The explanatory plates, which are thirty two in number, are executed with neatness and accuracy.

The "Treatise on Universal Inland Navigations, and the Use of all sorts of Mines, &c. by Edmund Leach, Surveyor," is the production of a well-intentioned writer, who is not deficient in mechanical ingenuity ; and who offers many hints and observations, which, in more scientific hands, may be turned to useful purposes. His great object is, to recommend the substitution of inclined planes, and a machine, the construction of which he particularly describes, in the room of the locks made use of in navigable canals, and of the wheel and axle as they are at present employed by miners. Those who wish for a more particular explanation of his plan, we must refer to the author's treatise.

[The delay in the publication of the annual volume of the Philosophical Transactions, has protracted it beyond the year ; but, as various impediments have also occasioned some delay in the publication of this volume, we are still enabled to preserve an account of its contents ; and with these we are enabled to interweave some information, respecting the philosophical labours of the Irish academy. As M. de Luc's papers on hygrometry have been peculiarly distinguished by the reward of the Copley medal, we must consider them as the most important communication. M. de Luc has done much in this very laborious and intricate investigation, but much yet remains to be done. It is not ascertained what are the real hygrometrical affinities of different bo-

dies, whether these are always the same in the same body, or whether alterations, in the texture, do not occasionally influence the affinities. In short, the science is yet in its infancy, and we are glad that it has found so good a guardian. Another branch of meteorology, besides the usual registers, is attended to in the same volume ; and we must recommend the continuance of different observers or enquirers on this subject. We allude to Mr. Read's "Journal, chiefly relating to the Atmospheric Electricity." Various phenomena undoubtedly depend on it ; and our knowledge of the cause of the appearances, which we constantly see, is still limited. In the Manchester Memoirs, a work of some merit, which contains a few philosophical papers, we find a description of a common meteorological phenomenon, a parhelion ; and two others are described by Dr. Usher, in the Irish Transactions, appearances which will probably be found to be at least greatly influenced by the atmospherical electricity. In this branch of science, there are some new experiments by Mr. Bennet, published separately, which appeared in a former volume of the Philosophical Transactions ; and an "Essay" by Dr. Peart "on Electricity and Magnetism," in which he endeavours to refute the common theory of positive and negative electricity, we think, without success. On the subject of Magnetism we may just mention the exploded farce of animal magnetism, as two works occur in the catalogue of the present year. Mr. Martin's short account of the pretended secret, under the title of "Animal Magnetism Examined : " and Dr. Stear's more pompous, but less satisfactory work of "the Mysteries of Animal Magnetism

revealed." The phenomena of attraction and repulsion, since electricity has been more generally studied have been usually attributed to the apparent or latent influence of this fluid. The attraction and repulsion however, of cork balls swimming in water, Mr. Banks, an ingenious lecturer in natural philosophy, attributes to the inequality of pressure, as a dry ball repels the water, making the fluid rise around it, while a wet one produces the contrary effect. This paper occurs in the *Manchester Memoirs*, and Mr. Bennet, in a separate publication, has adduced some similar observations as well as some observations "on the Waving Motion, observed on vibrating a Glass jointly filled with Oil and Water."

If we consider philosophy, as subservient to the different arts, we may mention a very ingenious contrivance described by Mr. Cooke, in the *Irish Transactions*, of obtaining by means of steam, a continuous rotative motion; and, in the same collection, this author has described an instrument which greatly facilitates the resolution of some of the more common problems in navigation. The triangular measurement of 1787 and 1788, was one of the greatest efforts of modern practical philosophy; and, in this busy age, the date, as might be expected, would soon furnish different facts. The longitudes of Dunkirk and Paris from Greenwich, are ascertained in the last volume of the *London Transactions* from this measurement, on the supposition of the earth's being an ellipsoid; and, to future investigators, Mr. Pictet has pointed out the convenience of measuring an arc of the meridian, and of the parallel of longitude, having Geneva for their common intersection, in the same collection. In this volume too, Mr. Kennel, the

geographer of India, has pointed out a new method of measuring distances by calculating the paces of a camel, either laden or unencumbered; and it is surprising, in this first attempt, to find him approximating the real distances very nearly. Mr. Cavallo has described a very simple instrument for celestial measurement, a micrometer for a telescope, consisting of a circle of mother of pearl, minutely divided, which will answer commonest purposes very completely; but a full description of the numerous astronomical instruments, used in the most enlightened æra of the science, occurs in Mr. Vince's "*Practical Astronomy*," to which are added, some of the more essential and useful calculations. In the particular branches of astronomy, we have to notice Dr. Usher's paper in the *Irish Transactions*, on the disappearance and re-appearance of Saturn's ring, in 1789, with some remarks on his diurnal rotation, and a very ingenious series of observations by Mr. Herschell, on stars really nebulous, not resolvable, which he considers as masses of light connected with some star, the storehouse from which future suns may be formed. An ingenious work, in this department, entitled "*Cosmology*," has been published in the course of this year, and we have since seen an enlarged edition of it. The author is rational, pious, and judicious; but, in some of his novelties, he does not always convince us. The "*Philosophy of the Masons*," is a more general system, whose novelty is apparent only. It is the philosophy of the present æra attributed to the Egyptian priests, in a suspicious form, leaning too much to the fashionable infidelity of the age in which we live.

In the progressive improvements of philosophy and chemistry, they have intruded, as we formerly observed,

served, on each others limits, and form one chain of science, where the termination and commencement of either is uncertain. Fire was one of those bodies, or a modification of body, which for a time was the object of the philosopher. It is now with more propriety, the subject of the chemist's enquiries. That it possesses weight has been long denied, that it is really specifically light, lessening the weight of bodies, was for a time the opinion of different authors. Mr. Henry, in the Manchester Memoirs, has endeavoured to elucidate this subject, but the question is not determined. The increase of weight, in cooling, depends, we know, on the changes produced in the body heated, by the absorption of the pure part of the atmospheric air. This change appears now fully to explain all the phenomena attributed to the loss of phlogiston, a principle, whose existence is now generally doubted, and almost as generally disbelieved. Dr. Priestley, in his paper in the Philosophical Transactions, entitled, Farther Experiments relating to the Decomposition of Dephlogisticated and Inflammable Airs, still adheres to the old theory of Stahl, and endeavours to explain the appearance of the nitrous acid from the different proportions of these airs, and not from the accidental impregnation of phlogisticated air, as the French chemists supposed. Mr. Tennent has, on the contrary, supported the doctrine of M. Lavoisier, in the same collection, by actually decomposing fixed air, and producing from it a coal perfectly resembling the charcoal of wood. The experiment, though at first doubted, has been repeated, we find with success. Dr. Beddoes, in his "Account of the Appearances attending the Conversion of Cast into Malleable Iron," process new and highly advanta-

geous, has, we perceive also, forsaken the banners of the elder chemists. Yet it is surprising that the discoveries of the present æra were in some degree anticipated by a Dr. Mayow; and to Dr. Beddoes, who has rendered Dr. Mayow's work more generally known, we owe the obligation of this information. M. Chaptal's "Elements of Chemistry" is the only general system that has appeared in this year, and as it is the latest and consequently one of the most complete works, so it is also judicious, intelligent, and well arranged.

If we survey chemistry as subservient to the arts, and to medicine, we shall find it offering considerable assistance to artists, manufacturers, and physicians. The Manchester Memoirs furnish some judicious observations on dying, by Mr. Henry, and some experiments on the fusion of palatina, by Mr. Willis; while the Irish Transactions contain two papers of much more importance, Mr. Kirwan's Experiments on the Alkaliescent Substances used in Bleaching, and Mr. Pouget's Method of ascertaining the Strength of Spirits, by the diminution of the bulk of an union of alcohol and water: the former paper contains also an Analysis of the Colouring Matter of Linnen Yarn. The only separate publication in this department is, Mr. Richardson's "Chemical Principles of the Metallic Arts," a work useful, but by no means so minute and particular, as to be interesting, or to the chemist, improving.

In medicine, we may notice another new edition of the "London Pharmacopœia," with variations, we have no authority to style them improvements. Mr. Garnet's "Analysis of the Crescent Water at Harrowgate," is short, and in some measure incomplete, but a work, in a che-

a chemical view, by no means contemptible. M. Macie's Chemical Experiments on the Tabasheer, deserve some notice in this part of our sketch of Domestic Literature. It is an Indian vegetable substance, whose general nature we noticed in our last volume, and it is more interesting, as we find, from Mr. Macie's paper in the Philosophical Transactions, that it contains a siliceous earth, in one instance a flint already formed. Dr. Pearson's Investigation of the Composition of James's Powder, in the same collection, deserves much attention, as it completely elucidates the nature of that excellent medicine, and enables us to imitate it with success. We need scarcely say, that the pulvis antimonialis of the last London Pharmacopeia is, in its nature and operations nearly the same.

Chemistry has not only elucidated the nature of some secret compositions, but has suggested new remedies. Dr. Crawford recommends the earthy salt composed of the barytic earth, and the muriatic acid, in scrophulous and cancerous complaints. On trial, it is said not to equal, and what medicine does so? the sanguine recommendations of its first author, though it shews sufficient powers on the constitution to render it, under proper management, an useful remedy. This paper occurs in the second volume of a respectable publication entitled, "Medical Communications," which furnishes also, in this department, some judicious observations by Mr. Pearson, on the Use of Opium in the Venereal Disease, in which he shews that it is alone unequal to the cure, and in every instance, little more than a quieting palliative, with some remarks, by Dr. Carmichael Smith, on the Effects of Cantharides, which he supposes, perhaps, with reason, are not diu-

retic. We may just add, that, on perusing this volume, we do not find any thing else, which we need particularly mention in our general account. The only separate publication on the use of medicines is Mr. Brande's "account of the Angustura Bark." It is a narcotic bitter, and supposed to be useful, like other bitters, in curing intermittents, dyspepsia, &c. We have not found either, on trial, or from authority, that it possesses peculiar powers.

Though the Angustura bark has not been introduced into general practice, the use of the Peruvian bark has been supported by Dr. Robertson in his "Essay on Fevers." This gentleman has seen much of the fever of ships and hospitals, which he considers as the only genuine, and indeed the universal form of fever. His work, so far as one species, or a single epidemic is concerned, may be pronounced valuable, and useful. Dr. Robertson errs only in considering what he has seen, as the only existing form. A work on fevers of a different class, though confined to the fevers of hot climates, and particularly the remit- tents of different forms, Dr. Jackson's deserves particular commendation, as the result of careful attention and judicious observation. The medical advice to the inhabitants of warm climates, is not equally valuable; it is trite, superficial, and often erroneous. As a work connected with fevers, and the result of observation, we may mention the "Essay on the Progress and Diagnosis of Diseases," by Dr. Price, dictated by reading and examination, yet in different parts not finished with equal care. Dr. Edwards's "Description of the Diseases of the Human Body," the introduction to a larger work, is styled a System of Nosology: it is how-

ever, a collection of histories of diseases, far exceeding the limits of definitions. Dr. Russel's large work "on the Plague" seems scarcely to have answered the expectations of practitioners. It is a political treatise on quarantines, rather than a medical disquisition, and what is contained in the medical department, is often confused and unsatisfactory. We see little added to our knowledge of the disease. Respecting particular complaints, we find a treatise of Dr. Butler's on "the Angina Pectoris," where he expresses an opinion that this peculiar disease is only a variety of atonic gout, seizing the diaphragm; but we do not find his system adopted by other practitioners, nor does it appear to be supported by experience. Dr. Quin, in his Treatise "on the Dropsy of the Brain," seems to point out a new view of the complaint, and to consider the symptoms as arising from relaxation, while the composition is only a subsequent effect. He has undoubtedly the merit of elucidating the subject in a certain degree, though his conclusions may be too general. Dr. Perfect describes a case seemingly of the same disease, under the term of madness, where the compression was only so great as to produce irritation. The medical practitioner, in his "Essay on Vital Suspension," considers the cause of death as owing to effusion in the head, in consequence of the stoppage of breathing, without adding, however, to our resources, for the patient's relief. Of the more general works, chiefly of a practical nature, beside the second volume of the Medical Communications, we perceive the continuation of Dr. Duncan's "Medical Commentaries," the second volume of Wintringham's "Commentarii de Morbis Quibusdam," a work of no great practical

importance; the first volume of "Medical Facts and Opinions," a new form of a respectable work, long continued by Dr. Fort Simmons; Dr. Wallis's improved edition of "Motherby's Dictionary" published in the present year, with a variety of those pamphlets which are little better than quack-advertisements. Of this last kind, are Dr. Buchan's "Letter on the Fleecy Hosiery," "Poor Man's Medicine Chest," &c. We would willingly except from this general censure, Fothergil's "Cautions to the Heads of Families," though, to write popularly on professional subjects, is not always so reputable or useful.

On diseases, whose cure depends on anatomical knowledge, we have received some instructive information, though anatomy itself has enjoyed little of the fostering care of the Improver, in this period, for we can mention only Dr. Vaughan's "Principles of Anatomy," translated from Leber, with some new notes, and Mr. Hey's "Description of the Eye of a Seal," in the Manchester Memoirs. Yet the surgical works, just alluded to, deserve attention. The complete collection of Mr. Pott's tracts forms a valuable addition, to the surgeon's library, though little novelty is added; the whole amounting to a few remarks by the editor, Mr. Earle, the result of Mr. Pott's more mature experience. Mr. Earle has, however, added to this edition, his own "Tract on the Hydrocele," in which he proposes a new method of cure by injection: this tract he has also published separately. Rowley's work "on the Diseases of the Eyes," contains some valuable facts, while, to give the appearance of a complete system, he seems to have divided the subject too minutely, and to have increased the number of species with-

without sufficient reason. Mr. Ogle has opposed Mr. Jesse Foot's "Newly Discovered Fact," relative to the venereal disease, mentioned in our last volume: and to Mr. Collis we are indebted for a treatise "on the Gonorrhœa," a short work, and by no means of importance. In another branch of surgery, midwifery, Mr. Heath has greatly assisted the English surgeons by his translation of M. Baudeloque's very excellent "System of Midwifery," in which the history and merits of the Segaultian operation are examined, with peculiar care and ability. A branch of this subject, the treatment of infants in the first stages of their life, has been the object of Dr. Clarke's attention in the Irish Transactions, who, from an epidemic spasm, fatal to many children in the Dublin hospital, has shown the disadvantages of close wards. The disease disappeared when they were more airy and less crowded.

The source of that life, which is in early ages so soon extinguished, and the principle in which it consists, we scarcely understand better from a late work, "Speculations on Impregnation," which only revive an old forgotten theory, or from Dr. Ferriar's tract "on the Vital Principle", in the Manchester Memoirs. In the last, the author opposes the existence of a principle of life, independent of a soul, or of that organization of body, on which some authors suppose the mental powers may depend. Dr. Corrie's "Essay on the Vitality of the Blood," in support of Mr. Hunter's system, is but a feeble prop to an opinion almost diametrically opposite. Life, supported, however, by food digested in the stomach, and evinced by muscular motion, is as little understood, when considered in either light. The Gullstonian lectures have en-

bled Dr. Fordyce to publish his opinions on the former subject, and his tract is both curious and interesting. He has explained many circumstances, incidental or subservient to digestion, with propriety, but has added little to our knowledge of the real process. Dr. Blane, in the "Croonian Lectures," has been scarcely more successful in explaining muscular motion: indeed either subject will probably remain beyond the reach of unsuccessful reason or philosophy. It is with regret that we record unsuccessful efforts; but we cannot speak more favourably of Dr. Austin's work, "on the Origin and Component Parts of the Stone," which in opposition to every former physiologist, he considers to be mucus; Mr. Lane's "Experiments on Human Calculi," tend only to shew, that they are in different persons, and at different periods in the same person, of different kinds.

The natural history of the human body and of man, has not received great improvements in this year. Mr. Home, in the London Transactions, endeavours to show, that horny excrescences on the human body are owing to the superfluous efforts of nature, to extend the cuticle over a wound; and in the Manchester Memoirs, we find a description of a diminutive and imperfect race of men, the Cretins of the Valais, who seem to be unfinished abortions, rather than men, equally weak in mind and body. The other branches of natural history have been more carefully attended to. Dr. Shaw has published two splendid numbers of a work entitled "Speculum Linnæanum, an Illustration of Linnæus' Zoology," which we hope will be continued with equal care; and we have received the first volume of a system "of Natural



ral History," from an anonymous author, containing only the quadrupeds, which appears to be a judicious compilation. Mr. Latham under the modest title of "Index Ornithologicus," has given a systematic ornithology, carried on to the utmost extent of our present knowledge, which to a scientific naturalist, supplies the necessity of his former volumes of splendid plates. In entomology, we have only one attempt, viz. Dr. Roxburgh's "Description of the *Chermes Lacca*," the insect that affords the gum lac. Botany seems to have been cultivated with more attention, and the institution of the Linnæan society, under the auspices of Dr. Smith, possessor of the Linnæan collection, with a view to cultivate the natural history of this kingdom, and to contribute to render the system of the Swedish naturalist more perfect, deserves our attention and commendation. Papers, confined to an object so limited, it is impossible to mention particularly. The second fasciculus of Dr. Smith's "*Plantarum Icones*" has appeared during this year, executed with his usual zeal and attention; and the republication of Rudbeck's Plates, accidentally discovered, under the title of "*Reliquiæ Rudbeckianæ*," adds equal honour to Dr. Smith's ardor in the cause of science. Dr. Pultney's very accurate and elegant work, entitled "*Scetches of Botany*," may be styled a general introduction to the history of the science, and is executed with judgment and ability, while Dr. Dickson's second Fasciculus "*Plantarum Cryptogamicarum Britaniæ*," is more exclusively calculated to elucidate this very obscure order of British plants. This author's "*Hortus Siccus*," a new attempt, will greatly diffuse the knowledge of the science, since dried specimens must convey a much

more accurate idea, than the minutest descriptions: Swayne's "*Gramina Pascua*," and Woodville's "*Medical Botany*," are more peculiarly designed for the agriculturist and physician; they are each executed with ability. The former work is illustrated by dried specimens. In mineralogy, we can only notice Mr. Williams' "*History of the Mineral Kingdom*," a work interesting to the miner, rather than the philosopher, and Dr. Beddoes ineffectual attempt to establish "the affinity between basalt and granite," in the *Philosophical Transactions*.]

In our Historical department, the first publication of the year which calls for our notice is "An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India; and the Progress of Trade with that Country, prior to the Discovery of the Passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope, &c. by William Robertson, D. D. F. R. S. Ed. &c." This work owes its origin to the author's perusal of major Renel's excellent memoir for illustrating his map of Hindostan, which suggested to his mind the idea of examining, more fully than he had done, in his *History of America*, into the knowledge which the ancients had of India; and of considering what is certain, what is obscure, and what is fabulous in their accounts of that remote country. It is divided into four sections. In the first section, the author treats of the intercourse between Europe and India, from the earliest times, until the conquest of Egypt by the Romans. What is said in this section, respecting the transactions of Alexander the Great with India, and the circumstances that preceded and followed them, is peculiarly interesting. In the second section, which

which treats of the Indian trade from the establishment of the Roman dominion in Egypt, to the Conquest of that kingdom by the Mahomedans, our attention was particularly engaged by the account of the commerce, wealth, and power of Palmyra. The third section continues the same subject from the conquest of Egypt, to the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, and the establishment of the Portuguese dominions in the East. The fourth section of this narrative, consists of such general observations as naturally result from the subject of the author's researches, and serve to illustrate many important particulars in the history of commerce, and its revolutions. To this disquisition, Dr. Robertson has added an Appendix, containing observations on the civil policy, the laws and judicial proceedings, the arts, the sciences, and religious institutions, of the Indians; from which many curious proofs may be deduced of their early cultivation and refinement. The notes, which are intended to illustrate many of the positions in the body of the work and the Appendix, are learned, instructive, and entertaining. From this general account, our readers will be able to form some idea of what they may expect to meet with in this historical disquisition. With respect to its general merits we would observe, that a great variety of facts is collected from books, ancient and modern, accompanied with much judicious reasoning and probable conjecture; which afford evidence of great industry and patience of investigation, and happily illustrate many circumstances in history, with which the unlearned reader was but little acquainted. In the arrangement of his materials, Dr. Robertson observes the same method as in his

former compositions, which have justly acquired the author a high degree of celebrity as an historian. He has endeavoured to keep historical narrative as much separate as possible from scientific and critical discussion, by reserving the latter for notes and illustrations. With respect to the style and language of the work, it is, in general, like that of the author's former productions, perspicuous, correct, and elegant. On the whole, we cannot but pronounce this effort of Dr. Robertson's pen, to be a very valuable accession to English literature: and are sorry for a strong insinuation which he throws out, that he here terminates his labours in the field of History, which he has cultivated with so much success and reputation.

The next publication which we have to announce is entitled "Transactions during the Reign of Queen Anne, from the Union to the Death of that Princess, by Charles Hamilton, esq." The materials for this work, as the author informs us, were in a great measure supplied by manuscripts of his father, who was the son of James, earl of Arran, afterwards duke of Hamilton, and of lady Barbara, third daughter of Charles II. by the duchess of Cleveland; and who at an early age was sent over to France, and educated under the direction of the earl of Middleton, at that time secretary to James II. Brought up in that minister's family, we are told that he was admitted to an unlimited share of his confidence, and held in great consideration by the court of St. Germain, until the fatal catastrophe of the duke of Hamilton in 1718. If our author had printed the manuscripts above mentioned, he would have enabled the public to judge, more satisfactorily than they now can do, of the authenticity of the

the information which they are said to contain, and of the fairness of his own deductions. At present, the evidence for the chief circumstances which he wishes to establish, is of so private a nature, that its value in a great measure depends upon Mr. Hamilton's honour and impartiality. His obvious intention, however, is to destroy the credit of those great characters who were engaged in effecting the change of government introduced by the revolution, and in supporting the succession of the house of Hanover. But he indulges himself in such indiscriminate and gross invective, and is uniformly influenced by such undisguised and glaring prejudices, that he affords little support to the cause which he espouses. And from these circumstances, we have been forced to withhold our confidence from many parts of his narrative, which, otherwise, we should have considered to be curious and interesting.

"The History of the American Revolution, by David Ramsay, M. D. in 2 Vols." is written by the same pen which gratified the public with the "History of the Revolution of South Carolina, of which we took notice in our Register for the year 1787. The events which took place during the struggle which secured independence to America, and which led the way to the revolutions which are taking place in the old world, are sufficiently in the recollection of most of our readers. They are, however, related in so interesting a manner by our author, that the effect produced on us by his work, was almost the same as if it had come recommended to us by the charms of novelty. The author appears to have had access to the best sources of private, as well as public, information. And when it is considered that he was an actor

in the scenes which he draws, he must be acknowledged to be uncommonly liberal, and impartial. His materials have been well digested, are arranged with perspicuity, and are illustrated by numerous philosophical reflections, and animated descriptions. Of the different accounts, which we have seen of the origin and progress of the American revolution, Dr. Ramsay's bids fair to be transmitted to posterity with the strongest recommendations.

"The spirit of General History, in a Series of Lectures, from the eighth to the eighteenth Century, &c. by the Rev. George Thompson," is intended to give such a view of the period under consideration, as may serve the purposes of moral and political instruction. The author does not enter into a minute detail of facts; but endeavours to mark the several changes in the manners of mankind, through the different stages of society, the causes which have retarded or promoted the civilization of European nations, and those by which revolutions in the civil or religious state of mankind have been effected. This work is divided into nine lectures. The first lecture consists of preliminary observations, which form a slight sketch of ancient history. The second and third lectures contain a view of the history, laws, manners, customs, and religion, of the modern nations of Europe, from the time of the dissolution of the Western Roman empire, to the end of the eleventh century. In the fourth lecture, the author presents us with a sketch of the history of the eastern nations, during the same period, of Mahomet, his religion, and successors. The fifth lecture continues the former subjects to the end of the thirteenth century. In the sixth lecture, the author treats

of the revolutions in kingdoms, government, legislation, manners, religion, science, and arts, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The seventh lecture is wholly devoted to the sixteenth century: and the eighth and ninth continue the author's plan to the end of the seventeenth century. As far as the confined nature of Mr. Thompson's work, and the great variety of topics which called for discussion, would admit of it, he hath executed his design with considerable success. And if he has not contributed, by the profoundness of his investigations, to extend the boundaries of the philosophy of history, his lectures may be considered as an useful introduction to this branch of science. His style, in general, is easy and unaffected.

The "New Chronological Abridgement of the History of England, from the earliest Times to the Accession of the House of Hanover, &c. by Charles Home, Esq." was drawn up in imitation of the president Henault's History of France. The author's object, as he informs us in a well written preface, is to impress upon the memory of young persons, the most remarkable and leading facts in English history; to supply a manual of it to those who are engaged either in the sea or land service, and whose library must necessarily be of the most contracted and portable kind; and to furnish other persons with an useful book of reference. On attending to the facts which Mr. Home has selected, his manner of stating them, and his arrangement, we think, on the whole, that his work is a judicious and useful one, and well adapted to the purposes mentioned in his Preface. Some mistakes we met with while perusing it; and more instances of negli-

gence and colloquial vulgarism, which are not pardonable even in a chronological abridgement.

The "Sketch of the Reign of George the Third, from 1780, to the Close of the Year 1790," is rather to be considered as panegyric than history. As a solution of the causes which have produced the memorable events and changes of that period, particularly, as affecting this country, it will be satisfactory only to those who hold the same political opinions with the author. What these are our readers will understand when we inform them, that the measures of the existing administration, and the minister who directs the helm of government, are the subjects of his warm and unqualified eulogium. The language of this publication is, in general, animated and beautiful; but too metaphorical and florid for the sober style of history.

The "Concise History of France, from the Establishment of the Monarchy to the present time, by M. des Carrieres, in 2 Vols." is written both in French and English, on opposite pages. It is an avowed compilation from some of the principal French historians, particularly the works of M. Abbé Millot, whose historical reflections are well known to be instructive and excellent. Justice to M. des Carrieres obliges us to say, that his abridgement is executed, on the whole, with care and judgment; that the reflections of his own which are introduced, are sensible and liberal; and that his language, if we except some instances in which he adheres too much to the idiom of his native tongue, is correct, easy, and sometimes elegant. The period at which this history closes is, the end of the reign of Louis XIV. But the author intends, in a subse-

quent volume, to continue it to the present times.

In our View of the Foreign Literature of the year 1789, we announced the publication of M. Anquetill's "Memoirs of the Court of France, and the Regency of the Duke of Orleans." Of this work we spake, as a most interesting and entertaining one, affording even to those who are not unacquainted with the histories, memoirs, and anecdotes, relative to that busy and intriguing period, new stores of information and amusement. The English reader has it now in his power to judge of the value and importance of that work, which has been translated from the French, in two volumes. With respect to this version we have only to observe, that it appears to be rendered with fidelity and spirit.

"The Crimes of the Kings of France, from Clovis to Louis XVI. translated from the French, by I. Trapp, A. M." is a publication which presents the reader with some of the most shocking pictures of enormity, vice, and guilt, that the human eye hath even beheld. It is, however, a painful consideration, that they are drawn from characters who have really existed. The truth of the facts which the author has collected, is established by the testimony of undoubted and impartial history; and he has paid a proper tribute to justice and to humanity, in exposing them to general view and abhorrence. Freemen will learn from them how highly they ought to prize their liberties; and with what jealousy they should guard against the least approaches towards that despotism, which has produced so much misery and wretchedness in the world. And to kings they teach this important lesson, that to be happy in themselves, be-

loved by their people, and respected by posterity, they must be virtuous, respect liberty, and, instead of indulging their ambition, or other passions, make the ease and prosperity of the people the principal object of their care.

The "Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America, by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwynedd, about the Year 1170, by John Williams, L. L. D." is designed to controvert the opinions of lord Lyttleton, Dr. Robertson, and other modern historians, who have contended against the probability of the event referred to in the title-page; and to establish the claim of the ancient Britons to be the discoverers of the new world. In pursuing his object, Dr. Williams has with great industry collected whatever information could be obtained on this difficult subject, and supported the side of the question which he espouses, in a manner that will be found interesting and entertaining to the curious and inquisitive reader. Should it be proved, on enquiry, that a tribe of Indians exists in America, who speak the ancient British language, as many modern travellers assert, the doctor's arguments would be irresistible.

Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account of Scotland, drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the Different-Parishes, in 2 Vols." is part of a work which the worthy baronet has undertaken from the most patriotic motives, and which promises to be a repository of much useful, as well as curious information. About twelve months before the date of this publication, sir John circulated, among the clergy of Scotland, a variety of queries for elucidating the natural and political history of the country, rela-

tive to the names of their respective parishes, their situation, surface, air, population, cultivation and produce, manufactures, wages, prices, poor, rent of land, churches and their stipends, mineral springs, and roads; manners, customs, and miscellaneous observations including antiquities. His original idea was, to have drawn up, from their returns, a general statistical view of North Britain, without any particular reference to parochial districts. But he found so much merit and ability, and so many useful facts and important observations, in the answers that were sent to him, that he could not think of depriving the clergy of the credit they were entitled to derive from such laborious exertions; and he was induced to give the work in its present shape of a collection of their respective papers. Whether the same plan is to be persevered in, or whether more regularity and connexion are to be attended to in future, will depend on the unanimity and dispatch with which the clergy transmit the necessary information to the author. This account of the nature and design of the work, which we have drawn from the preface, will sufficiently apprize our readers of what they may expect to meet with in it, and of the great utility of such a plan, in diffusing information, and improvement over the country. And, considering the extent to which it is meant to be carried, we do not hesitate in subscribing to the observation of Mr. Dempster, "that no publication of equal information and curiosity has appeared in Great Britain since Doomsday-Book; and that from the ample and authentic facts which it records, it must be resorted to by every future statesman, philosopher, and divine, as the best basis that

that has ever yet appeared for political speculation."

"Scotland Delineated, or a Geographical Description of every Shire in Scotland, including the Northern and Western Isles, with some Account of the Curiosities, Antiquities, and present State of the Country," is a publication which was drawn up in imitation of Dr. Aikin's work, entitled "England Delineated," with the view of completing, on a plan nearly similar, a description of the whole of Great Britain. We recommend this publication, as an intelligent and useful one, and what is particularly adapted to the information and entertainment of young persons, for whose use it is chiefly intended. The authorities which the author has consulted, are the latest and best that could be obtained; and he has also, as well as Dr. Aikin, had the assistance of valuable private correspondents, in rendering his work more perfect. To this volume there is prefixed a map of Scotland, and of the islands, copied from Ainslie's, published in 1789, from an actual survey.

"The History of the Island of Dominica, containing a Description of its Situation, Extent, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Natural Productions, &c. by Thomas Atwood," was written with the view of directing the attention of government and the public, to a part of our West India possessions, which, notwithstanding that it is distinguished by some peculiar advantages, and capable of being rendered exceedingly profitable to the mother country, has been too much neglected. This history is drawn up in a plain and perspicuous manner, and is, apparently, accurate and faithful. The author's observations on the natural history, and the

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commerce of the island, contain many interesting particulars; and his account of its capture by the French, during the late war, and their conduct while in possession of it, is minute and circumstantial.

The "Narrative of the Loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman, &c. Compiled from the Examination of John Hynes, by Mr. George Carter," contains little, if any authentic matter, relative to that melancholly event, which was not before in the possession of the public. The story, however, which with all its known circumstances was originally confined within a narrow compass, our author's industry has dilated to the size of an octavo volume. This he has done, partly, by episodes relative to the country and its inhabitants, extracted from Paterson and Vaillant, and, partly, by his own reflections and remarks. Copper-plates descriptive of the catastrophe, and engraved from Mr. Carter's designs, embellish the narrative.

The "Narrative of the Building, and a Description of the Construction of the Edystone Lighthouse with Stone, &c. by John Smeaton, Civil Engineer, F.R.S. Imperial Folio", is a well written and interesting work, for which the public in general, as well as men of science, are much indebted to the ingenious author. The subject of it is very uncommon, and important in a national view; and the author's details highly instructive and entertaining, and written with perspicuity and precision. In an appendix, Mr. Smeaton has given an account of the light-house on Spurn-point, near the mouth of the river Humber, which was erected under his inspection. This splendid work is illustrated by twenty two plates, which are entitled to much commendation; among

which are representations of the several light-houses, that have been erected on the Edystone rocks, and an elevation and section of that built on Spurn-point.

The "Historical Report on Ramsgate Harbour, written by order of, and addressed to the Trustees" by the same author, is published with a view to inform the world of the improved state of Ramsgate harbour; and also of the unexpected difficulties which occurred in the progress and actual execution of that long desired establishment. This Historical Report we have read with considerable pleasure; and we warmly recommend the perusal of it, in order that the advantages to be derived from that great national work may be universally understood. In the conclusion the author states, that evidence can be produced, that the harbour has been, this winter, the means of saving a great many ships and vessels, and property to the amount of between two and three hundred thousand pounds, with a great number of valuable lives, which otherwise would have been driven on the flats and rocks, and in all probability lost. Since the publication of this work, we have seen a statement which asserts, on good grounds, that from the commencement of the work, above eight thousand lives have been saved by the construction of this artificial harbour, and property to the amount of more than four millions.

Intimately connected with history are those branches of the fine arts which assist in developing traces of the religion, manners, history, or taste of former ages; or which are designed to perpetuate the memory of extraordinary persons, and of signal events in modern times. Among other branches, that of engraving was practised in very early times; and the precious re-

mains of the artists of antiquity, in this line, compose some of the richest treasures in the most celebrated modern cabinets. The number, however, of these remains, especially of such as are of the most elegant workmanship, or in a perfect state of preservation, is comparatively, but small. It has, therefore, for many years, been the employment of ingenious artists to copy scarce and valuable gems; which, in many instances, has been done with such an astonishing degree of accuracy and perfection, that it is not an easy matter to distinguish them from the originals. Among modern artists, Mr. Tassie is entitled to distinguished fame; and his well known and universal admired collection is unrivalled, whether we consider the number or the excellence of the articles. Those of our readers who wish for a particular account and explanation of those articles, have it now in their power to consult "a Descriptive Catalogue of a general Collection of ancient and modern Engraved Gems, Cameos as well as Intaglios, taken from the most celebrated Cabinets in Europe; cast in coloured Pastes, white Enamel and Sulphur, by James Tassie, Modeller; arranged and described by R. E. Raspe, and illustrated with Copper-plates, &c. in 2 Vols. 8to." in French and English. This catalogue is arranged in a similar manner with that of the Abbé Winckelmann, which describes baron Stosch's collection. It is divided into two classes. The first class consists of Egyptian coins, including hieroglyphic inscriptions, and hieroglyphic figures or symbols; Abraxas and Talismans, of the Gnostics, Basilideans, &c. Persepolitan and Parthian coins; Mithraic lions; Indian, Arabic, and Persian engravings; and Greek and

Roman coins, relating to subjects in mythology, the fables of the heroes, history, and to miscellaneous subjects. The second class contains modern engravings, relating to the Old and New Testament, saints, and legendary subjects; together with portraits of sovereigns and celebrated characters, unknown heads, and devices, and miscellaneous coins. In an introductory discourse to these volumes, and in his descriptions and explanations, Mr. Raspe discovers a considerable share of knowledge, classical learning, and acquaintance with the comments and opinions of other writers who have engaged in similar tasks: but we cannot entirely acquit him of errors and gross improprieties. The plates which illustrate his descriptions are fifty-seven in number, and are executed with great accuracy and elegance. To the classical scholar, the historian, and the admirer of the fine arts, we can promise much pleasure and entertainment from the perusal of these volumes.

Among the biographical publications of the year, the first which we have to announce is "the Life of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. comprehending an Account of his Studies and numerous Works, in Chronological Order, a Series of his Epistolary Correspondence and Conversations with many eminent Persons, and various Original Pieces of his Composition, never before published, &c. by James Boswell Esq. in 2 vols. 4to." Of Dr. Johnson's character we have had frequent opportunities of expressing our opinion in the course of our periodical labours. Our present attention, therefore, must be confined to Mr. Boswell's life of that extraordinary man, as a biographical production. Of the form of this voluminous and very



miscellaneous work, we cannot, perhaps, give our readers a better idea, than by adopting the words of the author. "Instead," says he, of melting down my materials into one mass, and constantly speaking in my own person, by which I might have appeared to have more merit in the execution of the work, I resolved to adopt and enlarge upon the excellent plan of Mr. Mason, in his memoirs of Gray. Whatever narrative is necessary to explain, connect, and supply, I furnish it, to the best of my ability, but in the chronological series of Johnson's life, which I trace as distinctly as I can, year by year, I produce, wherever it is in my power, his own minutes, letters, or conversation, being convinced that this mode is more lively, and will make my reader better acquainted with him, than even most of those were who actually knew him, but could only know him partially; whereas, there is here an accumulation of intelligence from various points, by which his character is more fully understood and illustrated." With respect to the advantages which Mr. Boswell possessed for engaging in such a work, it should be recollected, that he was united to Dr. Johnson in the intimacy of friendship for more than twenty years; that he had the scheme of writing his life constantly in view, of which circumstance the doctor was apprised, and from time to time, while our author paid him a constant and assiduous attention, satisfied his enquiries by communicating to him different incidents of his life; and that he has been favoured with the most liberal communications of many other intimate friends of the doctor's. These advantages Mr. Boswell has employed in a manner which has afforded us considerable

entertainment; while at the same time, we are ready to acknowledge, that his work is rendered unnecessarily tedious and prolix by the too frequent insertions of uninteresting conversation, and of trifling anecdotes and remarks. With respect to the freedom in which he hath indulged himself of mentioning facts, and of detailing private conversation, which can afford no gratification to his readers, but may injure the feelings of living characters, we consider it to be highly reprehensible. The picture which the author has drawn of his hero, is, upon the whole, an accurate and just one; notwithstanding that the partiality of friendship hath occasioned him to give a colouring to it, which, many will contend, renders it a too flattering likeness. The style and language of this work, with a few exceptions, are plain, unaffected, and perspicuous.

The next publication which we shall introduce to our readers is, an "Essay on the Life and Character of John Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham; also a Sketch of an Essay on the Life and Character of Philip Earl of Hardwicke; proposed to be inserted in a compendious History of Worcestershire, by R. Cooksey, esq." With respect to the public life of lord Somers, but little is said in this essay. What is chiefly interesting in it is, the account of the family of Somers, and their mode of living at the White Ladies, a religious house in Worcester, and the connexions formed by Mr. Somers in early life. In his attempt to prove that Mr. Somers was the author of the Tale of a Tub, so generally attributed to Dr. Swift, we think that Mr. Cooksey is greatly deficient. To this essay are added, a list of lord Somers's writings, epitaphs of his family;

mily, &c. letters, and other extracts from manuscripts and printed books. The Sketch of an Essay on the Life and Character of lord Hardwicke, is chiefly recommended by the insertion of two letters; one from Mr. Bentham, a respectable lawyer of 80 years old, who knew his lordship well, and the other from a correspondent who chuses that his name shall be concealed. These letters exhibit very different pictures of lord Hardwicke: but which of them approaches nearest to nature, we will not take upon ourselves to determine without farther information. Mr. Cooksey will, doubtless, render these biographical sketches more regular and complete, before they are inserted in his projected history.

The "View of the Character and Public Services of the late John Howard, esq. L.L.D. F.R.S. by John Aikin, M.D." is a biographical publication of considerable merit; and which will be read with pleasure by every person who has admired the actions of that celebrated philanthropist. Dr. Aikin's knowledge of Mr. Howard was derived from a personal acquaintance with him, and a long continued intercourse of intimate friendship. After a particular and accurate account of his private life, our biographer relates, in chronological order, his various movements as a public character; and the measures of general utility in which he engaged, with a disinterested and persevering fortitude, of which the world can boast few examples. This relation is accompanied with judicious analyses of his different publications, and a variety of incidental reflections and remarks, which do credit to the author's knowledge of the world, to his candour, and to his humanity. The character of Mr.

Howard, with which Dr. Aikin concludes his book, is drawn with equal judgment and impartiality. As a composition, this work is correct, unaffected, and elegant.

"The Eulogies of Howard, a Vision," are also a proper tribute of respect to the memory of that excellent man. In this work the author represents himself as introduced, in a vision, by affection and sensibility, to the paradise of true glory, over which gratitude and admiration preside. In this paradise he finds three magnificent structures, devoted to the professions of law, medicine, and theology; in which panegyrics are accustomed to be pronounced on distinguished characters. The elegant and animated eulogies which compose this little volume, he represents to have been delivered by the presidents of each, at numerous meetings to which he was introduced by his guides.

The "Memoirs of the late Rev. John Wesley, A.M. with a Review of his Life and Writings, and a History of Methodism, from its Commencement in 1729, to the present Time, by John Hampson, A.B. in 3 Vols." were written, principally, during the life of the celebrated subject of them, and finished since his death. Mr. Hampson seems to have spared no pains to acquire information concerning this father of the methodistic sect, and the people with whom he associated. He has diligently read Mr. Wesley's writings in general, particularly his sermons, journals, and controversial pieces; the correspondence between the family of the Wesleys and others, from 1724 to 1739; and he has availed himself, likewise, of the advantage of much private information. With these aids, he has with great industry

try composed a judicious and interesting narrative, for which the public is much indebted to him. We believe that he hath endeavoured to draw a picture which should be, as nearly as possible, "a just transcript of truth and nature." As far as our information will enable us to determine, he is faithful and impartial. Many of his remarks discover him to be possessed of a liberal and well-informed mind; and, together with his attention to the recommendations of arrangement and style, entitle him to a respectable rank among the biographers of the age.

The "Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Day, esq. by James Keir, esq." contains a view of the opinions, principles, and dispositions of a man of exemplary private manners, of unimpeachable public virtue, of great strength of mind and constitutional knowledge, and a steady friendship to the rights and happiness of mankind. His excellent and entertaining book, entitled *Sandford and Merton*, has given him an established fame as the friend of the rising generation. Mr. Keir appears to have had a sufficient knowledge of Mr. Day, to appreciate his character with accuracy and just discrimination; and his account of it abounds in judicious and useful observations.

The "Sketch of the Life and Projects of John Law, of Lauriston, Comptroller General of the Finances in France," is an interesting and pleasing piece of biography, which contains ample matter to gratify the curiosity of the reader. The hero of this production, is well known to have been one of the most extraordinary characters of modern times; and an attention to the circumstances of his life, as a financier, may afford some valuable

monition to the politicians of the present day. This work, we are informed, is only a part of a larger work intended for the press, entitled "a Topographical Description of the Parish of Cramond," in which the author promises a variety of biographical anecdotes relative to eminent and distinguished men, which, if we may judge from the specimen before us, cannot fail of proving acceptable to the public.

Those English readers whose curiosity was excited by the account which we gave of the "Memoirs of the Duke de Richlieu, &c." in our view of the literature of France for the year 1790, are now presented with an opportunity of gratifying that passion: as that work has been translated into their native language, by a person who appears to have had the proper requisites for such an undertaking.

The "Secret Memoirs of Robert Count de Parades, written by himself, on coming out of the Bastille," are a translation from the French, of what appears to be an authentic account of the *honourable* transactions of a French spy in England, during the progress of the late war; authentic we mean with regard to the general circumstances of his being employed in that capacity by the court of France, and of his success in obtaining information prejudicial to the interests of this country. We hesitate, however, at admitting some of the facts which he relates: and wish to be incredulous, when we find him endeavouring to involve a number of persons in our public offices, in the crime of the basest and most profligate treachery.

The "Sketch of the Character of his Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark, &c." contains a pleasing view of the talents and dis-

position of the heir apparent to that monarchy; who, if we may trust to general report, promises fair to employ the influence of the crown, in diffusing knowledge, literature, and liberty, among the enslaved peasants of an arbitrary government. Considering these to be his views, our ingenious author, who appears to be a foreigner, is unbounded in the applause which he bestows on the subject of his eulogy. But what is principally curious and interesting in this publication is, the review which it gives of the present state of literature, and the polite arts in Denmark; and the anecdotes which it contains of the illustrious characters which adorn that kingdom.

The "Authentic Memoirs and Sufferings of Dr. William Stahl, a German Physician, written by himself, at his Enlargement in 1789, translated from the German," contain an affecting and interesting narrative of the cruelties which the author underwent, from the inquisition at Goa, which must shock every humane and feeling breast. Surely the most bigotted Portuguese will not be long before he follows the example of his more enlightened catholic brethren, who have emancipated themselves from the shackles of that tyrannical and impious institution!

"The Life of Joseph Balsamo, commonly called Count Cagliostro, containing the singular Adventures of that extraordinary Personage, from his Birth untill his Imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo, &c." is a translation from the original proceedings against that profligate character, which were published at Rome, by order of the Apostolic chamber. Those who are delighted with a recital of uncommon adventures, and of the deceptions

which artful imposture can practise on the weak and credulous, will receive considerable entertainment from the perusal of this volume. We shall only add, that the crimes of which Balsamo had been guilty against society, were not the alleged motives for the sentence of perpetual imprisonment, which his Roman judges passed on him, but, to their eternal disgrace, the practice of free masonry. In the ecclesiastical state, whoever can be convicted of performing the mysteries of that innocent and benevolent institution, is deemed guilty of capital felony.

The "Memoirs of the first forty-five Years of the Life of James Lackington, the present Bookseller in Chiswell Street, Moorfields, London, written by himself," relate the author's progress through life, from the situation of a journeyman shoemaker, to that of a bookseller who, if we may credit his own declaration, receives annual profits from his business to the amount of four thousand pounds. Two motives seem to have predominated in the author's mind; when he determined to write these memoirs: vanity, and interest. For the first, many allowances will be made, when the surprising change in his circumstances is considered. The latter is the life of all trade; and justifies the author in publishing this volume as a larger species of advertisement, in which he makes use of every allowable art in recommending his own shop and goods. It will not be imagined that the incidents attending the life of such a person as Mr. Lackington, have been very important, or interesting. He makes the most, however, of the occurrences he met with; and we have frequently been diverted by his narrative, and remarks.

"The

"The Life of Thomas Paine, the Author of the Rights of Man, by Francis Oldys, A.M." is an attempt to catch the notice of the public, by artifice and fraud. Instead of being a defence of the writings of Paine, it is, chiefly, an attack on his offences against grammar, and propriety of language, which will not weigh much in the scale against the principles for which that author contends. What is called the Life of Thomas Paine, attempts to throw much abuse and dirt on that obnoxious character, by reciting a variety of facts relative to his private life; for the truth of which we have the evidence of Mr. Francis Oldys. This name, it seems, is a borrowed one, under the disguise of which an anonymous author has chosen to aim the stiletto. If it were of any importance to the public to obtain an accurate knowledge of the private character of Mr. Paine, they could not rely on the authenticity of the information in this pamphlet.

The first work which offers itself to our notice in the next department of our literary history is the 2d. vol. of Mr. Grose's "Antiquities of Scotland." In our last year's Register, we announced the publication of the 1st. vol. of this valuable addition to the author's very curious and interesting labours on the subject of antiquities. We refer our readers to the general character which we then gave of the work, as strictly applicable to the volume before us; and we congratulate them on obtaining so rich an accession to their stores for instruction and entertainment.

The public are likewise presented with an acceptable offering in the "Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in

the Reign of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James I. Exhibited in a Series of Original Papers, selected from the Manuscripts of the noble Families of Howard, Talbot, Cecil, &c. by Edmund Lodge, esq. Pursuivant of Arms, and F.S.A." in three vols. 4to. Of the curious and interesting pieces which compose these volumes, those which are entitled the Talbot Papers, were extracted from fifteen volumes of manuscripts which are preserved in the College of Arms, to which they were presented by Henry the sixth, duke of Norfolk, in the line of the Howards. The Howard Papers were selected partly from the same volumes, and partly from manuscripts in the possession of the present duke of Norfolk. The Cecil Papers came into the possession of the author's father, as residuary legatee to a lady, whose connexions, it is imagined, obtained them illicitly from the Cecil family; the originals, therefore, have been restored by Mr. Lodge to the marquis of Salisbury. These several papers are arranged, as nearly as possible, in chronological order; and are illustrated by a variety of biographical anecdotes, local facts, and pertinent remarks, which the author has collected and digested with great assiduity and care, and thrown into the form of notes. The historian and the annalist may draw much important and curious information from these volumes; particularly, from the interesting documents which they contain relative to the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, and the correspondence of Elizabeth and her ministers, with George earl of Shrewsbury, during fifteen years in which he had the custody of that princess. This work is elegantly printed, according to the ortho-

orthography of the originals, and is ornamented with plates of monuments, portraits, and autographs.

"The Antiquities of Ireland, by Edward Ledwich, L.L. B. M. R. S. and F. S. A. of London and Scotland," consist of a number of detached essays on subjects relative to the antiquities of our sister kingdom, which were written at such times as the author could spare from clerical and domestic avocations, and are ushered before the public under the patronage of the Rev. Dean Coote; "who devotes a large portion of his ample fortune to its noblest use, the encouragement of letters, arts, and industry." Our limits will not permit us to specify the numerous articles which have employed the pen of Mr. Ledwich. We can, however, assure our readers, that many of them are curious and important, and discover the author to be learned, ingenious, and indefatigable in the labours of an antiquary. He shews, likewise, on many occasions, that he is too philosophic to be influenced by the prejudices of some of his countrymen, in favour of the claims of Ireland, to a very early civilization. The subjects treated of in this vol. are illustrated by thirty seven plates.

Mr. James Carmichael's publication, entitled, "Various Facts concerning the Peerage of Scotland, collected from the public Records, original Instruments, and authentic Manuscripts; to which is added an Appendix containing many original Papers, &c." consists of several curious and interesting extracts from the records that are still preserved in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, relative to the Scottish nobility, which will be highly prized by the antiquary, and the historian. The extracts from the manuscripts

of sir James Balfour, Lyon king of arms to Charles I. are particularly valuable.

The "Archæologia Cornu-Britannica, or an Essay to preserve the ancient Cornish Language, containing the Rudiments of that Dialect, &c. by Win. Pryce, M. D." is a work that will be principally acceptable to philologists. The object of the author is to shew, that the Cornish British, which he distinguishes very precisely from the modern Cornish-dialect, is the most pure, and nearest the original language of this island, of any speech now used in Armorica, or the northern provinces of France, Great Britain, and Ireland: that it is genuine, as introduced "from the Shores of Greece and Sidon." On this work Dr. Pryce has bestowed great labour and industry: with what success, we must leave to others, who have more leisure and greater knowledge for appreciating the merit of such publications. In drawing up this essay, our author hath availed himself of the researches of others who have preceded him in similar investigations, of a vocabulary found in the Cotton library, and of the communications which he received from different friends.

The "Collections towards a Description of the County of Devon, by sir William Pole, of Colcombe and Shute, Knight, &c." who died in 1635, are printed from an autograph in the possession of his lineal descendant, sir John William de la Pole, bart. To the papers of our eminent antiquary, many additions have been made by his son, which are distinguished from his father's by being printed in italics. The future historians of that county, will receive considerable benefit

benefit from this publication, which the author's death prevented him from completing.

The treatise entitled "a concise History of Chester, from the most authentic and respectable Authors, &c." is the production of a person who appears to have been laborious in his researches, and accurate in his statements, when not under the guidance of fable and tradition. What he calls his descriptive and lively observations on the manners, customs, &c. of the inhabitants, are written in too quaint, and frequently in too ludicrous a style, to suit the solemn gravity of the student in antiquarian lore. The ground-plan of the city and suburbs of Chester, with which this little work is embellished, appears to be accurately drawn.

"The History of Derby, from the remote Ages of Antiquity, to the Year 1791, &c. by W. Hutton, F.A.S.S." is the production of another author, who is rather desirous of being accounted a merry wag, and entertaining story-teller, than a gloomy porer over musty manuscripts, or the vestiges of his barbarous ancestors. We mean not by this observation to exclude him from the honours due to those who have exercised a laudable industry in topographical researches. His account of the situation, air, soil &c. of Derby, of the illustrious families who have inherited its honours, of its trade, amusements, remarkable occurrences, eminent men, and the adjacent seats of the gentry, will convey information to the reader, while his digressions and incidental remarks will frequently amuse him. This work is ornamented with several plates, which do credit both to the delineator and the engraver.

"The History of the Town of Taunton, in the County of Somerset, embellished with plates, by

Joshua Toulmin A.M." is a judicious and pleasing piece of local history, which merits the encouragement of the numerous list of subscribers, by whom it is patronised. It is a regular and methodical work, divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, Mr. Toulmin describes the ancient state of the town, its situation, antiquities, and other circumstances. The second chapter treats of the public buildings. The third chapter contains an account of the civil constitution of the town; the fourth, of its trade, manufactures, and navigation; the fifth, of the political transactions and revolutions in which it has been the scene of action; and the sixth, of the present state of the town, with the modern improvements and population. In this work Mr. Toulmin has equally avoided the faults of frivolous detail, and dry uninteresting narrative. His materials seem to have been drawn from authentic sources; and they present us with a number of instructive and entertaining facts, intermixed with a variety of sensible, important, and interesting observations. Mr. Toulmin proposes to publish an appendix, containing biographical memoirs of eminent persons connected with the town and neighbourhood, epitaphs, chronological tables &c. &c. which will be a very proper addition to the work before us.

"The History and Antiquities of Tewksbury, from the earliest Periods to the present Time, collected from ancient Records, and other authentic Materials," is a publication which possesses considerable merit, although it may not be entitled to a dignified rank among local histories. It contains a concise, and, we believe, an accurate account of whatever is worthy of attention in the history of Tewksbury, or deserves the notice of strangers; and

may be recommended to those who pass through that town, as an useful and respectable directory.

"The History and Antiquities of Claybrook, in the County of Leicester, &c. by the Rev. A. Macaulay, A. M.", is likewise a pleasing and well written little treatise. It is not drawn up in the strict and formal order of history; but is, notwithstanding, sufficiently instructive with respect to the topography and antiquities of Claybrook, while the author's incidental observations render it entertaining to general readers.

Among the books of travels which have been published during the year 1791, there hath appeared a third vol. of "Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, &c. by W. Coxe, A. M. F. R. S. &c." The general merits of Mr. Coxe, as a writer of travels, are so well known, that it would be a needless task for us to enter into the appreciation of them. It will be sufficient, therefore, that we inform our readers, what are the general contents of this volume. It contains observations made by the author, during a second tour into the northern kingdoms, which are given in addition to those formerly published by him; and an account of Jutland, Norway, Livonia, Courland, and Prussia, which he had not visited on his former journey. Among other curious particulars, we meet with an account of the execution of the counts Struensee and Brandt; a view of the present state of the Swedish government, commerce, navigation, revenues, expenditure, and bank; an enquiry into the population of Norway; anecdotes relative to Gustavus Vasa; a plan for the establishment of schools in the several governments of Russia; an account of

the empress of Russia's gallery of pictures; statements of the population, revenue, expenditure, and army of Russia; and an account of the trade of the Prussian dominions. To these, and other important articles, Mr. Coxe has added biographical memoirs of several eminent men, of which we have given specimens among our biographical anecdotes and characters. In an appendix, we have an accurate list of the governments, provinces, and districts of Russia, according to the new geographical division of that empire.

In our account of the literature of France, for the year 1783, we laid before our readers the plan of the "Travels of Anacharsis the Younger, in Greece, during the Middle of the fourth Century, before the Christian Æra; by the Abbé Barthelemy, Keeper of the Medals in the Cabinet of the King of France, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres." We likewise, in that volume, fully expressed our idea of the great merit, and utility of that important work; and it would be superfluous to repeat our former sentiments and language. What has led us to make these observations is, the appearance of an elegant and faithful translation of those travels into the English language, in seven volumes 8vo. with an eighth in 4to. containing maps, plates, views, and coins, illustrative of the geography and antiquities of ancient Greece. To young persons we particularly recommend this work, as more replete than any we have for a long time seen, both with instruction and amusement.

In our account of the domestic literature of the year 1788, we gave a general character, of "A Tour in England and Scotland, in



1785, by an English Gentleman." This gentleman was Thomas Newte, esq. who has republished the work, during the present year, with numerous enlargements and alterations, under the title of "Prospects and Observations, or a Tour in England and Scotland, natural, æconomical, and literary." Notwithstanding that the author in his new work, has introduced a number of digressions, which are frequently too long and tedious, we can promise the reader, be he a man of business, a political economist, or a philosopher, that he will meet with much entertainment in the perusal of it.

Among those books of travels which deserve to be recommended, as possessing very superior merit and utility, we meet with "a Journey through Spain, in the Years 1786 and 1787, with particular Attention to the Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Population, Taxes, and Revenue of that Country, &c. by Joseph Townsend, A.M. in three Vols." In the first volume Mr. Townsend, after giving some observations which occurred to him in his passage through France, carries his reader, by different routes, through Barcelona, and Zaragoza, to Madrid; from thence to Aranjuez and Toledo, and to the Asturias, through Valladolid and Leon. In the second volume he returns to Madrid from the Asturias, through Salamanca and Segovia; in which journey he particularly examines the palaces at St. Ildefonso and the Escorial. After describing, in a particular manner, the character of the king, and courtiers, and giving what seems to be an accurate view of the debts, revenues, and population of Spain, he proceeds from the metropolis, through the Sierra Morena, to Seville, and Cadiz, of

which place and its manufactures, commerce, and particularly the trade of Spain with her colonies, he gives a very interesting description. In the third volume he proceeds by sea from Cadiz to Malaga; from which place he passes through Granada, Carthagena, Alicant, Valencia, and Tortosa, to Barcelona, where his journey ends. The diversified scenes which occurred in these different tracks, the manners and morals of the people, the natural history, finances, manufactures, and political economy of the country, are particularly and minutely described by Mr. Townsend; and not any objects appear to have escaped his notice and examination, that can interest the statesman, the philosopher, or the connoisseur. His own observations and remarks are, many of them, novel, judicious, and valuable; and could only proceed from an enlightened and liberal mind. We wish, by this imperfect account of the volumes before us, to excite the curiosity of our readers to become acquainted with them, from a conviction that they will afford much useful information and entertainment to an inquisitive mind. The style and language of Mr. Townsend are, in general, perspicuous and correct.

The "Tour through Italy, containing full Directions for travelling in that interesting Country, &c. by Thomas Martyn, B. D. F. R. S. &c." is a most complete vade mecum for inquisitive travellers. Beside all necessary information relative to the money, weights, measures, method of travelling, the rates of posts, and accurate itineraries, which are accompanied with useful æconomical observations and remarks, and pleasing descriptions, it contains ample catalogues of every thing that is curious in architecture, painting, scul-

sculpture &c. and very particular accounts of the four principal cities, Rome, Florence, Naples, and Venice, with their environs. And it is illustrated by an elegant coloured map, pointing out the different roads in Italy. Such a work, written by a person of Mr. Martyn's acknowledged science and taste, does not stand in need of any recommendation which we can give it.

The "Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Mogodore, Santa Cruz, Tarudant, and thence over Mount Atlas to Morocco &c. by W. Lempriere, Surgeon," is a valuable accession to our stock of intelligent and amusing books of travels. The object of Mr. Lempriere's journey was, to render medical assistance to the favourite son of the late emperor of Morocco, in consequence of an application from that prince to the governor of Gibraltar. While passing through the country, and during his residence at the emperor's court, he appears to have paid great attention to the state of that empire, the customs and manners of the inhabitants, the court, and the royal harem, to which he was admitted in his professional capacity. The narrative which he has written is an evidence how well he employed his time: it is drawn up in a plain, unaffected manner, and contains various particulars, which serve to throw a light on the present state of that barbarous and inhospitable country. The author's own adventures, which occupy a considerable part of the work, and the remarks with which they are interperfed, are interesting and entertaining.

"The Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader, describing the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians, &c.

by J. Long," appear to have been written by a man of veracity, and a sensible, judicious observer. His description of the Indian customs and manners, with which he had opportunities of being thoroughly acquainted in his numerous trading voyages, and relations of his own adventures, are curious and entertaining; and will be found of considerable use to those who may engage in the Indian commerce. To such persons, likewise, his account of the posts situated on the river St. Lawrence, lake Ontario, &c. and his vocabulary of the Chipeway language, &c. &c. will be an acceptable present. These travels are accompanied with a map of the country and stations which Mr. Long visited, or of which he received accurate accounts from other travellers.

"The Route to India through France, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, Natolia, Syria, and the Desert of Arabia, &c. with the Distances, Time, Mode, and Expence of travelling, by Captain Matthew Jenour, &c." will principally be of service to those who, on a political or commercial emergency, or from motives of curiosity, may be desirous of reaching our oriental possessions by land. It seems to contain every necessary information for the traveller; and is written with plainness and perspicuity.

The "Observations and Remarks made during a Voyage to the Island of Teneriffe, Amsterdam, the Marian Islands near Van Diemen's Land, Otahite, &c. and from thence to Canton, in the Brig Mercury, commanded by John Henry Cox, esq. by Lieut. George Mortimer, of the Marines," do not offer many important additions to the geographical or historical knowledge, which has been supplied by other voyagers who have traversed the

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the same seas. They are written, however, in a modest and sensible manner, and contain some facts and circumstances which are curious and worthy attention.

"The Discoveries of the French in 1763, and 1769, to the South East of New Guinea, with the subsequent Visits to the same Islands, by English Navigators, &c." translated from the French, will not afford much entertainment to those who are conversant with the voyages of Cook, Bougainville, and more recent navigators. But it does not seem to be so much the design of the author, to convey new information respecting those countries, as to support the claims of the French in the present, and of the Portuguese and Spaniards in former centuries, to geographical discoveries, the merit of which has been shared by different English navigators. Whether the author be successful, or otherwise, we leave to those who are better acquainted with scientific details, without a knowledge of which it is impossible to draw a fair conclusion. What is most new and interesting in this work, the author has extracted from the original journal of M. de Surville, and of the officers who commanded under him. The charts which illustrate this volume are numerous and useful.

The "Journal kept in the Isle of Man, &c. by Richard Townley Esq. in 2 vols," contains a variety of observations on the soil, climate, and natural productions of that island; as also on its antiquities, the manners and customs peculiar to the inhabitants, and numerous other topics, from which we have received both instruction and amusement. But what is valuable in these volumes, is so intermixed with what is frivolous, uninteresting, and foreign

to the history of the Isle of Man, and the whole is so wretchedly arranged, that we found the entire perusal of it a very unpleasant task.

The "Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, with a general History of the Levant, by the Abbè Mariti, translated from the Italian, in 2 vols," we have read with much pleasure and satisfaction. The first volume is entirely employed in describing the island of Cyprus, where the Abbè resided some time. It includes an accurate and particular account of the face of the country, its natural produce, the towns which it contains, its antiquities, history, the manners, customs, and religion of the inhabitants, their government and commerce, and the office, power, and privileges of the different European consuls residing in the island. The second volume opens with an account of the different people who inhabit Syria and Palestine; and afterwards gives the result of our author's observations and enquiries in his excursions to Acre, Mount Carmel, Nazareth, Tiberias, Tyre, Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Jericho, the river Jordan, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem, and the environs of those respective places. An account of travels through countries which have made such a conspicuous figure in sacred and profane history, and which have undergone the most extraordinary revolutions recorded in the annals of mankind, cannot but greatly excite the curiosity of the public. And when undertaken by an intelligent observer, of unsuspected fidelity, they must prove highly gratifying. The Abbè Mariti appears to have been well qualified for such a task; and the honorary rewards which have been conferred on him by several learned academies, for the able manner in which he hath performed

ed it, are very flattering to the author, and to his work. In our opinion, he richly merited such rewards. His travels abound in curious and useful information, lively and interesting description, and in observations and remarks which prove the author, notwithstanding that he is an Italian Abbè, to have a mind truly liberal and philosophical. The original work is in five volumes, two of which only are here translated. We doubt not, however, but that it will meet with such a reception from the English reader, as shall encourage the speedy appearance of the remaining volumes.

The "*Lettres sur divers Endroits, &c.* i. e. Letters concerning several Parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, &c. which were visited in 1788, and 1789, by Alexander Bifani," are written in easy, unaffected language, and contain the remarks of an intelligent and lively traveller, in passing over many classic and interesting scenes, from which we have received much pleasure and entertainment. The principal places which he describes are, Palermo, Agrigentum, Malta, Salonica, Athens, Smyrna, Constantinople, Tripoli, Tunis, Carthage, Gibraltar, Toulon, Leghorn, and Sardinia.

From the "*Travels round the World, in the Years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, by M. de Pagès, Captain in the French Navy, &c.* in 2 Vols.," we have received much instruction as well as amusement. The first volume gives a very interesting account of the author's travels from New Orleans, across the vast North American continent, by Mexico, to Acapulco; at which place he embarked for the Philippine Islands. These scenes, seldom if ever visited by any Europeans, excepting the Spaniards, who are not

communicative of information, presented M. de Pagès with many singular and striking objects, which he describes in a manner that cannot fail to gratify the most ardent curiosity, while his judicious and sensible observations contribute to the extension of natural and philosophical knowledge. His account of the Spanish Indies is particularly valuable. In the second volume, M. de Pagès conducts his readers from Manilla to Batavia, Bombay, Surat, the country of the Mahrattas, Bafforah, and through the deserts of Arabia to Syria; many parts of which he visited before his return to France. Notwithstanding that these routes have been followed by many other travellers, there is a degree of novelty in our author's manner of description, and in some of the circumstances which he met with, that will amply repay the reader for perusing these volumes. On the whole, we think this work a valuable addition to those publications, which tend to increase our knowledge of the globe we inhabit, and to enlarge our acquaintance with the human character.

The "*Picture of Italy, translated from the original German of W. de Archenholtz, &c.* by Joseph Trapp, A. M. in 2 Vols." contains an outline of that celebrated country, so often visited by inquisitive and scientific travellers, which appears to be accurately drawn, and has afforded us considerable pleasure in the examination of it. It presents us, likewise, with some interesting circumstances, and curious information, which we do not remember to have met with in preceding writers.

In our account of the literature of France, for the year 1789, we announced the publication of "*Travels in Barbary, &c.* in 2 Vols. by the

the abbé Poiret." Of this work, that part which is descriptive and relates to the customs and manners of the inhabitants, has been published in an English dress, in a small volume, which appears to have been translated with attention and fidelity.

The *marquis de Langle's* "Picturesque Description of Switzerland, translated from the French," consists of remarks written, sometimes under the shade of a tree, and at other times at the side of a rivulet, in different rambles which the author made on foot through that country. It was his object "briefly to narrate every thing that occurred to his fugitive ideas, and vagrant perambulations." Order and method, therefore, will not be expected in such a performance; and it will be natural to imagine that it will often be found very unequal, if not sometimes very desultory. It is, however, but justice to add, that it is frequently interesting and amusing. Many of the author's observations are original and instructive; and his turns of wit, with which they are intermixed, will afford entertainment to the reader.

The Political publications of the year 1791 have been very numerous, owing, partly to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and partly to that growing fondness for discussion, which in a free country it is desirable to encourage rather than controul. But, from the nature of our work, we are precluded from entering into the merits of the different questions which agitated the public mind.

Even on the subject of the French Revolution, great and important as that event is likely to prove in the history of mankind, such is the accumulation of materials with which our catalogue might be enlarged

since the last year only, that we are obliged to restrict ourselves to the notice of a very few of the principal treatises which have interested the attention of the public.

Among these, the first in chronological order, are the "Letters to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, occasioned by his Reflections on the Revolution in France, &c. by Joseph Priestley, LL. D, F. R. S. &c." These letters are thirteen in number. The first five contain animadversions on those passages in Mr. Burke's book which relate to the revolution of France, and some circumstances attending it, the rights of men and of kings, the revolution in England in 1688, the revolution society, and Dr. Price. In these letters the author very satisfactorily exposes the incongruities which abound in Mr. Burke's Reflections, together with the illiberality and injustice with which he treats the friends to improvement and reform; and by a series of acute persuasive arguments, supports the whig side of the question relative to the origin and principles of civil government. But what Dr. Priestley more particularly discusses is, the ecclesiastical part of Mr. Burke's Reflections, and what he has written on the subject of the civil establishment of religion. On these discussions he is employed in the sixth letter, and the following ones, to the twelfth inclusive. The various topics connected with this part of his subject, our author treats with his accustomed shrewdness and freedom; and assails his adversary, not only with the weapons of forcible reasoning, but of keen and pointed irony. The last letter, in which Dr. Priestley delineates the prospect of the general enlargement of liberty, civil and religious, opened by the revolution

tions in America and France, is an animated and pleasing composition, and will warm the heart of every benevolent person, even of those who may not be equally sanguine with the doctor in the hopes which he indulges. On the whole, we conceive that the author has given a fatal blow to the renowned champion of paradox and prejudice.

The next publication which we have to mention is "Rights of Man; being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution, by Thomas Paine, Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Congress in the American War, &c." This work is partly narrative, and partly argumentative. In the narrative part, the author develops the springs and sources of the French revolution, and details the progress of events by which it was marked, with equal acuteness and perspicuity. For this part of his work Mr. Paine was peculiarly qualified, by his residence at Paris, and his intimate connexion with the leading characters in the grand political drama, particularly M. de la Fayette. In the argumentative part, the author steps forward as a bold and intrepid defender of the principles which Mr. Burke endeavoured to consign to detestation and contempt; and delivers a number of just and important political truths, in a style and language which though not elegant or correct, are peculiarly forcible and interesting. His defence of religion, liberty, and of the right which God and nature have given to every man, to worship his creator in his own mode, without incurring any political disability, or forfeiting any advantages of a citizen, is original and incontrovertible. With his arguments, likewise, Mr. Paine intermixes a sufficient quantity of sarcasm and ridicule, which are very properly

opposed to absurdity and sophistry. Many of his readers, however, who approve, in general, of the great principles for which he contends, will sometimes think with us, that these ingredients are too highly seasoned, or too coarse; and applied in a manner that is not warranted by the strict rules of propriety and decorum.

The "Letters on the Revolution of France, and on the new Constitution established by the National Assembly, occasioned by the Publications of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, and Alexander de Calonne, late Minister of State, &c. by Thomas Christie," Part I. are written with great temper and moderation, by an author of strong manly sense, who possessed the best opportunities for acquiring information on the subjects which he discusses; and who is as liberal and dispassionate, as his antagonists are prejudiced and interested. To this work is annexed a chart, exhibiting in one view all the different branches of the new constitution; and an Appendix, containing the most interesting declarations, decrees, resolutions, and addresses, of the assembly; the reports of select committees; and some animated speeches of the most distinguished members, as well as of the king. To those who would wish to have an accurate knowledge of the French constitution, and a regular statement of the measures which were adopted by the constituting national assembly, we warmly recommend the perusal of these excellent letters.

The treatise entitled "Vindiciæ Gallicæ; Defence of the French Revolution and its English Admirers, against the Accusations of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke; including some Strictures on the late Production of Mons. de Calonne, by

by James Mackintosh," is the last publication on the subject of French politics, of which the limited nature of our work will permit us to make particular mention. This work is divided into five sections. The first treats of the general expediency and necessity of a revolution in France; the second of the composition and character of the national assembly; the third of the popular excesses which attended or followed the revolution; the fourth of the new constitution of France; and the fifth of the conduct of its English admirers. In this work, Mr. Mackintosh, notwithstanding that he has been preceded by able authors in the same controversy, appears to very considerable advantage. In political research, just discrimination, and strong argumentative powers, he has few rivals. And his reasoning is recommended by an elegance and perspicuity of style, and by an animation and energy of language, of which we cannot point out another instance in our modern political writers. The admirers of fine composition, as well as the friends of the French revolution, will be highly gratified by the perusal of this performance.

On the same side of the question appeared "a Letter to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, by sir Brooke Boothby, bart.;" "Observations on the Right Hon. Edm. Burke's Pamphlet on the Subject of the French Revolution, by Benjamin Bousfield, esq.;" and a variety of other pamphlets, partly original, and partly translations from the French, which are too numerous to be specified by us.

The "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, in consequence of some late Discussions in Parliament relative to the Reflections on the French Revolution," has been generally at-

tributed to Mr. Burke; and was published in order to establish the claims of that gentleman to political consistency of character, and to support several of the positions in his former work, which were contested by Mr. Paine. This performance was soon attacked in "a Letter to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, by George Rous, esq." in "Strictures on the new Political Tenets of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, &c. by Charles Pigott, esq.;" in "an Examination of an Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, &c. by W. Belsham;" and in numerous other publications, which abundantly detect the pernicious tendency of his political principles.

Mr. Burke, however, has not been left to sustain the contest alone. His principles have been avowed, and an attempt has been made to defend them, by Edw. Tatham, D. D. in his "Letters to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, on Politics;" by Samuel Cooper, D. D. in his "First Principles of Civil and Ecclesiastical Government delineated, in two parts; in Letters to Dr. Priestley, occasioned by his to Mr. Burke;" by an anonymous author, who professes to usher into the world "a Vindication of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, in Answer to all his Opponents;" and by other light troops who have occasionally made their appearance in the field.

On the subject of toleration, and the repeal of disqualifying and penal statutes, the following were the principal publications: "Observations on the Test Laws, in reply to 'a Review of the Case of the Protestant Dissenters.;" "Thoughts on such Penal Statutes as affect the Protestant Dissenters, most respectfully submitted to the honourable Promoters of the Bill in favour of protesting

Roman Catholics, by William Parry;" "a Letter to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, from a Dissenting Country Attorney, in Defence of his Civil Profession, and Religious Dissent;" "an Address to the Public, in which an Answer is given to the principal Objections urged in the House of Commons, by the Right Hon. Lord North, and the Right Hon. W. Pitt, against the Repeal of the Test Laws, by a Master of Arts of the University of Oxford;" "The Welch Freeholder's Vindication of his Letter to the Right Rev. Samuel Lord Bishop of St. David's, in Reply to a Letter from a Clergyman of that Diocese, together with Strictures on the said Letter;" "Six Letters on Intolerance; and Debates in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on taking into Consideration an Overture from Jedburgh, respecting the Test Act."

The recital of the infamous transactions which took place at Birmingham, on the 14th of July and the following days, belongs to a different part of our work. Our province, in this place, is only to record the title of the publications, to which those transactions gave rise. The first of these was a small tract, including "Dr. Priestley's Letter to the Inhabitants of Birmingham; Mr. Keir's Vindication of the Revolution Dinner, and Mr. Russell's Account of the Proceedings relating to it, with the Toasts, &c." To this succeeded "Thoughts on the Birmingham Riots, by a Welch Freeholder;" "Thoughts on the late Riots of Birmingham," by a Person who is for attributing all the Mischiefs committed there to Dr. Priestley; and "a Letter to the Rev. Joseph Priestley, occasioned by his late Address to the Inhabitants of Birmingham." To these must be

added, "Remarks on a Sermon lately published, by the Rev. John Clayton, in three Letters to a Friend, by a Protestant Dissenter;" and a Remonstrance with the Rev. J. Clayton, on his "Sermon on the Duty of Christians to Civil Magistrates, occasioned by the Riots at Birmingham, &c.;" which bestow proper chastisement on the preacher, for his injudicious, servile, and illiberal harangue. The last publication relative to this subject, which we have to mention is, "an Appeal to the Public, on the Subject of the Riots at Birmingham; to which are added, Strictures on a Pamphlet entitled 'Thoughts on the late Riots at Birmingham,' by Joseph Priestley, LL. D. &c." This publication contains a narrative of facts, which must make every liberal minded Englishman blush, for the ignorance and bigotry, and persecuting spirit, which have appeared in this boasted land of knowledge and liberty, at a period when nations who have long been the subjects of despotism and blind zeal, are become enlightened and liberal; and for the savage ferocity, with which, under a defective police, they have been suffered to perpetrate outrages, that will for ever stain the annals of his country. The reflections which the doctor has added, do great credit to his philosophy, his benevolence, and his piety.

On the subject of the Slave-Trade, the following treatises have been offered to the public notice: "a few Words on the Nature of the Slave Trade, and the Measures which ought to be adopted;" "Reflections on the Slave Trade, with Remarks on the Policy of its Abolition, in a Letter to a Clergyman in the County of Suffolk, by G. C. P." "Letter on the Slave Trade, and the State of the Natives in those Parts of Africa which



which are contiguous to Fort St. Louis and Goree, by T. Clarkson;” and “Observations on the Evidence given before the Committee of the Privy Council, and House of Commons, in support of the Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade.” All of these publications, excepting the last, plead for the immediate or gradual abolition of that inhuman traffic.

The following pamphlets relate to Indian Politics: “a Dissertation on the Landed Property of Bengal, by C. W. B. Rous, esq.” “a short Review of the Trade of the East India Company, between the Years 1785, and 1790, taken from Papers laid before the House of Commons, during the two last Sessions of Parliament;” “a Comparative Review of the Administrations of Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Dundas, in War and in Peace, by Ralph Broome, esq.” “The Ship’s Husband, a Narrative, being a Statement of Facts, addressed to the Hon. Court of Directors of the East India Company, &c. by Capt. John Walsby;” and “an Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock, and to the Public, &c. by Mr. John Fiott, of London, Merchant.”

The trial of Mr. Hastings, gave rise to a variety of pamphlets, by E. Christian, esq. R. Broome, esq. Capel Loft, esq. G. Hardinge, esq. major John Scott, and different anonymous authors, in which the question, how far impeachments are affected by a dissolution of parliament? was particularly discussed.

We shall now close our account of the Political publications of the year 1791, by a Miscellaneous list of such pieces as are not to be referred to any of the foregoing heads. In this number we include “the Letters of Brutus to celebrated Political Characters;” “another Sketch of the Reign of George III. from

the Year 1780, to 1790, being an Answer to a Sketch, &c.” which was noticed by us in our historical department; “a Short Review of Mr. Pitt’s Administration;” “British Common Sense, or Reflections on the present State of the British Nation, recommending a free Uninfluenced Representation of the People, &c.,” “Thoughts on the Canada Bill;” “Thoughts on the present Critical Situation of Europe, addressed to the King, and both Houses of Parliament, by a Friend to his Country;” “Considerations on the Approach of War, and the Conduct of his Majesty’s Ministers;” “Serious Enquiries into the Motives and Consequences of our present Armament against Russia;” “a Seasonable short Hint, Addressed to the Landholders and Merchants of Great Britain, on the Alarm of a War with Russia;” “Parallel between the Conduct of Mr. Burke and that of Mr. Fox, in their Parliamentary Contest, in a Letter to the Former;” “Patriotism and the Love of Liberty defended, in two Dialogues, by the Hon. John Somers Cocks, M. P.,” “political Speculations, occasioned by the Progress of a Democratic Spirit in England;” “the English Freeholder;” “Political Dialogues;” “Thoughts on the Origin and Excellence of Regal Government;” and “moderate Politics devoted to Britons.”

The next department of our literary history, includes in it such publications as are to be referred to the head of critical, classical and polite literature.

In our Register for the year 1789, we announced the publication of a new and beautiful impression of the works of Salust, which was deserving of high commendation for its correctness, and typographical excellences.

lences. In the following year the same editor presented to the public "*Catii Julii Cæsaris Opera omnia*," in two volumes 8vo, according to the text of Oudendorp. This work possesses all the evidences of accuracy and care, which recommended the edition of Salust; and has the merit of being a still more beautiful specimen of the excellence to which some of our countrymen have carried the typographical art. The first volume contains the seven books de Bello Gallico, with the continuation of Hirtius; Nomenclator Geographicus, principally from Ortelius; Scaliger's *Notitia Gallica*; Clark's Index of the Nations, Towns, and Rivers in Gaul; the fragments of those works of Cæsar which are lost; and Dodwell's dissertation on the author of the supplement to Cæsar's works. The second volume contains the three books de Bello Civile; Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino, and de Bello Africano; the book de Bello Hispaniensi; and an index to the principal facts recorded in the whole of Cæsar's Commentaries. These volumes are ornamented with maps of ancient Gaul, ancient Spain, and of the principal places mentioned by Cæsar; together with a beautiful head of that Roman, and a plan of his celebrated bridge over the Rhine.

"The History of Herodotus, translated from the Greek, with Notes, by W. Beloe, in four vols, 8vo," is a very valuable acquisition to the English scholar. This father of history, as he is styled by Cicero, wrote his celebrated work about the middle of the fifth century before the Christian Æra: and from that time, when it was read publicly at the Olympic Games, it has been the subject of the admiration and applause of men of learning and taste, for elegance and simplicity of

style, and perspicuity of arrangement, as well as for impartiality and extent of information. In some instances he is acknowledged to have been too credulous: but many passages which were too freely condemned by different ancient critics, have been satisfactorily illustrated and established by later enquiries. Mr. Beloe's translation is the result of considerable labour; and does great credit to his learning, abilities, and taste. It is, in general, faithful to the sense and spirit of the original; and as literal as was consistent with perspicuity and elegance. It is likewise accompanied with a great variety of learned and entertaining notes, which, exclusive of Mr. Beloe's own, have been taken from Larcher's French translation, and diligently collected in the course of his reading from ancient writers, and modern travellers, with a curious disquisition on the manners of the Athenians; a well-written life of Herodotus; and a copious index. We are given to understand, that our translator has it in contemplation to publish a fifth volume, containing a translation of Plutarch's Tract on Herodotus, and the abbé Geinoz's three dissertations on that subject, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscription and Belles Lettres*.

"Alciphron's Epistles, in which are described the Domestic Manners, the Courtisans, and Parasites of Greece," have been now translated into English for the first time, by two gentlemen of well known literary talents. Alciphron's Epistles are not easily to be procured; and his merit as a writer is not yet generally ascertained in the learned world. Dr. Jortin's opinion of him was, "That as an ancient Greek writer, (probably more ancient than Lucian) Alciphron deserves to be

perused; but he who shall expect much entertainment from his compositions, will find himself disappointed: that they are, for the most part, uninteresting and frivolous." Our translators differ in opinion from that learned critic, declaring, that instead of meeting with disappointment, they have received the highest gratification; that some of these epistles afford the "most ancient perfect models of Attic elegance;" others discover "a spirit of gallantry, which breathes every thing that beauty can inspire," or "every tender sentiment which fondness can give birth to, and every elegant turn that it can produce." Between such discordant opinions, the public have it now in their power to decide.

"*Cedipus, King of Thebes, a Tragedy, from the Greek of Sophocles; translated into prose, with Notes Critical and Explanatory, by George Somers Clarke, B. D.*" affords sufficient evidence of the learning and ability of the translator. But we cannot agree with the friend of Mr. Clarke, at whose suggestion it was undertaken, "that such a version of the Greek tragedies, if properly executed, would possess obvious advantages over the metrical translations, and prove of superior utility, as well to the classical student, as to the English reader." Whatever advantage the student may be supposed to derive from such a version, which "professes no more than the object of useful exposition," we think it very inadequate to convey an idea of the beauty and spirit of the original.

In our view of the Literature of the year 1789, we mentioned, in terms of warm approbation, the appearance of a small treatise by Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, entitled "a new

Translation of those Parts of the New Testament which are wrongly Translated in our common Version." Towards the close of the present year, the same author published a "new Translation of the whole New Testament, in three Volumes, with a Preface and Notes." We have not, however, been able to pay that attention to this work, which is due to its importance, and the acknowledged learning and ingenuity of the author: and must necessarily defer our account of it till the publication of our next volume.

The "Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet, by Richard Payne Knight," is the production of a learned and ingenious philologist, who, beside the abilities of a profound scholar, possesses the principles of sound taste, and an acquaintance with the graces of elegant composition. After introducing an apology for his work, in which he rescues verbal critics from the situation to which they are too commonly degraded, of being "the Pioneers of Literature," he divides it into seven sections. In the first section, he considers the nature and causes of articulate sounds, and ascertains the origin, form, and power of the letters of the alphabet. In the second section, he considers in what modes and degrees particular acts of vocal utterance were lengthened or shortened, in proportion to the number and class of the letters employed in representing them. The third section treats of orthography; the fourth of pronunciation, orthography, and right reading, or the first collocation of words. In the fifth section, Mr. Knight offers a variety of reasons to shew that the Attic dialect was not the parent one in Greece, or the proper criterion of purity and correctness; and directs his readers to the works of those

critics and grammarians, whose well directed labours "have dispelled the clouds of grammatical jargon, that obscured the most important part of the Greek tongue; i. e. the inflexion of the verbs."

In the sixth section, he gives at considerable length his reasons for rejecting, in the whole of his enquiry, the evidence of some very celebrated and important monuments of antiquity, first published in the memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and since cited as authentic by every writer upon the subject. The seventh section is employed in strictures upon the Oxford edition of the Decree of the Lacedæmonians against Timotheus. The whole is illustrated by engravings of coins and inscriptions, to which he refers in the course of his work. This essay will afford entertainment to the historian and antiquary, as well as the philologist.

"Aristarchus, or the Principles of Composition; containing a Methodical Arrangement of the Improprieties frequent in Writing and Conversation, with select Rules for attaining to Purity and Elegance of Expression," was the production of the late ingenious and very eccentric Dr. Withers. Notwithstanding the promise in the title-page, we have met with no methodical arrangement in this work; for which the peculiar circumstances of the author, which would not permit him to complete his design, may, in some measure be admitted as an apology. But although unconnected, and desultory, and distinguished by all the peculiarities of the author, it contains a number of ingenious and sensible remarks, which deserve the notice of more methodical, and more fortunate grammarians.

The "Essay on the Principles of Translation," is the publication of an anonymous author, which is in-

tended to supply the deficiencies on a subject, to which didactic writers, either among the ancients or moderns, have not paid a sufficient attention. His design is; to examine the necessary requisites of a good version: and to take a middle path between those who insist that it is the duty of a translator to attend only to the sense and spirit of his original, and to communicate the ideas of his author in what he judges to be the most suitable expressions; and those who contend that it is farther necessary to attend strictly to the arrangement of his sentences, and even to their order and construction. A good translation he defines to be, "that in which the merit of the original work is so completely transfused into another language, as to be as distinctly apprehended, and as strongly felt, by a native of the country, to which that language belongs, as it is by those who speak the language of the original work." From this definition of a good translation, he lays down the following laws: that the translation should give a complete transcript of the original work; that the style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original; and that the translation should have all the ease of original composition. We cannot follow him in the manner in which these laws are distinctly considered; in the subordinate precepts which he lays down; and in the apposite examples by which they are illustrated. It is but justice, however, to observe, that the author is distinguished by extensive knowledge, and just taste and discrimination; and that he is peculiarly happy in many of the remarks and illustrations which accompany his work.

In our account of the Literature of the year 1791, we announced, in the

the department assigned to works of a Metaphysical nature, a publication entitled "Essays, Philosophical, Historical, and Literary," which, as we have been since given to understand, was the production of Mr. Belsham, of Bedford. During the present year, a second volume of those Essays has been published; which it would have been more regular to have noticed in the same department of our present volume. As, however, it was overlooked by us in proper time for insertion in our metaphysical list, and is, partly, of a literary complexion, we take the opportunity of mentioning it in this place. The present volume is so similar to the preceding, with respect to its general spirit and character, that its merits need not to be particularly mentioned. We think the author, however, to be more vulnerable than in his former volume, in some of his metaphysical papers; and particularly, in his essay on ecclesiastical establishments. In the walk of history, he offers a variety of judicious and liberal reflections; and in his moral and critical papers, is often instructive and entertaining.

The treatise entitled "Curiosities of Literature," is a collection of various anecdotes, characters, sketches, and observations, literary, critical, and historical, from which we have received considerable entertainment. It is divided into three sections, under the titles of, Literature and Criticism, Anecdotes, and Miscellanea. Many of the particulars under these divisions are not new; but the greater part will be found so by most English readers, as the editor has been liberal in his extracts from the *Menagiana*, and other French memoirs, dictionnaires d'anecdotes, &c. &c. On the whole, we think it the most judi-

cious and pleasing selection of the kind that we have even seen. The compiler has given proof, not only of extensive and various reading, in the articles which compose his cabinet of curiosities, but of a sound judgment and correct taste, in the reflections and remarks which he frequently introduces. His style and language, likewise, are perspicuous, polished, and elegant.

The "Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, and Exposition of the English Language, &c. by John Walker, Author of Elements of Elocution, &c." contains the commendable and laborious attempt of a respectable grammarian and verbal critic, to furnish a more perfect and unexceptionable guide to the true pronunciation of the English language, than any which hath hitherto been offered to the public. Of the labours of his predecessors in orthoepy, he makes respectful mention, particularly those of Elphinstone, Kenrick, Sheridan, and Nares; while he freely points out those defects, improprieties, and inconsistencies in them, which he has endeavoured to avoid in his work. A general idea of Mr. Walker's object may be learned from his own words. "It not only exhibits the principles of pronunciation, as others have done, divides the words into syllables, and marks the sounds of the vowels like Dr. Kenrick, spells the words as they are pronounced like Mr. Sheridan, and directs the inspector to the rule by the word like Mr. Nares; but where words are subject to different pronunciations, it shews the reasons from analogy for each; produces authorities for one side and the other, and points out the pronunciation which is preferable. In short, I have endeavoured to unite the science of Mr. Elphinstone, the method

thod of Mr. Nares; and the general utility of Mr. Sheridan; and to add to these advantages, have given critical observations on such words as are subject to a diversity of pronunciation." In reading this work, we occasionally found reason to differ from Mr. Walker, in the extent to which he has carried his theoretical principles, and in his reasonings from analogy, etymology, and custom. We, likewise, sometimes thought, that his directions were too arbitrary and fanciful. Yet it is but justice to acknowledge, that he has, in a great variety of instances, improved much upon the efforts of his predecessors; and contributed, very considerably, towards fixing a standard of pronunciation, which is not only desirable for foreigners, learning the English language, but even for Englishmen themselves.

The "Discourse delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Distribution of the Prizes, Dec. 20th. 1790, by the President," like the former discourses of sir Joshua Reynolds, contains interesting and valuable advice to students in the art of painting, delivered in his peculiarly elegant and energetic language. After intimating the probability that it was the last time he should have the honour of addressing them, in that place, sir Joshua takes a review of the system which he had laid down in his former essays, gives some proper illustrations of his principles, and finishes, as he began, with the name of Michael Angelo. That great man he styles, "the exalted founder and father of modern art, of which he was not only the inventor, but which he, by the divine energy of his own mind, carried at once to its highest point of possible perfection." And it is the princi-

pal object of this discourse to persuade young artists to study the works of that master, and to propose methods by which they may acquire something of his style. The polite scholar, as well as the artist and connoisseur, will receive pleasure and instruction from this effort of sir Joshua Reynolds pen; and will lament with us, that, as the author's mind seemed to forbode, it proved his last effort.

From the "Remarks on Forest Scenery, and other Woodland Views (relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty) illustrated by the Scenes of the New Forest in Hampshire, by William Gilpin, A. M. in 2 Vols." we have received considerable entertainment. Notwithstanding that from the nature of his subjects, they may not prove so generally interesting as his former productions; they exhibit, nevertheless, numerous and striking evidences of the author's taste, judgment, and knowledge; and contain, beside scientific observations, a variety of lively descriptions and amusing anecdotes. The washed etchings, which illustrate these volumes, are executed in a style that deserves much commendation.

In Poetical translation, the first work that calls for our notice is, "The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, translated into English Blank Verse, by W. Cowper, esq." in 2 vols. 4to. In his preface Mr. Cowper observes, that, "whether a translation of Homer may be best executed in blank verse or in rhyme, is a question in the decision of which no man can find difficulty, who has even duly considered what translation ought to be, or who is in any degree practically acquainted with those very different kinds of versification." With respect to the free and close translations, in-

conveniencies belong to both. "The former can hardly be true to the original author's style and manner, and the latter is apt to be servile. The one looses his peculiarities, and the other his spirit. Were it possible, therefore, to find an exact medium, a manner so close that it should let slip nothing of the text, nor mingle any thing extraneous along with it, and at the same time so free as to have an air of originality, this seems precisely the mode in which an author might be best rendered." And he assures his readers, "that to discover this very delicate line is difficult, and to proceed by it when found, through the whole length of a poet voluminous as Homer, nearly impossible. He can only pretend to have endeavoured it." Whether it be owing to a want of just taste, or not, our readers must determine, but we frankly acknowledge, that we have never read any translations of the Greek or Roman poets, in blank verse, with a degree of pleasure equal to what we have received from translations in rhyme. And we have also entertained the opinion, that, from the different idioms of a dead and living language, a close and literal translation, particularly in blank verse, would not do justice to the spirit and meaning of an original: or, if so executed as to be, in general, a faithful version, that it must prove harsh, inharmonious, and unpleasing. With these prepossessions, we took up Mr. Cowper's translation: and we cannot say that the manner in which he has executed his laborious and difficult task, has tended greatly to remove them. We would by no means be considered as impeaching Mr. Cowper's learning, or poetical abilities: for we think him entitled to a very high commenda-

tion for the numerous evidences of both, which we have met with in these volumes. The spirit and manner of the original, in passages distinguished for their poetical excellence, are frequently transfused into this copy, with peculiar felicity; and many of the difficulties in the Grecian bard, are very successfully elucidated. But on the whole, the perusal of his work left that dissatisfaction in our mind, which we before had expected from our disapprobation of his design. As a poetical performance, its merits are greatly inferior to the other productions of Mr. Cowper, with which we have formerly been greatly delighted.

The "Translation of all the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Odes of Pindar, excepting the fourth and fifth Pythian Odes, and those Odes which have been translated by the late Gilbert West, esq. by the Rev. J. Banister," do great honour to the learning and poetical taste of that gentleman. Like Mr. West's incomparable performance, his work is frequently a paraphrase, rather than a translation; and is deservedly to be commended for its spirit, elegance, and harmony of versification.

"Oenone to Paris, an Epistle of Ovid; to which is added an Elegy of Sheafstone, translated into Latin elegiac Verse," is a performance which is not destitute of merit, although the author does not possess very high claims to critical approbation. Of the two versions which he has given us, the English one is the best.

Among the general poetical publications of the year 1791, we meet with a volume of "Poems, by Mrs. Robinson." Many of the pieces which compose this volume were published by the fair authoress under different signatures, in some  
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of our public prints. They deserve, however, a greater chance for perpetuity, than they were likely to receive if confined to such repositories; and were very properly brought into this collected form. These poems consist, chiefly, of odes, elegies, and sonnets: and they are distinguished by great tenderness of feeling, beautiful poetic imagery, harmony of versification, and uncommon elegance and delicacy of expression. In some passages we thought them obscure, from a too great fondness which seems to have prevailed for originality of sentiment, and brilliancy of language. To this volume, which is beautifully printed, there is prefixed an elegant portrait of Mrs. Robinson, from a painting by sir Joshua Reynolds.

"The Poetry of the World, vols. III. and IV." is a continuation of a collection noticed by us in our Register for the year 1788, that is intended to preserve a number of elegant and pleasing poems, which had at different times been inserted in the paper mentioned in the title-page, from the fate to which such unconnected and single pieces are commonly consigned. As they are the productions of different authors, in different situations and circumstances, they must be supposed to possess different merits. Among the name of the contributors to this collection, are those of Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Merry, Mrs. Cowley, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Colman, Mrs. Robinson, captain Broome, and captain Topham.

"Salmagundi, a Miscellaneous Combination of Original Poetry; consisting of Illusions of Fancy; Amatory, Elegiac, Lyrical, Epigrammatical, and other palatable Ingredients," is a publication of very considerable merit. In the

different species of poetical composition which the author has attempted, he has succeeded in a manner that will afford entertainment to every reader of taste. The Illusions of Fancy shew, that the author possesses great fertility of imagination; the Amatory and Elegiac Odes are elegant and harmonious; the Epigrams and Songs pointed and lively; and the pieces of wit and humour, highly entertaining. Some slight imperfections, in point of perspicuity, and the harmony of the rhymes, were noticed by us, while we partook deliciously of this poetical treat; but they bear no proportion to its general excellence.

The "Poems by the Author of the Village Curate, and Adriano," are of a similar character with his former works, of which we have already given our opinion. Many passages in them are highly poetical and beautiful; while others betray a feebleness, and negligence, that are very unbecoming the author's known abilities. The principal pieces in this collection are, Elmer and Ophelia, a simple and interesting story; and Panthea, a dramatic narrative; taken from the Cyropædia of Xenophon, which, though in some parts descriptive and pathetic, is not sufficiently correct, discriminative, and animated, to extort any warm applause.

The volume of "Poems, by J. Aikin, M. D." is the production of an author who, to a vigorous imagination, and correct classic taste, unites extensive knowledge, a sound judgment, great delicacy of feeling, and liberal and enlarged philanthropy. Of the pieces of which this volume consists, too numerous to be distinctly mentioned by us, some are consecrated to the domestic affections, and to friendship, and will be found truly pleasing and beautiful.



tiful. In others, when the author gives way to the illusions of fancy, we meet with a boldness of imagery, and strength of colouring, that are highly poetical. His translations, likewise, and imitations, are elegant and happy. But the most animated of these poems are those employed on political subjects, in which the author breathes the most generous and patriotic sentiments. As an apology for these pieces (which needed no apology) Dr. Aikin observes, "that with a mind strongly impressed with determined opinions on some of the most important topics which actuate mankind, he could not rest satisfied without attempting to employ (as far as he possessed it) the noblest of arts, in the service of the noblest of causes."

"*Whist, a Poem, in twelve Cantos,*" is professedly a Didactic poem; and on a subject which comes home to the business and bosoms of the major part of the fashionable world. And it is but justice to say, that the author appears to be well acquainted with his subject; which he enlivens with pleasing episodes and digressions, and a variety of humorous and satirical reflections. The fiction under which he describes the origin and benefits of the game, is happily imagined, and well conducted; and the author's poetical talents, though not of the first rate, far above mediocrity.

The "*Poems on various Subjects, by the Rev. W. Windle Carr,*" consist of odes, elegies, epistles, a monody to the memory of Shennstone, &c. &c. The author is a pleasing writer; and his labours are deserving of praise, on account of the zeal and liberality with which he enters the lists in defence of piety and good morals. But he does not seem to possess that poetic fire and

energy, that will entitle him to an exalted seat among the sons of Parnassus.

"*The Aboriginal Britons, a prize Poem, spoken in the Theatre at Oxford, July 8. 1791. by George Richards, B. A.*" does great credit to the judgment, and the poetical abilities of the author. The aboriginal Britons are considered with respect to their national and domestic character, their internal dissensions, manner of fighting, behaviour after a defeat, treatment of captives after a victory, religious opinions and ceremonies, their doctrines of the transmigration and immortality of the soul, with their effects; to which is added a view of the characteristics of liberty in the savage state of this island, contrasted with that polished freedom which results from a civilised state of manners. In treating these topics, Mr. Richards shews himself to be a man of learning, as well as genius. And his poem recommends itself by great strength of imagery, animated description, correctness of thought; and by a smoothness and harmony of numbers, which afford promising hopes of his proving a very successful votary of the muses.

"*The Shakspeare Gallery a Poem, by Mr. Jerminham,*" does not pass any judgment upon the pictures that are now exhibited in the gallery; but attempts to point out new subjects for future exhibitions. These are all taken from the works of our immortal bard; and offer excellent hints to those artists who have engaged to assist in completing Mr. Boydell's grand design. As to the manner in which the poem is executed, we may venture to say, that it will do honour to the talents of Mr. Jerminham, as a veteran in the poetic art.

"*Seventeen Hundred and ninety-one,*

one, a Poem, in Imitation of the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, by Arthur Murphy, esq." is the production of another veteran in literature and poetry, who by coming forwards in the manner he has done, to entertain the public, is entitled to fresh tokens of their applause and gratitude. The most successful attempts of Dr. Johnson, as a poet, were his imitations of the third and tenth satires of Juvenal, in his poems entitled, *London*, and the *Vanity of Human Wishes*. Mr. Murphy, as he informs us in his preface, frequently urged him to write an imitation of the thirteenth satire: but his answer always was, "I wish it was done." This task Mr. Murphy has executed in the piece before us, which is an happy imitation of the original; and spirited and elegant as a poetical composition. We were sorry, however, that the pleasure we received in reading it should be mixed with any disagreeable alloy. For attached as we are to the principles of civil and religious liberty, we could not avoid observing, with strong sensations of disapprobation, some very illiberal passages, in which the author unnecessarily introduces reflections on the advocates for liberty of conscience, and the rights of men.

The "Ode for the 14th of July 1791, the Day consecrated to Freedom; being the Anniversary of the Revolution in France, by Robert Merry, A.M." is a spirited composition in defence of the principles of liberty, and well adapted to the design of the meeting at the Crown and Anchor tavern, where it was recited.

The "Epistle to William Wilberforce, esq. on the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade, by Anna Letitia Barbauld," is a beautiful and highly animated poem,

sacred to the cause of benevolence and humanity. In vigorous and keen satirical strains, our poetess lashes the majority of the British senate who rejected the late slave bill, and exposes the luxurious lives and depraved manners of the West India planters. We need not say that every lover of genuine poetry, whatever be his opinion on the subject which the authoress has chosen, will be highly gratified by the perusal of this epistle.

The "Farewell, for two Years, to England, a Poem, by Helen Maria Williams," is the production of another favourite of the public, and consecrated to humanity and liberty. With the prospect before her of quitting her native land, on a visit to France, miss Williams recalls to mind the innocent pleasures of early youth, which she describes in elegant and pathetic language; and afterwards indulges her muse in more ardent and energetic strains, when contemplating the renovation of Gallic liberty, and expostulating with the enemies to freedom, whether it be that of France, or that of Africa. To those whose bosoms glow with the same enlarged sentiments, this beautiful poem will afford considerable pleasure.

The "genuine poetical Compositions on various Subjects, by E. Bentley," are the productions of an uneducated muse, who, if we may judge from these efforts of her pen, is not unworthy the patronage which she has received from a great number of respectable subscribers. Her imagination is strong and lively; her language, in general, correct and elegant, and her numbers harmonious.

From Peter Pindar's pen we have received the following pieces, during the present year: "The Loufiad, Canto III;" "the Rights of Kings;" "Odes

\* Odes to Mr. Paine, author of the Rights of Man, &c.:" "The Remonstrance, an Ode to my Afs;" and "a commiserating Epistle to the Earl of Lonsdale."

Of the following articles we can only insert the names: "Poems, wherein it is attempted to describe certain Views of Nature and Rustic Manners;" "Sonnets from Shakspeare, by Albert;" "the Bosom Friend, by an Etonian;" "the Test of England, a Dissertation on Human Authority in a Divine Religion;" "Poetical Essays, on several Theological Subjects:" Poetic Laurels, by Maria and Harriet Falconer; "the Female Geniad, by Elizabeth Ogilvie Benger;" "the Triumph of Friendship, by W. Golder;" "Miscellaneous Poems, and a Tragedy, by Mrs. West;" a "Monody at Matlock, by W. L. Bowles;" "an Elegy written at the Hot Wells Bristol," by the same, the "Festival of Beauty and Enthusiasm of Genius;" "the Baviad, in Imitation of the first Satire of Persius;" "Modern Poets, a Satire;" "Heroic Epistle to Dr. Priestley;" "Heroic Epistle to the right hon. Edmund Burke;" "the Ladies Afs Race, a Poem;" "the Fruits of Faction;" "Heroic Epistle to the King, with a Word to the Poet Laureate;" "the Dictates of Indignation, on the Slave Trade;" "Eugenius, by Mary Locke;" "the Epitaph Writer, by J. Bowden;" "the Miller's Tale from Chaucer;" "a Serio-comic Poem, entitled the Budger;" "Reflections at the Tomb of Columbus, by a Lady;" "a Poem to the Memory of G. F. Handel;" "Elegiac Verses to the Memory of the late Dr. Stebbing;" "an Ode to Handel, by D. Pratt, A. M.;" and "Extracts, Elegant, Instructive, and Entertaining, in Poetry," in one large

volume 8vo. The design of the last mentioned work is, to supply young persons in the course of a school education, with a greater variety of English poetry, by our most approved authors, than was ever before published in one volume, and at an inconsiderable expence.

The Dramatic productions of the year 1791, were the following: "The Widow of Malabar, a Tragedy, by Miss Starke;" "Lorenzo a Tragedy, by Robert Merry, A. M.;" "The Indians a Tragedy;" "Earl Goodwin, an historical Play, by Ann Yearsley;" "the Revolution, an historical Play, by lieutenant Christian;" "Next Door Neighbours, a Comedy, by Mrs. Inchbald;" "the School for Arrogance, a Comedy, by Mr. Holcroft;" "Lindor and Clara, a Comedy, by Mr. Fennel;" "the Fugitives, a Comedy, by W. Roberts, esq.;" "the Kentish Barons, a Play in three acts, by the Hon. F. C. North;" "the Irishman in Spain, by C. Stuart;" and "two Strings to your Bow, a Farce by R. Jephson."

Under our next head, that of Miscellaneous Articles, we shall introduce such publications as we could not with propriety include in any other department, or such as were overlooked by us in their proper place.

"Petrarch's View of human Life, by Mrs. Dobson," is intended to convey to the English reader a representation of the sentiments and peculiar manner of that author, in his treatise de Remediis utriusque Fortunæ. The design of the original is to exhibit a picture of human life; and to bring before the reader's fancy in succession, the numerous objects which excite the human passions, and contribute to our happiness, or our misery. This design is executed in the form of dialogue; in which  
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the speakers are, on the one side, joy and hope, or sorrow and fear, and on the other side reason. The effect intended to be produced is, that equanimity of mind which is the best preparation for either fortune. We cannot bestow the same praise on Mrs. Dobson, for her translation of this piece, to which she was entitled by her former literary performances. Instead of observing the plan of the original, she has thrown her work together in one unbroken form, without observing any of Petrarch's divisions, or marking the transitions from one topic to another, or noticing the change of speakers in the dialogue. She has, likewise, omitted, transposed, and added to the text, with a liberty that, in our opinion, tends greatly to destroy "the solidity of the reasoning, and the true points of the satire." As a translation, this work possesses very inferior merits to the life of Petrarch, in point of accuracy and elegance.

"The Contrast; or an Antidote against the pernicious Principles, disseminated in the Letters of the late Earl of Chesterfield, &c. by the Rev. sir Adam Gordon, Bart. A. M. in two volumes;" consists, partly, of letters, written by a lady of elevated rank, deceased, during a correspondence of several years with the editor; and, partly, of additional addresses and letters from the manuscripts of a celebrated author, deceased. That this work was published with a pious and useful design, we entertain not the least doubt: but we do not think it adapted to make desirable impressions upon young minds. The advice contained in it is, frequently, of too severe and gloomy a complexion; and the contrast which it recommends, is only the opposite extreme to the conduct which the noble lord

wished to enforce, not that happy medium which would give to piety and morals an amiable and engaging aspect.

The "Letters to a young Clergyman, from the late Rev. Mr. John Orton," have been published by the rev. Mr. Stedman, to whom they were written by the respectable and worthy author. They contain the observations of a pious, benevolent, and well informed mind, on a variety of topics, that are highly deserving the attention of the younger clergy; and advice, relative to their private studies, and duty as parish priests, that is truly excellent.

The volume of "Original Letters by the late Rev. John Wesley, and his Friends, illustrative of his early History, with other curious Papers, &c." edited by Dr. Priestley, is an acceptable present to the public. "These letters," says Dr. Priestley, "were given to me by the late Mr. Badcock, as great curiosities of their kind, with a view to their publication, after the death of Mr. John Wesley. They were given to him by the grand-daughter of Mr. Samuel Wesley, the eldest brother of John, and he believed with the same view. Mr. John Wesley, as I learned from Mr. Badcock, was very desirous getting these letters into his possession; but the daughter and grand-daughter of Mr. Samuel being offended at his conduct, would never deliver them to him. It was taken for granted, that he would have suppressed them; nor should I have thought it right to publish them, if they had been merely private papers, unconnected with any public concern. But Mr. Wesley being the founder of a numerous sect of Christians, of considerable and of growing importance in this country, the public is inte-

interested in every thing that can throw Light upon his Character and Principles." We have received much entertainment from the perusal of these letters, which will be found of considerable use, in illustrating the origin of methodism, and the peculiar turn of mind of its principal founder. The remarks and observations of Dr. Priestley, which accompany them, are sensible and judicious; and his address to the methodists, prefixed to the volume, is written in a conciliating and persuasive strain. We do not imagine, however, that it will make much impression on persons, whose fundamental principles are so diametrically opposite to the doctor's.

The "Letter to the Electors of Great Britain, by James Sutherland, esq. late Judge of the Admiralty at Minorca," contains an affecting and well written narrative of the hard case, and great distresses of the unfortunate author, whose melancholy catastrophe is well known to the public, as well as the scandalous and inhuman neglect which urged him to despair. This publication is prefaced with an address to the electors of Great Britain, in which they are solemnly requested to instruct their representatives, to obtain an act of the legislature, for securing "to the subject a remedy against whoever shall asperse his character, by any *falsehood* stated in a petition to the house of commons; although such petition may be recommended in his majesty's name, to the consideration of the house;" and an act "to assure the communication of the royal will, by his majesty's ministers, to every subject who may, in future, present such a petition to the king."

"The American Oracle, comprehending an Account of recent Discoveries in the Arts and Sciences, &c.

by the Honourable Samuel Stearns, LL. D. &c. &c. &c." is a curious sarrago of chronology, geography, astrology, botany, chemistry, anatomy, electricity, magnetism, mechanics, optics, architecture, politics, law, physic, divinity, history, natural history, and political oeconomy; to which we may add simplicity and credulity; delivered, partly in prose, and partly in genuine Sternholdian verse. We mean not to insinuate, that it does not contain much good matter, which, to a great multitude of readers, will convey useful and entertaining information. But we see not the necessity of transporting such a species of composition, across the Atlantic into this country, where valuable books, on every useful subject to which it refers, have been abundantly multiplied. In the less cultivated parts of America, where libraries are scarce, it may be more desirable to encourage such publications.

In our Register for the year 1787, we gave an account of Mr. Bunbury's humorous and laughable publication, entitled, "An Academy for grown Horsemen, containing the completest Instructions for Walking, Trotting, Cantering, Galloping, Stumbling, and Tumbling; illustrated with Copper Plates, by Geoffrey Gambado, esq." The talents of that gentleman have, during the present year, produced a witty sequel to that work, entitled "Annals of Horsemanship; containing an Account of accidental Accidents, and experimental Accidents, both successful and unsuccessful; communicated by various Correspondents to Geoffrey Gambado, esq. together with most instructive Remarks thereon, and Answers thereon, by that accomplished Genius," illustrated with numerous well executed engravings. Of this publication we

shall only say, that those who can read and view it, with unmoved muscles, do not belong to that company with which we wish to associate.

The "Anecdotes of Archery, Ancient and Modern, by H. G. Oldfield," form a pleasing and entertaining little work, which contains a short collection of historical passages, tracing the practice of archery, from the earliest notices among almost all nations. At the present period, when this practice is revived, as the means of an elegant and salutary recreation; such a publication is seasonable, as an object of curiosity, as well as information.

The publication entitled "forty Years Correspondence between Geniusses of both Sexes, and James Elphinstone, in six pocket Volumes; four of original Letters, two of Poetry," is intended to exemplify M. Elphinstone's plan, for improving the orthography of the English language, which has been for some years before the public. For our parts, we are free to acknowledge, that we cannot perceive the comparative advantages that would attend the introduction of Mr. Elphinstone's method. But, independently of his scheme, we think that these volumes contain a number of letters, and pieces of poetry, which deserve to be rescued from that oblivion to which we apprehend they will be consigned, if suffered to remain in their present dress.

The "Practical Geography for the Use of Schools; with an Epitome of Ancient Geography, and an Introduction to the Science of the Globes, by J. Oriseau, A. M.," is a brief, but judicious manual of the outlines of the science, to an acquaintance with which the author would wish to introduce young per-

sons. It possesses this advantage over similar publications, with respect to France, that it contains the new divisions of that country, according to the present constitution, in connexion with the old.

The "Roman Antiquities, or an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Romans, &c. by Alexander Adam, I.L. D.," is a laborious and judicious compliment, which deserves to be recommended as an useful key to the Latin classics. His information and his authorities, Dr. Adam appears to have selected with very commendable accuracy and industry.

The "Extracts, elegant, instructive, and entertaining, in Prose; selected from the best modern Authors, and disposed under proper Heads, &c. in one large Volume, 8vo.," form a very instructive and entertaining complement, for the use of young persons, in the course of a school education. They consist of selections from the works of our most valuable and approved authors, on moral and religious, critical and classical subjects; of narratives, dialogues, and other humorous and entertaining pieces; and of short introductions to geography, chronology, and natural history, together with chronological tables of remarkable events, and of the æra, the country, and the writings of learned men.

The volume of "Epistles, elegant, familiar, and instructive, selected from the best Writers, ancient as well as modern, in one large Volume, 8vo.," contains the most copious collection of the letters of eminent men, that we have ever met with, in a similar form. And it deserves a place, not only in the libraries of young persons, but of those who are more informed and select in their choice of books.

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We shall now conclude our view of the Domestic Literature of the year 1791, by inserting a catalogue of the novels which it produced.

In this list, the following have been more highly spoken of, than the general class of such publications: "Celestina, in 4 Vols. by Charlotte Smith;" "A Simple Story, in 4 Vols. by Mrs. Inchbald;" "The Adventures of Richard Cœur de Lion, in 3 Vols. by J. White, esq.;" "The School for Widows, in 3 Vols. by Clara Reeve;" "The Devil upon two Sticks, in England, Vols. V. and VI.;" "Wanley Pension, or the Melancholy Man, in 3 Vols.;" and "William Wallace, in 2 Vols."

Of the same species of composition are, "Eugene and Adelaide, in 2 Vols.;" "Woodley Park, in 2 Vols.;" the History of Tom Weston, in 2 Vols. by G. Brown;" "Conscious Duplicity, in 2 Vols.;" "Memoirs of Julia de M. in 2 Vols.;" "The Labyrinths of Life, in 4 Vols.;" "Alvarez, or the Irresistible Seduction, in 2 Vols.;" "Frederick and Alicia, in 2 Vols.;" "Persiana, in 3 Vols.;" "the Vale of Felicity, in 2 Vols.;" "the Life of Lord Montague, in 2 Vols.;" "the Victim of a Vow, or the Dangers of Duplicity, in 2 Vols.;" "Edward, or Sorrows from Sepa-

ration, in 2 Vols.;" "the French Adventurer, in 3 Vols.;" "Aspasia, or the Dangers of Vanity, in 2 Vols.;" "the Indian Cottage, from the French of St. Pierre.;" "Popular Tales of the Germans, translated from the German, in 2 Vols.;" "the Siege of Belgrade, from the German, in 2 Vols.;" "the Triumph of Reason, in 7 Tales, addressed to the Fair Sex.;" "the Cypher, in 1 Vol.;" "Gertrude, in 2 Vols.;" "the Libertine, by J. Bacon.;" "Illicit Love, in 2 Vols, by Mrs. Morris.;" "Adolphus, or the Unnatural Brother, in 2 Vols.;" "Errors of Education, in 3 Vols. by Mrs. Parsons.;" "the Life of Miss Priscilla Moreton, and the faithful Cottager, in 2 Vols.;" "the Lake of Windermere, in 2 Vols.;" "the History of Sir Geoffrey Restless, in 2 Vols.;" "Tancred, a Tale of Ancient Times, in 2 Vols, by J. Fox.;" "the Danish Massacre, in 2 Vols.;" "Villeroy, or the fatal Moment, in 3 Vols.;" "Memoirs of a Scots Heiress, in 3 Vols.;" "Soliman and Fatima, in 2 Vols. by T. Wright.;" "Mentoria, in 2 Vols.;" "Mental Pleasures, in 2 Vols.;" "the Tales of an Evening, from the French of Marmon- tel.;" and "Violet Hill, or Memoirs of Cordelia, by E. Miles."

## FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1791.

**I**N giving our view of the Foreign Literature of the year 1791, we shall, in the first place, introduce to our readers those publications in the Russian dominions, concerning which we have been able to obtain some imperfect information. And the first which we have to announce is, the "*Nova Acta Academiæ Scientiarum Petropolitanzæ*, Vol. III." published at Petersburg. This volume contains, the history of the academy, down to the year 1785, in which we meet with nothing very interesting; a supplement to that history, consisting of such memoirs as have been presented to the academy by those who were not members of it; and the academical memoirs, which are arranged under the heads of mathematics, physico-mathematics, physics, and astronomy. The memoirs in the supplement to the history, are on subjects in natural history, and mathematics; and were delivered in by M. O. F. Muller, M. Simon L'Huilier, citizen of Geneva, M. E. Block, and M. de Lambre. The most valuable of the academical memoirs relate to the higher

branches of the mathematics, and were the productions of the late M. Euler, M. Nicholas Fufs, and M. F. J. Schubert. The papers in the other classes, were contributed by M. Euler, M. James Bernoulli, M. N. L. Krafft, M. C. F. Wolff, M. J. G. Georgi, M. J. J. Ferber, M. B. Zuyew, M. Steph. Rumoulsky, M. Fufs, and by M. John Albert Euler, who drew up the meteorological tables for the year 1785. This volume is not so important and interesting as the preceding ones.—At the same place have appeared, "*Select Œconomical Papers, from the Memoirs of the free Œconomical Society at Petersburg, Vol. I.*" published in the German language. This volume commences with the history of the society, which was established in 1765, by prince Orlov; and contains a number of interesting Œconomical papers, by M. J. G. Georgi, Mrs. Von Kelchen, chancellor Gronau, M. Lehmann, M. G. Orräus, M. Weinberg, M. Wagner, and various anonymous contributions.—At Petersburg, likewise, there hath been published "*a Brief Introduction to Mathematical Geo-*



Geography, and the Knowledge of the celestial Globe," by M. Stanislaus de Komar, a page of the *empres*, which is well spoken of by the foreign journalists.

At Riga, M. Hupel has published "an Essay on the Political State of Russia, Vol. I." from materials with which he was supplied by the ministers, and the subordinate officers of government. This work is the most valuable and complete one, that hath yet been offered to the public, upon this interesting subject. It contains an accurate and perspicuous account of the different subdivisions of the Russian empire; of the climate, population, and culture of each province; of the classes and distinctions established among the inhabitants; of the public and civil law; of the imperial family; of the court, the army, the finances, the national industry, the commerce, and the connexion of that empire with other European powers. We should wish to be better acquainted with this work, which has employed the attention of the author during the course of thirty years.—At the same place, M. Freibe has published "a Manual of the History of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, Vol. I.;" and "Memoirs for the History of Livonia, taken from a Manuscript newly discovered, and other Materials for northern History, collected by M. Hupel." The first of these works commences at the period when the Phœnicians opened a traffic with Livonia for amber, and extends to the year 1239. The manuscript from which the latter is taken, was written about the year 1640, by Melchior Fuchs, burgo-master of Riga, and relates, chiefly, to the disputes between that city and the archbishop. From the labours of this industrious historian and antiquary, we may expect much

interesting information relative to the history of Livonia.—At the same place M. Hupel has published "an Historical Essay on the Cossacks," and other memoirs, which will supply the general historian with useful materials.

At Petersburg hath appeared "a Sketch of a Description of Petersburg, the residence of the Emperess of Russia, and what is worthy notice in the Neighbourhood, by J. G. Georgi, M. D. Fellow of the Academy of Sciences, &c. in 2 Vols." This work is an important and interesting one; and will be acceptable to travellers, who may be desirous of visiting that celebrated metropolis, or to others who may wish for as accurate a knowledge of it as can be obtained through the medium of the press. In an Appendix, Dr. Georgi has added a sketch of the natural and economical state of the government of Petersburg.—At the same place has been published a treatise entitled, "the Speaking Wall or a Picture of what has been written and drawn on the Wall of the Garden of the imperial Corps of Gentlemen Cadets, illustrated by Plates." This work contains an account of the emblems and inscriptions which the count of Anhalt has ordered to be painted on the wall surrounding the garden of the cadets, for their amusement and instruction. The emblems are appropriated to the different subjects of their studies; and the inscriptions, which are in the Russian, French, and German languages, consist of thoughts, maxims, sentences, principles, precepts, lessons, reflections, proverbs, dialogues, questions, notes, miscellanies, wishes, and problems, with scraps of history, geography, astronomy, natural history, tactics, &c. &c. The book is given to the cadets on their quitting the school.

When we turn our attention to Swedish literature, the first work which demands our notice is, "the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Vol. XI. for the year 1790," published at Stockholm. This work, as usual, is divided into four parts, relative to the different quarters of the year; and contains many curious and interesting papers on subjects in natural history, political economy, chemistry, meteorology, astronomy, physiology, and medicine; to which is added, a history of the academy for the year 1790, with descriptions of the medals struck in the course of the year. Of the papers in this collection, those which belong to natural history and medicine are by far the most numerous. Among the respectable names prefixed to the different articles, we meet with those of M. S. Fahlberg, M. O. Swartz, M. C. P. Thunberg, M. A. Modeer, M. P. J. Hielm, M. J. Gadolin, M. F. Von Paula Schrank, M. D. Lundmark, M. C. L. Nordmark, M. CL. Bjerkander, M. J. L. Oehelius, and M. C. L. Hellenius. —At Stockholm also have been published "the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences, History, and Antiquities, Vol. II." The principal pieces which compose this volume, display considerable knowledge and taste, and appear with the following titles: historical remarks on some ancient gold coins found in the island of Oeland, by M. Engestrom; remarks on the science of emblems, so far as it concerns medals, by M. Adlerbeth; a view of the connexions of commerce and policy between Sweden and the Hanse towns, and the effects of those connexions, by M. Flinthenberg; an enquiry how far the ancients ought to be considered as models for modern historians, by

M. J. Hallenberg; and proposals and sketches for medals of great men, who flourished in the times of Gustavus Adolphus, and Christina, by M. Luth.—At the same place a valuable work is publishing in numbers, under the title of "Swedish Archives," by M. Gierwell, keeper of the royal library; who, after being distinguished in the literary world, for more than thirty years, by the ardour of his researches, and the importance of several of his periodical works, has now entered on rural retirement, in which his object is to devote his application solely to a history of his country.

The "Thoughts on Agriculture, Mines, Manufactures, Commerce, &c. as a Memorial of Lewis, Ancestor of the Family of De Geer, the greatest Promoter of Manufactures in Sweden, in the preceding Century," published at Stockholm, compose a miscellaneous work, relative, partly to political economy, and partly to biography. Under the former head, it offers to us many interesting and entertaining observations on the state of agriculture, arts, sciences, and commerce in Sweden, from the reign of Gustavus I. to the abdication of Christina, and the mode of education, and manners of the times, which will be acceptable to the readers in general. The biographical part contains the life of Lewis de Geer, to whose activity, reputation, and wealth, the manufactures of Sweden are so greatly indebted, that he may almost be considered as their founder.—At the same place hath appeared "a Treatise on the Swedish Iron Furnaces, by J. C. Garney," illustrated with numerous plates. This useful and instructive work, for which the author appears to have been well qualified, in point of knowledge and information,

mation, was undertaken by him at the request of the Swedish mineralogical society. A translation of such a work in this country, would be peculiarly seasonable at this time, when immense new fields for the exertions of the metallurgist, are daily opening in different parts of the kingdom.

In our Register for the years 1787 and 1788, we announced the publication of Dr. Sparmann's splendid work entitled "a Collection of rare Birds in the Possession of M. Gustavus Von Carlson, Secretary of State." The lovers of natural history will be glad to learn, that the proprietor of that noble collection, has been contributing to the extension of a science to which he has evinced a long and ardent attachment, by publishing, at Stockholm; "General Remarks on the Manners and Economy of Birds; being a Discourse pronounced on quitting the Presidentship of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, in the year 1789."—At Stralsund, in Swedish Pomerania, a work highly interesting to naturalists has been published, entitled "a New Magazine for Entomologists, by Dav. H. Schneider, Vol. I. Part I." Of M. Schneider the foreign journals speak in very high terms, as possessing every qualification for engaging in such a design; a thorough knowledge of his subject, a valuable collection of insects, and an intimate acquaintance with the principal entomologists throughout Europe.

At Stockholm have appeared "the Miscellaneous Work of M. Lidner, in 2 Vols." M. Lidner is spoken of as a poet of a bold inventive imagination, and great sensibility, whose works would be exceedingly valuable, were he more frequently to repress the exuberances of his genius.—At the same

place has been published "the School for Scandal, a Comedy, in three Acts," written in imitation of M. Sheridan's celebrated drama; which met with great success and applause on its introduction to the Swedish theatre.

The first article which we have to notice in our view of Danish literature is, "Nature considered, after the Manner of Bonnet, by Tyge Rothe," published at Copenhagen. The object of the ingenious and pious author of this work is, from the contemplation of nature, both as a whole, and in its parts, to deduce clear and satisfactory proofs of the existence of a God, who is good, wise, and powerful, all whose operations tend ultimately to the happiness of his creatures. The introduction contains remarks on the importance of the study of natural philosophy to man's improvement, and the foundation of a rational belief of a deity; and a short account of the present state of that science in Denmark. This excellent work cannot be too strongly recommended for the utility of its design, and the sensible, convincing manner in which it is written. It is a proper companion to the author's work, entitled "Philosophical Ideas on the Knowledge of our Nature, &c." of which we took notice in our last year's Register.—Our next article is, the "new Memoirs of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, Vol. IV. Parts I. II." published at the same place. Among the most curious papers of which this volume consists, are the following: proofs that the Baltic, at the time when the principal inhabitants of Norway and Sweden came out of Asia, did not cover the ground it now does, by M. T. Rothe; a description of a micrometer, for ascertaining the distance of a body of troops, by M.

H. T. Wegener; remarks on Cato's *Treatise de Re Rustica*, chiefly relative to natural history, by M. C. F. Rottbol; on the Application of sinking Funds, by M. J. N. Tetens; and on the Origin and Progress of the Spanish Inquisition, by M. Moldenhawer.—At the same place have been published, "Memoirs of the Society of natural History, Vol. I. Parts I. II." This society is a private one, and was instituted in the year 1789, chiefly through the exertions of professor Abilgaard. And if we may venture to judge from what it has already done, it promises to render important service to the interests of knowledge and science. The contributors to this volume are, professor Abilgaard, M. Vahl, M. N. T. Lund, M. O. Fabricius, M. L. Spengler, M. J. C. Fabricius, M. T. W. Troyel, and M. O. F. Müller. To the memoirs is prefixed a concise account of the society and its translations, by chancellor Suhm, one of its directors.

The "Geometrical and æconomical Division of Lands, &c. by Niel Morville," published at Copenhagen, is the work of an ingenious and sensible author, which bids fair to prove of considerable and extensive utility. The object of it is, to unite geometry with agriculture; and to shew in what instances the study of geometry, and even of algebra, may prove of great advantage in rural æconomy.—The "Extracts from the Acts of a Commission of Agriculture, instituted to re-establish the rights of the Peasants, in 2 Vols." published at the same place, contain many observations and remarks on subjects connected with political æconomy, which may be serviceable to the interests of that science, particularly in the state in which it exists in Denmark. For these volumes, the

country is indebted to the patriotic attention and encouragement of the prince of Denmark, who, if we are rightly informed, employs his influence and power in increasing the liberties and happiness of mankind; while most of the other princes of Europe, seem to be struggling for the honour of being the most active conspirator against them.—At Altona, J. P. Benj. Von Rohr has published "Remarks on the Cultivation of Cotton, for the Use of the Danish West India Colonies, Vol. I.," which appear to be the result of long experience, and attentive observation. To the planter of that article, therefore, they may prove of considerable use.

At Copenhagen, M. P. F. Suhm, who is well known for his erudition and profound knowledge as an historian and antiquary, has published a fourth volume of his "History of Denmark." This volume, in which the history is continued down to the year 1095, contains a particular account of the Danish expeditions to England, Scotland, Ireland, the two Sicilies, and Greece, and of the discovery of America by the Icelanders. The public is much indebted to the royal historiographer, for the gratification which his laborious and judicious researches have provided them.—At the same place have been published "Memoirs of the Literary History of Denmark, from the posthumous Collection of privy councillor Luxdorph, by Erasmus Nyerup, secretary to the Royal Library, in 2 Vols." These memoirs are of great importance to the history of modern Danish literature; and will afford ample gratification to the critical and polite scholar. The illustrations which have been added by the editor, reflect honour on his learning, and accurate attention to the subject of the

the volumes which he has ushered before the public.—The “Account of the Island of St. Thomas, and its Governors, by G. Host,” published at the same place, contains authentic and useful information, extracted from the public archives relative to that island, and the neighbouring ones subject to the crown of Denmark. To the general historian of the European colonies in the West Indies, such collections will afford essential service.—At Copenhagen, likewise, have been published “the Youthful Attempts of J. Baggesen in 2 vols.” consisting of a collection of poems that possess considerable merit; and “popular poems, by Claus Friman,” which is a collection of fables, songs, &c. written in an easy and familiar style, and adapted to inculcate good moral principles on the minds of the lower class of people.

In the History of the literature of the United Provinces, the first work which calls for insertion is “the Holy Bible, or the Old and New Testament, with a Commentary, consisting of select Notes, taken from several English Authors, vols. VII. and VIII. containing the two Books of Chronicles, and those of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther,” published at Utrecht. These volumes are the continuation of a very judicious and instructive work, that was undertaken some years before the commencement of our annual labours, by the rev. Charles Chais. That learned and venerable character lived to finish the seventh and eighth volumes, which complete the commentary on the historical books of the Old Testament excepting the preliminary dissertations in the latter, which were completed by the editor, the Rev. Dr. Maclaine, of the Hague. These dissertations are worthy the very respectable cha-

acter which the author sustains in the literary world, and abound in valuable information and criticism. To the eighth volume, there is prefixed a short account of M. Chais, who was a citizen of Geneva, and for sixty years pastor of the French church at the Hague; to which are added two sketches of his character, the one taken from M. Sennebier’s literary history of Geneva, and the other from the sermon on his death, by the Rev. M. de la Saussaye.

At Haarlem, Teyler’s Theological Society have published their eleventh volume of “Prize Dissertations relative to Natural and Revealed Religion.” The question discussed in this volume is “whether every person has a right, and, in proportion to his ability, is under an obligation, to judge for himself in matters of religion?” This important question has been the frequent subject of discussion, with very able writers in our own country, and has been decided in the affirmative by the most weighty and irrefragable arguments. And we are glad to find that a principle which lies at the foundation of genuine Protestantism, and of Christianity itself, has met with several zealous and judicious advocates among our Belgic neighbours. The candidate who obtained Teyler’s golden medal, was the rev. Paulus Van Hemert, professor of oriental languages and moral philosophy in the congregation of remonstrants in Amsterdam. This ingenious author, after a judicious explanation of the proposition, shews, that the reformers assumed it as a principle upon which they vindicated their secession from the church of Rome; that the states of Holland maintained it in their edicts, in the time of Philip II; and that even the synod of Dordt has expressly asserted it in some

Some of the articles of its confession of faith. He then proceeds to prove, that the right of every individual to judge for himself, is founded in the nature of man as a rational being; that no society can justly require any individual to resign it, as its full and free exercise is perfectly compatible with the purposes for which society was instituted; and that the resignation of that right, is, in fact, highly injurious to society, as it tends to produce slavery and persecution, and to destroy every thing that is valuable in religion itself. After having established the right, our author proceeds to shew the obligation which lies upon every man to judge for himself in matters of religion, and to communicate to others the results of his free enquiries, whenever he is of opinion that they may promote the happiness of his fellow Christians. These positions he establishes by a series of close and convincing reasoning; and enumerates, and answers, most satisfactorily, the different objections which have been urged against freedom of enquiry, and the right of individuals to communicate to others what they judge to be religious truth. To the following gentlemen silver medals were awarded: the rev. Jacob Kuiper, minister of the Baptist congregation in Deventer; the rev. Wiltetus Bernardus Jelgersma, A. M. minister of the established church at Weidum, in Friesland; the Rev. Willem de Vos, minister of the Baptist congregation in Amsterdam; and the Rev. Petrus Weiland, minister of the Remonstrant's church in Rotterdam. These writers support the same side of the question with professor Van Hemert, in a very able and ingenious train of reasoning. In the dissertation of M. Jelgersma, however, there are some concessions

made, which are inconsistent with the perfect liberty for which he contends in the other parts of his work; and which, if admitted, and carried to their proper extent, would destroy the whole proposition. Into these concessions he seems to have been seduced by his connection with an established church, for which he would wish to offer some plea, while contending for a principle which reprobates the power and authority which such societies have assumed.—“The Consistent Orthodox Protestant,” published at Amsterdam, is a dissertation on the same subject with those in the foregoing article; and is the production of an ingenious writer, who, on the whole, appears to be a friend to freedom of enquiry. He, however, allows of some concessions, on the subject of ecclesiastical toleration, and the terms on which christian churches are established, that are ruinous to the cause of which he professes himself an advocate.

At Amsterdam a work hath appeared entitled “the Composition of Water demonstrated by various Experiments; and the many Benefits to Society, derived from it, carefully traced; in two Dissertations read before the Society of the Felix Meritis, by William Van Barneveld.” The very commendable object of this publication is, to render the principles of philosophy easy and familiar to those, whose stations and employments in life will not permit them to make it their immediate study. The author is a disciple of the Lavoisierian school; and the design of the first dissertation is, to convey a general idea of the system of Lavoisier, concerning the composition of water. After acknowledging that to Dr. Priestley's experiments and discove-

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ries relative to fixed air, we are indebted for all the subsequent discoveries of the different kinds of aerial substances; he proceeds to refute the ancient doctrine concerning elements, and to substitute that of Lavoisier in its place. This he does by reciting a particular account of the different experiments which have been made by different kinds of air, and on which he rests his conclusions. The second dissertation contains an account of farther experiments, tending to establish the same doctrine; and the application of it to illustrate many phenomena, which on the old system were attended with insuperable difficulties. From these principles, and the application of them, the author endeavours to throw light on some of the useful and oeconomic arts, and on the medical science.—The purport of a “Letter from Dr. Van Marum, to Dr. John Ingenhousz, containing a Description of an Electrical Machine on a new Construction,” is sufficiently understood from the title page. All that we have to observe is, that the contrivances which Dr. Van Marum has introduced, for a part of which he acknowledges himself indebted to our ingenious countryman Mr. Nicholson, are attended with some improvements of importance. By means of them, every precaution seems to be taken, to prevent the dissipation of the electric fluid; and the power of the machine rendered very considerable, with relation to the surface excited. For the particulars of his new construction, we must refer to Dr. Van Marum’s letter.

At Haarlem have been published “Memoirs relative to Naples and Sicily, collected during a Journey in the Years 1785, and 1786, by F. Munter, professor of Divinity at

Copenhagen, translated from the German.” The original of this work was announced in our view of Danish Literature, for the last year; and we have only to add, that we shall be glad to see an English translation of a piece which, from the account given of it by the German critics, is the production of a traveller of great taste and judgment, who was fortunate in being introduced to the most advantageous connexions for acquiring information, and to the most respectable characters for rank and eminence, as well for learning and abilities.—The “History of the Colony of Surinam, compiled by a Literary Society of Portuguese Jews resident there,” although it does not come recommended by any regularity of arrangement, and charms of style, which could not be expected from persons unaccustomed to literature, abounds, notwithstanding, in much curious and entertaining information. It is divided into two parts: the first part is employed on an historical account of the colony, and, particularly of the foundation and extent of the privileges which the Jews have enjoyed in Surinam, ever since its establishment, and of their conduct as good and useful citizens. The second part is descriptive of the present state of Surinam, the constitution of the colony, its population and produce, the customs, manners, religions of the inhabitants, and many other interesting particulars, from which the reader will derive much pleasure and information.—At Utrecht, Arg. Huyfers, a senior merchant in the service of the East India company, has published “a General Description of the Dutch Establishments in the East Indies, &c.” This author is said to be well informed on the subjects of which he has given

given a general description; but his narrative is not so full and communicative, as he might safely have rendered it, without betraying any of the important secrets which he may be supposed to have obtained from his official situation.—The “Remarks made during a Journey through Turkey, Natolia, the Crimea, and Russia, in the Years 1784—1789,” said to be printed at Constantinople, have more probably issued from a press at Amsterdam, or in some of the towns of the united provinces. It is written in imitation of the style and manner of Sterne; but is very inferior in those respects to the original. It is not, however, destitute of information and entertainment, which are intermixed with much absurdity, dogmatism, and weak impertinent objections against Christianity, of the true principles of which religion, and its influence on the state of manners in the world, the author betrays the most glaring and contemptible ignorance.

“The Military Memoirs of the United Netherlands, to the beginning of the Year 1790, published at Amsterdam,” is a work which was begun before the commencement of our annual labours. It is spoken of as a publication of inestimable value to the politician; while as an historical work it is deserving of a high rank among the productions in Dutch literature. During the present year, the seventh and eighth volumes have made their appearance.—At Leyden, F. W. Pestel has published, in the Latin language, “a short Account of the Dutch Republic for the Use of his Auditors.” This little work is divided into two parts. The first part, which is not so full as could be wished, treats of the geography of the country. The second part gives

an account of the constitution of the republic, and of the several provinces, which is concise, distinct, and satisfactory.—At Amsterdam hath been published, “a Supplemental volume to Wagenaar’s description of Amsterdam,” which is well spoken of. It contains a particular account of the new edifices, paintings, and works of sculpture, which have adorned that city since the publication of Wagenaar’s work.—At the same place hath appeared “a View of the Manners of the Inhabitants of the United Provinces, towards the Close of the eighteenth Century, by Ysbrand Van Hamelsveld.” This work is the production of a clergyman of respectable abilities, who, in consequence of his zealous attachment to the Anti Orange party, was dismissed from his preferments, at the revolution in 1787. The subjects which the author discusses are, what is worthy of praise or of blame in the law countries; the manners of the inhabitants in general; education; youth; marriage; œconomy; social virtues; sciences; and national taste; public worship; particularities; to which he adds, a prospect of the future, and useful advice. M. Hamelsveld appears to be a warm friend to the cause of religion and virtue; but he does not seem to possess a sufficient knowledge of the world, to qualify him for the task which he undertook. To this it is owing that his work is distinguished more for declamation, and remarks which must be attributed to prejudice or credulity, than for philosophic survey, and just discrimination.—At Haarlem a work has been published, by the society for public good, entitled “Biographical Sketches of Celebrated Men and Women of the Netherlands.” This work is a brief and useful moral compilation, for the instruction of youth; and is intended



tended to be continued in future volumes.—At Dordt, an instructive and entertaining publication has begun to make its appearance, in numbers, under the title of “an historical, political, and æconomical Atlas.” This popular work contains an abridgement of what is most interesting in the history, commerce, and agriculture of different countries.

At Leyden, M. Ruhnkenius has published an accurate and elegant edition of “the Works of M. A. Muretus, with Additions and Corrections from Manuscripts, and a brief Commentary,” in 4 volumes 8vo. This edition of that celebrated author is the most complete and perfect one which hath yet appeared; and contains, beside the preface of Thomasius, and that of the Padua edition of 1741, a learned and ingenious one by the present editor, which is prefixed to the fourth volume.—At Amsterdam, M. R. Van Ommeren, Master of the public school in that city, has published two dissertations entitled “Quintus Horatius Flaccus, &c.” which were first read in a society at Amsterdam, pro concordia & libertate. The principal object of the author is, to defend the Roman poet from the accusations which have been brought against him by several learned men, of flattery, cowardice, and licentiousness, as a man, and as a citizen. This part of his plan M. Ommeren has executed with much ingenuity, and forcible argument. His secondary object is, to moderate the high party spirit that exists among his countrymen. We apprehend that this task will be found much more arduous and difficult, than the exculpation of his favourite bard.—At Utrecht hath appeared “a Treatise of the late Peter Camper on the natural Difference of Features in persons of various Countries and Ages;

and on Beauty as exhibited on ancient Sculpture and Engravings; followed by the Description of a new Method of delineating various sorts of Heads, with accuracy: published by his son, Adrian Gilles Camper.” The character of the late professor Camper, for learning, judgment, and taste, is too well known to be particularly mentioned by us. And it will excite a strong curiosity, among scientific artists, to examine a work that is founded on a succession of repeated discoveries, and minute observation. The following are the outlines of the author’s object: he intends to prove that the principal rules laid down by the most celebrated painters and limners, are very defective; that they neither enable the students to delineate national characteristics in the countenance, nor to imitate the beauties of ancient sculptors and artists. He contends that the observations of the abbé Winckelman, concerning ideal beauty, are not well founded; and he professes to have discovered, in what that species of beauty really consists. He insists that it is in consequence of the imperfection of rules, that men of eminence have been so defective in their portraits of national characters. He denies the propriety of making the oval, as is the most common method, or the triangle, as some artists have proposed, the foundation of portraits to be taken in profile; and he proposes more certain principles in their place.

Among the productions of Germany, the first which attracts our attention is, “a new Greek Version of the Pentateuch, now first Published from the Manuscript in St. Mark’s Library at Venice, and revised, by Ch. Fred. Ammon, Phil. D. &c. vols. I. and II.” published at Erlangen. These volumes contain Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and

and Numbers ; to which is soon to be added, a third volume containing the book of Deuteronomy, critical remarks by the editor, a defence of corrections which he has made of trifling mistakes in the manuscript, and a complete index verborum. We shall probably have it in our power, on a future occasion, to lay before our readers a more particular account of the value of this publication.—At Marburg M. C. W. Justi has published “the Song of Triumph over Babylon, Isaiah XLVII. as a specimen of Translation and Explanation.” From this specimen a very favourable opinion hath been entertained of the abilities of the author, as a critic and commentator. The fifth verse he considers to allude to the custom in the east of feasting in the evening, while the slaves were allowed no light in their apartment. The same allusion he conceives to be used, in the outer darkness of the new testament.—At Gottingen, M. Werner. C. L. Zeigler has published “a complete Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the ancient and modern Opinions respecting its authenticity, canonicalness, and original Language, are continually examined anew, and the Value of the whole Epistle more accurately determined.” The principal object of M. Ziegler appears to be, the refutation of the arguments used by Dr. Storr, in his explanation of this epistle, to prove that Paul was the writer of it. These he examines singly, and closely, with great critical judgment and skill. M. Zeigler is of opinion that this epistle was written by Apollos, or some other Jew of Alexandria.—The same author has published, at the same place, “Theological Essays, vol. I.” This work affords additional evidence, of the extensive knowledge, and critical

acuteness, which the author possesses ; and has led the public to form very high expectations from his future productions in Biblical literature. Three separate tracts compose the present volume. The first is on natural religion ; the second an examination of the history of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, from the earliest times of the church, to the council of Florence ; and the third is a commentary on the book of Judges.—At Leipzig, M. Rossmüller is continuing the publication of his “Scholia on the Old Testament,” with increasing reputation. From the last account which we have seen of this work it appears, that he has published the first section of his third volume, which includes the first eighteen chapters of Isaiah.—The same author has likewise published, at Nuremberg, the third and last volume of “additions to his Scholia on the New Testament,” which contain the substance of every thing of importance, that hath been written since that work appeared.—At Leipzig, M. F. Fred. N. More, professor of Theology, has published an epitome of “Christian Theology, written for future Teachers of Religion,” which is a valuable and useful work, and well deserves the attention of those for whose use it was drawn up. In his prolegomena, the professor displays much learning and information, when treating of religion in general, theology, the scriptures, and the credibility of their authors.

At Winterthur, M. J. C. Lavater has published “Reflections on the most important Passages in the Gospels ; a book for the Edification of unlearned thinking Christians, adapted to the Wants of the Times, vol. II.” With M. Lavater’s manner of writing practical works, few, if any, of our readers are unacquainted.

acquainted. This volume is written in his peculiar style, and is well adapted to the class of readers for whose use it was intended. What farther tends to recommend it is, the care with which the author has, in general, avoided introducing any reference to opinions of a dubious and speculative nature; or which cannot promote the improvement of christians.—At Erford, M. J. J. Bellerman has published a "Manual of Biblical Literature, vol. II." a work that reflects great honour on the author's talents, and from which the theological student may derive considerable assistance. This volume is devoted to sacred geography.—At Ulm hath appeared a publication entitled, "the true and only sufficient Mode of reforming the Catholic Priesthood in general, according to the original Idea of its Divine Founder; by an active Friend of Pure Truth, and the general Good." This work is a singular and curious one; especially when it is considered that it is the production of a catholic, and one who is held in high estimation by the catholic clergy in general, and by the court of Munich, at which he resides. For he claims the same rights for his sovereign over the clergy and all ecclesiastical possessions, as have been exercised under the revolution in France. He contends, also, that there should be but one class of priests, though of different ranks, who should be solely occupied in the cure of souls, and instruction of youth, and whose authority should be purely spiritual. The German episcopalians will not highly relish such a bold and spirited performance.—At Hamburg an useful treatise has been published, entitled "the Road to Happiness pointed out to Youth, by one of their best Friends." This work is drawn up in a manner that will prove un-

exceptionable to persons of very discordant theological opinions, but who agree in a common belief in christianity. It is divided into seven sections, under the following heads: What is the nature of man? In what consists the happiness at which he aims? Is there a God? Can this God render us happy? He has called us to happiness by the dispensations of his providence: and he has given us a full assurance of it, by sending his son Jesus.—At Nuremberg and Altdorf, Dr. J. C. Döderlein has published "Instructions in the Christian Religion, adapted to the Necessities of the Times, vol. V." The former volumes of these discourses were published some years ago; and have secured to the author a high and distinguished rank among German divines. This volume completes the doctrines relative to the attributes of God, and treats of his moral perfections.—At Gottingen, M. J. G. Marezoll has published a volume of "Sermons, principally relating to the Spirit and Wants of the Times, preached at the University Church," which are on interesting and useful subjects, and said to be recommended by great excellence of style.—At Leipzig, M. R. G. Baur, has published "Sermons on fast and feast Days, and on various Subjects of practical Christianity," which have been very favourably received; and are considered as possessing much of that species of merit which distinguishes the excellent sermons of Zollikofer.—At Magdeburgh, M. J. David Müller has published "Sermons for Youth at School, in two volumes." Mr. Müller, who has been for some years a teacher of young persons, has been accustomed to assemble his scholars on holidays, and to deliver discourses to them on the first principles of religion. These discourses compose the

the present volumes, and are recommended by their subjects, their brevity, and the easy familiar style in which they are written.—At Berlin have appeared two volumes of posthumous “Sermons, on various Texts of Scripture, by M. Reclam.” It appears, however, that these discourses were intended by the author for the press; and that they possess very considerable merit, as pulpit compositions. The subjects of them are, chiefly, the christian virtues.

Among the German publications in speculative and moral philosophy, for the year 1791, we meet with, “J. G. C. Kiefewetter, on the first Principles of moral Philosophy, &c. in 2 Vols.” published at Berlin. The first volume of this work contains an examination of former systems of morals; and an Essay on Free-will, by professor Jacob, a new edition revised throughout. The second volume contains an Exposition and Explanation of Kant’s Moral Principle; which is so much enlarged in its form, that it may be considered as a new work.—At Leipzig, M. Fred. Victor Leberecht Pleßing has published “Attempts to elucidate the Philosophy of the remotest Antiquity, Vol. II.” This volume is divided into two parts. The first contains an attempt to prove, that the ancient Eleates, the Pythagoreans, and Aristotle, entertained the same opinions in their doctrine of God, the soul of the world, and of ideas. The second part is principally employed in refuting different objections to the author’s opinions. This work is distinguished by those marks of industry and ingenuity, which must extort the commendation of those readers of Mr. Pleßing, who may not think that he has satisfactorily established his positions.—At Berlin, M. J. Ascher has published

a treatise, entitled “Scholia, or Fragments of Philosophy and Criticism, Vol. I.” The chief object of the author is, to investigate the ground of the pleasure which arises from the sublime, the great, the noble, and the beautiful. In discussing his subjects, M. Ascher gives abundant proof of the attention which he has paid to them, and of his extensive acquaintance with scientific writers, and works of art; whatever may be thought of the truth and reasonableness of his theory.—At Leipzig have appeared “Letters on Kant’s Philosophy, by C. Leon. Reinhold, Vol. I.”; which contain an intelligible and pleasing illustration of the results of Kant’s reasoning, with respect to our rights and duties in this life, and the grounds of our hope in a future, without examining the premises from which those results are drawn. The first letters, which contain an account of the present state of philosophy, are highly instructive.—At the same place, M. C. H. Heydenreich has published a second volume of his sensible and well-written “Thoughts on the Philosophy of Natural Religion.”—At the same place, Mr. Villaurme has published a volume of “Essays on some Psychological Questions,” which he has treated with his accustomed good sense, and ingenuity. The subjects of these essays are dreams; whether in a future state we shall have a remembrance of this; the laws by which man is guided in his judgment concerning truth and falsehood; whether pleasure can serve instead of pain to unfold man’s faculties; Bonnet’s system of the organization of the brain; and self-knowledge.—At Medlenburg, M. Wilhelm Klewiz has published a treatise “on Duration and Pre-existence” which, among some  
pleasing

ing and probable conjectures, contains a variety of the most wild and extravagant ideas that a creative fancy ever formed. There is nothing, however, in his scheme, but what is perfectly innocent, in a moral and religious point of view.—At Jena, M. C. Christian Erhard Schmid has published “an experimental Essay on Mind,” which affords satisfactory evidence of the author’s possessing very extensive talents, an intimate knowledge of the subject he has undertaken to discuss, patient and unwearied industry, and an accurate discriminating judgment. This work is divided into five parts. The first examines the idea of the mind, its various faculties and powers, their relation to each other, and the general laws by which they act, as far as is necessary to the subsequent investigations. The second part treats of the faculty of perception; the third of sensation; the fourth, of the faculty and power of desire in general; and the fifth, of the relation of the soul and body to each other. In an Introduction, Mr. Schmid considers the knowledge of man in general, and its indispensableness to the attainment of the end of his existence or happiness by means of moral conduct.—At Tübingen, professor Bardili has republished the “Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, by P. Pomponius of Mantua,” which was become exceedingly scarce; and has enhanced its value, by adding whatever is worthy notice relative to the philosophers who have flourished in Italy since the age of the scholastics, the life of the author, and the argument of the book.—At the same place, professor Jac. Fred. Abel has published “Explanations of important Objects of

Philosophical and Christian Morality”; in which he endeavours to shew the importance of an acquaintance with psychology to young divines, and how its principles should be applied to cases which will frequently occur to them. The design of this publication is more highly commended than the manner in which it is executed.

Under the head of Government, Law, and Political Economy, Germany during the present year has produced only a few publications which we have heard of, and of which our plan requires that we should take any notice. In this number is the “Essay on the Revolutions of States, External, Internal and Religious, read at the public Meeting of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, Oct. 6. 1791, &c. by Count Hertzberg.” This publication is distinguished by numerous evidences of that extensive information, and comprehensive mind, which the ingenious author is well known to possess. We cannot, however, accede to all his political ideas; and have by no means been convinced by the arguments with which he endeavours to support the utility of standing armies, and to illustrate the freedom which is enjoyed under the Prussian government.—At Liege, M. Lemaire has published a French translation, from the German, of “a Plan of a new Constitution, for the Free and Imperial City of Aix-la-Chapelle, proposed to the Citizens by M. De Dohm, Privy Councillor to the King of Prussia.” This publication is highly honourable to the author, for the rational and manly sentiments of liberty which he endeavours to inculcate. It points out the proper correction of these

abuses in the old constitution, under which the magistrate had for a long time exercised an intolerable oppression, that led to consequences which called for the interposition of the imperial chamber at Wetzlaer. And it proposes a new form of government, which seems calculated, as the author says, "to make the City truly free, and the Citizens Freemen, subordinate only to the Laws, and possessing not only the Right, but the Opportunity and Power, of exerting themselves at all times, in promoting the general Happiness."—At Berlin hath been published "a Trial at Law between M. Unger, Printer, and M. Zællner, Councillor of the grand Consistory, as Censor of a prohibited Book," which reflects much honour on the court before which it was held, and leads us to hope that their decision will prove encouraging to freedom of enquiry in the Prussian monarchy. The following are the circumstances of the case: M. Unger having published a catechism, for the instruction of the lower classes of people, in which all the abstruse parts of that published by authority were omitted, he was forbidden by the minister Von Wollner to sell the work, under the pretence that it was a libel on the established catechism. At the same time that minister informed him, that he might recover his expences from M. Zællner, the censor, who had permitted him to publish it. Having brought his action against M. Zællner, the court decreed against him; observing, "that the office of censor was intended merely to suppress personal invective, and private malice, and not to lay the least restraint on the candid examination of truth, against whomsoever it might militate."—

At Gottingen, M. Ph. P. Guden has published a treatise "on the Laws of Exchange, and the Roman Law relative to written Obligations, and their Influence on the Wellfare of a People;" which contains many just ideas, worthy the attention of writers on jurisprudence. M. Guden considers the Roman law as too favourable to the debtor; and that of exchange as too favourable to the creditor.—At Hamburg has been published "an Attempt at a complete Enquiry into Usury and its Laws, and the Means of preventing Usury without Penal Statutes, by J. A. Gunther, vol. I;" which contains many just and sensible observations on the theory of the laws of usury: and at Nordlingen, a treatise entitled "a Vote on Usury, by a Man without a Vote," which to much humour unites valuable and important remarks on the same subject.—At Mannheim have been published the "Memoirs of the Electoral Physico-œconomical Society of Heidelberg, Vol. V. Part I." The papers in this volume are, on the best means of preventing a want of firewood, by F. C. Medicus; on the commercial rank of the Turks, by Dr. Gatterer; and observations on the diseases of horses, by C. baron von Zyllenhard.

At Mentz and Leipzig have appeared "Letters on the various Branches of political Economy, Vol. I." which have been written by a person of considerable experience, knowledge, and judgment; and at Bamberg and Wirtzburg, a dissertation "on the Advantages of Hospitals to a State," which was pronounced at the establishment of the general hospital at Bamberg, and is chiefly employed in a panegyric on the reigning prince bishop, Francis

Francis Lewis.—At Berlin a periodical work has begun to make its appearance, entitled “Frederic Herzberg’s Magazine for the Geography and political Economy of the Prussian Dominions, Part I.” which, from its plan, and the manner in which the present Number is conducted, promises to be useful and entertaining.—At Hamburg, Dr. J. A. H. Reimarus has published a well written treatise entitled, “the Freedom of the Corn-Trade examined on Natural and Historical Principles;” in which he offers a variety of arguments, from reason and experience, to prove that the most effectual means of securing a country against want of corn are, to allow a free importation and exportation of that article.—At Weisensels and Leipsic, a country clergyman has published “Short Instructions, taken from Experience, on the best Method of cultivating Fruit Trees,” containing much valuable and useful information.

In giving our account of publications in Mathematics and Philosophy, it has been usual with us to pay our first attention to the memoirs of royal academies, or public societies. We have not, however, since the appearance of our last volume, met with any work of this description: if we except the “Annals of the Academy of Mechanic Arts and Sciences, at Berlin, by C. Ph. Moritz, Part I.” which are of a mathematical nature. These Annals are intended to contain not only all the discoveries made by the academy, or its members, but all the information that can be collected concerning the history of the arts, and the degree of perfection to which each has been carried by the ancients. The number before

us contains the following articles: monuments of the history of the arts in Prussia; speech on the introduction of the new regulations of the academy, by baron Heinitz, minister of state; an answer in the name of the academy, by professor Moritz; on two buildings made each of a single stone, taken from quarries in Egypt, and transported on the Nile, one to Sais, the other to Buto; on the ancient porcelain of Egypt; description of Brandenburg gate, now erecting at Berlin; institution of the academy of arts at Petersburg; a letter to M. I. Meinon, concerning professor Herz’s Essay on Taste; an answer by M. Meinon; a plan for executing geographical maps in a less expensive manner than the present, which chiefly consists in the use of wood instead of copper; and extracts of letters by the vice-director Chodoneiecky.—Among the mathematical works which individuals have contributed to the general stock, we meet with “Institutes of Mathematical Analysis, and the Science of Machines, Vol. I; containing Algebra, or the Analysis of finite Quantities; published from the posthumous Papers of M. Jos. Mitterpacher of Mitternburg, by J. Pasquich, Phil. D. Professor of the higher Mathematics at Pest,” printed at Leipsic. The foreign journalists in speaking of this work, are profuse in their commendations on the author, and the editor.—At Berlin, professor Abel Burja has published “Elements of Dynamics, or that Part of Mechanics which treats of solid Bodies in a State of Motion;” the design of which is to afford those who wish to make some progress in the science, a work calculated to prepare them

them for the more abstruse parts of mathematics, for reading the labours of an Euler; or a M. de la Grange.—At Leipzig, R. Fr. Von Lindenau, lieutenant colonel, &c. in the imperial service, has published a treatise “on the higher Prussian Tactics, their Defects and Inadequacy, with some more full and adequate Methods, in four Parts, Vol. II;” from which considerable improvement may be derived to military Science.—At Hamburg, an anonymous treatise has appeared “on succedaneous Rudders, or Methods that may be employed for steering a Ship which has lost its Rudder or Tiller, and supplying the Loss as well as possible at Sea;” which is the work of an intelligent author, and contains useful instruction in naval tactics.—At Berlin, M. J. C. Bode has published his “astronomical Ephemeris for the Year 1774,” which abounds with valuable astronomical papers.—At Gotha, Francis de Zach, Phil. et LL. D. of the university of Oxford, has published “New and Correct Tables of the Sun’s Motion, deduced from the Theory of Gravitation, and the latest Observations; to which is added a New Catalogue of the principal fixed Stars, from Astronomical Observations made during the Years 1787, 8, 9, &c. in the Observatory at Gotha; and constructed for the Year 1800;” which is said to be a work of very great merit.—At Göttingen, M. Johann. Hieronymus Schroeter has published “Selenotopographical Memoirs, intended to promote a more accurate Knowledge of the Moon’s Surface,” a work on which the author has bestowed immense time and labour, and that contains a vast fund of information, for which every lover of Science is much indebted to him.

In Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, the following works have been announced in the foreign journals: “New Philosophical Essays, of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Vol. V,” published at Munich; to which M. M. Heinrich, Arbuthnot, and Kennedy are the principal contributors; “Miscellaneous Essays, Chemical, Pharmaceutical, and Philosophical, by J. Mich. Schiller,” published at Nuremberg; “a History of the Progress and Discoveries in Chemistry, &c. by John Christian Weigleb, in 2 Vols.” published at Berlin; “Chemical Researches in Agriculture, Part III. by M. Reickert,” published at Erlang; “An Introduction to Chemistry in general, by Christian Ehrenfried Weigleb, Parts I and II.” published at Leipzig; “a general System of experimental Chemistry, sketched as a Text-Book for his Lectures, by Dr. Sigism. Fred. Hermbstadt, in 3 Vols.” published at Berlin; “a chemical Analysis of the Mineral Waters at Carlsbad, by professor Klaproth,” published at the same place; and “a physico-chemical Description of the mineral Wells at Pyrmont, by John Fred. Westrumb,” published at Leipzig.—To the articles already enumerated we must add the following, which are intended to assist in extending our acquaintance with the different branches of natural knowledge: “An Introduction to the Knowledge and History of Animals and Minerals, for the Use of Academical Lectures, by Augustus J. G. C. Batfch, Vol. II.” published at Jena; “Sketches of natural History, by Blas. Merrem, in two Parts,” published at Duisburg and Lemgo; “Essay on the Animalcules of Infusions, and different Kinds of fresh Water, with Doubts on the Irritability



bility of Vegetables, by Noel. Jos. De Necker," published at Mannheim; "Specimen of the comparative Physiology of Viviparous and Oviparous warm-blooded Animals, by J. E. Blumenbach," published at Gottingen; "on the Origin of vegetable and animal Fibre, by M. J. Hedwig," published at Leipzig; "An Abridgment of the natural History of viviparous Quadrupeds, and of Birds, by M. Hollandre, M. D. in four Vols." published at Deux Ponts; "Tables ascertaining the Proportion and Quantity of the component Parts contained in an hundred Grains of those Stones and Earths that have been accurately examined of late Years, for the convenience of Naturalists, Mineralogists, &c", and "Tables, as before, in an hundred Pounds of Ores and combustible Materials, &c by J. C. W. Remler," published at Erfort; "a full and systematic Catalogue of the Collection of Minerals of M. C. Eugene Pabst Von Ohain, late Captain of the Mines to the Elector of Saxony, by A. G. Werner, Vol. I." published at Freyberg and Annaberg; "the Elements of Metallurgy, in which are displayed the chief Operations in smelting Works, either in the small way or in the large, according to sound chemical Principles, with Delineations of some of the most eminent smelting Works, by J. Ant. Scopoli," published at Mannheim; "a mineralogical Description of the Territory of Orange-Nassau, with a History of the smelting Works and Forges at Siegen, by J. Ph. Becher," published at Marburg; "the Art of Mining, Vol. II." published at Leipzig; "the Geography of the North-west middle Mountain in Bohemia, a Fragment in Answer to the Question, Is Basaltes a volcanic Produc-

tions or not? determined in the negative, by Fr. Amb. Reufs, M. and Phik. D." published at Dresden; "a tabulary View of Fossil Bodies, &c. by D. L. G. Karsten," published at Berlin; "a Dissertation on Plants in cultivated Prussia, by Professor C. D. Hagen," published at Koningsberg; and "a portable Herbal of Plants found in the Environs of Liege, with their Description and Classification, according to the System of Linné, to which is prefixed a Discourse on Botany, by A. Rozin M. D." published at Liege.

Among the Historical and Biographical productions of Germany, the first which we have to announce is a "general Collection of historical Memoirs, from the twelfth Century to the present Day, translated by several Hands; published by Fred. Schiller, in 3 vols," at Jena. This work is an extensive and valuable one; and is intended to include the most important historical pieces relating not merely to the kingdoms of Europe, but to others in different quarters of the globe, in whose political transactions they have been interested. The memoirs that compose the present volume are, the Princess Anna Comnena's Alexias; Otto bishop of Freisingen's memoirs of the emperor Frederic I.; a continuation of the same by Radewich; and Bohadin's life of Saladin. Prefixed to the work is a short sketch of the origin of the Crusades, and the state of Europe at that time, with remarks on the different kinds of property in land, and the gradual rise of the feudal system.—At Hamburg, hath appeared "the History of the Reign of Charlemagne, by D. H. Hegewich" The principal design of this work is to give a true idea, and faithful representation of

the state and character of the different nations who were subject to the dominion of Charlemagne, to investigate the leading principles of their civil constitutions, and to develop the plan and method of that monarch's government. It is a production which has employed much of the author's time and assiduity, in collecting and arranging materials; and among some opinions which may appear to us to be novel and indefensible, it contains a variety of critical remarks on other historians, and sensible discussions, which do honour to the author's knowledge and judgment.—At Leipzig hath been published a "History of the Ukrain and Saporogue Cossacks, by C. Hammerdörfer," which contains much correct information concerning that people.—At Berlin, M. de Verdy du Vernois, Chamberlain to the king of Prussia, has published "a genealogical and chronological History of the House of Hesse Hombourg, by way of Appendix to M. Mallet's History of Hesse, drawn up from the Title-Deeds and Manuscripts in the Archives of that House." Whatever is of importance relative to the landgrate of Hesse Hombourg, and its connection with the other states of Germany, from the death of George the Pious, in the year 1596, has been collected with great care and industry by our author, who is spoken of as possessing the requisites of a faithful and interesting historian.—At Königsberg hath been published, Dr. G. Christ Fisauf's "Sketch of the literary History of Prussia; with a Preface on the Life, Character, and literary Merit of the Author, by L. Ernest Borowsky;" which contains an ample view of the origin and progress of learning in Prussia; its hindrances and advantages, its in-

fluence on the nation, religion, manners, taste, &c.—At Breslaw have been published "political and military Confessions of an Austrian Veteran, respecting the Conduct of Austria and Prussia towards each other, during the Reign of Frederic II. in 3 vols." This work is the only one of any value that has appeared from an Austrian pen, respecting the wars between Frederic and Maria Theresa; and it is written by a person who possessed peculiar advantages for information, abilities for forming a right judgment, and an uncommon qualification for an actor in the scenes which he describes, that of writing with impartiality.—At Berlin, F. W. C. Count Schmettau has published "Memoirs of the Campaign of the Prussian Army in Bohemia, in 1778, under the command of his majesty, with remarks on several Subjects relative to the Art of War," which are said to be the most judicious, accurate, and faithful, yet published, not excepting those of the king himself. At Liege hath appeared "an Account of the Revolution at Liege in 1789, and of the Conduct of the King of Prussia in that Business, by M. de Dohm, privy Councillor to his Majesty, &c. translated from the German into French, by M. Reynier, Citizen of Liege, &c.;" which is an interesting and important work; and details an account of transactions and negotiations that reflect great honour on the king of Prussia and his minister.—The "Sketch of a History of the State Inquisition at Venice, by J. Ph. Siebenkees," published at Nuremberg, contains a particular and accurate account of the famous Venetian tribunal, drawn up by a person of known and respectable abilities, who resided for a considerable time

at Venice, and who has consulted the most valuable and incontestible authorities.—At Gottingen, Dr. G. J. Planck, professor of theology, has published “a Plan of the History of the Constitution of the Church, Church Government, and Canon Law, particularly with respect to the German Church, as a Text-Book of Lectures, particularly for Students of Law,” in which a vast quantity of valuable and important matter, judiciously digested and arranged, is compressed into the compass of a small volume.—At Dessau, an anonymous author has published a work entitled “Modern History of the reformed Church in the lower Palatinate, from authentic Sources,” which contains an interesting account of the oppression which the reformed church has suffered, since the year 1685, drawn up with great temper and liberality, and supported by unquestionable documents, added by the author to the body of the work.—At Altenburg, M. Herchenhahn has published “the History of Albert de Wallestein, in 2 vols.” The hero of this work was the noted opponent of Gustavus Adolphus: and his history is marked by a great variety of striking incidents, and changes of fortune, that render it interesting and entertaining.—At Magdeburg, an anonymous author has published “Biographical Anecdotes of John Bernh. Basedow, taken from his own Works, and from other authentic Sources.” M. Basedow was a person possessed of eminent and very distinguished talents, and an unconquerable ardour in the prosecution of truth, and schemes of utility. To him Germany is indebted for the most important changes that have of late years been made in the seminaries of education, and for that spirit of free enquiry that is pervading the

Lutheran church. Like all reformers, however, he met with the most violent opposition from the ignorant, the prejudiced, and the interested. The history of such a celebrated character, if tolerably written, cannot fail of being highly interesting. It is but justice to say, that the anecdotes before us are drawn up in a pleasing manner, and by a person who appears to have had access to sources of accurate and particular information.—At Leipzig, M. J. Ferd. Roth has published “the Life of Albert Durer, the Father of German Artists, with an Alphabetical Catalogue of Places in which his Performances are preserved;” from which the author can claim the merit of having displayed more industry in collecting and examining his materials, than any of his predecessors who have undertaken to write the life of Durer.—At Gotha, M. Schlichtegroll has published “a Necrology for the Year 1790, containing Accounts of the Lives of the Memorable Persons who died that Year;” which are more or less full, as the author was able to procure materials. Among other subjects of this biographical work are, Dr. Franklin, Joseph II. Lewis of Hesse Darmstadt, and our countryman Mr. Howard. — After having swelled this article beyond the limits which we usually allow ourselves, in giving our account of any branch of foreign literature, we must content ourselves with only inserting the names of the following works: “the History and Description of the Imperial County of Limburg, in the Circle of Franconia, vol. II.; containing its Topography &c.” published at Stuttgart; “the Architectural History of Potsdam, particularly during the Reign of Fred. II. by H. L. Manger, vol. I.” published at Berlin and Stettin; “a

Brief Chronicle of the Imperial Town of Nuremberg," published at Altdorf; "a Commentary on Edrifi's African Geography, which obtained the Prize from the Royal Academy at Gottingen, June 4. 1791, by J. M. Hartmann," published at Gottingen; "J. R. Von Patkul's Dispatches to the Cabinet of the Tzar at Moscow, during his Embassy to Augustus II. king of Poland, with Explanations of the Letters written in Cypher, explanatory Remarks, an Account of his Life, &c." published at Berlin; "the History of the Coinage, Money, and Mines of the Russian Empire, from 1700 to 1789; chiefly taken from original Documents," published at Gottingen: "the Cabinet of Lubec Coins, and Medals, collected by Lew. H. Mulla, with explanatory Remarks, and a History of Coins, by J. Herm. Schnobel," published at Lubec; "Letters on Switzerland, by C. Meiners, Councillor to his Britannic Majesty, and Professor of Philosophy at Gottingen, vols. III. IV." published at Berlin; "Sketch of Part of Germany, Switzerland, and France, taken during a Tour in the Year 1790, by H. A. Von Halem, in 2 vols." published at Hamburg; "on Paris and the Parisians, by M. Schultz," published at Berlin; "a Voyage on the Rhine, in 2 vols." published at Coblenz; "M. Wafli Szujew's Description of his Journey from St. Petersburg to Cherion, in the Years 1781-2, vol. I." published at Dresden and Leipzig; "the Ancient History of Printing at Mentz, from the Invention of the Art, to the year 1499, by G. W. Zapf," published at Ulm; "the Last Days of Abbé Jerusalem, by J. E. F. Emperius," published at Leipzig; "the History and Journal of my Imprisonment, with private Documents and Illustrations of the German

Union, by Dr. C. F. Bahrdt," published at Frankfort; "Sketches of the Lives of Ladies of Gallantry, being an Introduction to the Knowledge of the Character, Manners, Devices, and Address of Females of former Ages," published at Ratibon; "the History of the Life and Travels of J. J. Lerche, Councillor of the Imperial Russian College, &c. written by Himself; with Remarks and Additions by Dr. Ant. Fred. Busching," published at Halle; and "the Life of Frederica Baldinger, written by herself; published, with a Preface by the widow Sophia Von la Roche," at Offenbach.

We shall now conclude our history of German Literature, by inserting a catalogue of such publications as are to be referred to the heads of classical, critical, polite, or miscellaneous learning. At Marburg, Professor G. W. Lorschach has begun the publication of a new periodical work under the title of "a Repository for Oriental Literature." This work, if we may judge from the present specimen, promises to be a valuable and important one to those who wish to be intimately acquainted with the Oriental languages. The volume before us contains a new and excellent translation of the fragment from Ebn. Chalecan's lives of celebrated men, which include the history of Hakem, the founder of the religion of the Druses, together with historical, geographical, and critical remarks: and remarks on Bar Hebræus, under the form of reviews of Bar Hebræi Chronicon Syriacum, Ed. Brunfu and Kirschü; Kirschii Chrestomathia Syriaca; and the Appendix ad Chronicon Georgii Abulfaragii, sive Bar. Heb. Ed. P. J. Bruns.—At Jena, Professor Paulus has begun a new periodical work entitled "Memorabilia:

lia: a philosophico-theological Magazine, dedicated to the History and philosophy of Religion, Biblical Learning, and Oriental Literature," of which the abilities of the author lead us to form considerable expectations.—At Brunswick, a work hath been published entitled "Encyclopedia of the Latin Classics; division the first; the Roman poets. Vol. I. Select Comedies from Plautus and Seneca, by J. H. A. Schulze, with explanatory Remarks by Schulze and Heusinger Vol. II. Select Comedies from Terence, with explanatory Remarks by Schulze." This work, from the respectable names of the persons who are engaged in superintending it, bids fair to contain such selections as are best calculated to form the taste and minds of young persons, while every thing is omitted that might tend to produce an unfavourable influence upon their morals.—At Leipsic, a work hath appeared entitled "Bragur, a Magazine of ancient German and Northern Literature, by Bockh and Grater, vol. I.;" which consists of essays on the subject of northern literature, remarks on books written on it, occasional extracts from them, and translations of ancient works; and is intended to be continued.—At Ratisbon, M. Theod. Gemeiner, librarian, has published "a Brief Description of the Manuscripts in the Public Library of the Free Imperial City of Ratisbon, vol. I."—At Ulm, M. Jos. Maria Helmschrott, librarian, has published "a Catalogue of old Specimens of Printing, in the ancient Benedictine Convent of St. Mang, at Fuesen, with literary Remarks," which is a valuable addition to ancient bibliography.—At Lemgo, M. J. G. Meusel has published "a Lexicon of German Artists now living, also of Libraries, and Collections of Works of Art,

Coins, and Natural History, worth seeing in Germany and Switzerland, vol. II." which will be useful to those who make the tour of those countries.—To the articles already mentioned, we add the titles of the following works: "the Correspondence of Frederick II. King of Prussia, before and after his Accession to the Throne, with M. Duhan de Jandun," published at Berlin; "Observations taken from Experience, in 3 vols. by J. G. Busch, Professor at Hamburg," printed at that place; "the Posthumous Writings of the late Professor Musæus, published by his Pupil A. Von Kotzebue," at Leipsic; "J. A. Elbert's Epistles and Miscellaneous Poems," published at Hamburg; Klopstock's "Death of Hermann, a Bard's Song for the Theatre," published at the same place; "Bliomberis, an heroic Poem, in twelve books, by Axlinger," published at Leipsic; "Anne Bullen, queen of England, a Tragedy, by Julius Count Soden," published at Nuremberg; and "Leopoldine, a Romance, by M. Schultz, in 2 vols." published at Leipsic.

In turning our view to the literature of Switzerland, the first article which we meet with is a volume of "Nuptial Discourses, &c. with two miscellaneous Sermons," by M. Greg. Grob, published at St. Gall. These discourses are plain, useful, and impressive; and have deservedly met with a favourable reception from the public. The subjects of them are, the great value of a good understanding with respect to conjugal happiness; means of promoting a good understanding among married people; conjugal happiness; the happiness of devout persons; the great influence of trust in God's providence on our happiness; the festival of the Sabbath; and the cheerful enjoyment of the good we find

find in our situations. — At Lausanne, M. Bonfils, of Geneva, has published a work entitled "the Citizen's Morals, in 2 vols." This is an interesting and useful work. After establishing, as fundamental principles, that to be virtuous it is necessary to be informed and enlightened, that they who want knowledge are liable to commit the most reprehensible actions, without being in reality vicious, and that therefore it is of the highest importance to cultivate the intellectual faculties; the author proceeds to offer considerations on the people of the lower classes, with the means of instructing them and eradicating their prejudices. The various topics suggested by these considerations, occupy the first volume. The second relates to marriage, friendship, and beneficence; and concludes with a short tract, entitled the sick man's morals. — At Geneva, a very ingenious and sensible publication hath appeared, entitled "Moral Mechanics, or an Essay on the Art of improving, and employing our natural, acquired, and subjected Organs, by Ant. de la Sale, in 2 vols." This work contains many ideas that are truly original. According to the author, the art of life is as much mechanical, as any of those commonly called so; with this difference only, that in the latter the power and the instrument are external to each other, in the former they are intimately united. — At Zurich hath been published "a Sketch of the Origin, Constitution, and Labours of the Ascetic Society in Zurich," which gives an account of the success attending the well meant and zealous efforts of a society of worthy clergymen, to render themselves most useful in enforcing religious instruction, and bringing about a reformation of manners among the

lower classes of the community. This society was founded in 1768, by the late Ja. Breitingger and Jac. Simler, and the present A. Ulrich, and Jac. Hesse. — At Bern, H. Struve M. D. extraordinary professor of chemistry, has published "a Sketch of a new Theory of Brine Springs and fossile Salt, in which the Salt-Works at Bern, are chiefly had in view." According to our author, fossile salt is found only in stratiform mountains. Its bed is a schistous argillaceous stone, situated below a thick stratum of lime stone, generally accompanied with gypsum. The same bed is found to accompany brine springs. If the above mentioned schist be bored through, a salt spring will burst forth. The schist is a general deposition of the sea. Hence, whenever a brine spring is found, more may be produced by penetrating the stratum of schist. If, on digging, we find fossile salt, the schist, which at its formation was filled with it, has remained untouched by water; if we find brine springs, the original fossile salt has been dissolved in water that has found its way to the schist; and if we find argillaceous stone only, the salt has been completely washed out, and carried away. — At Winterthur, Dr. Johan. Jac. Roemer has published "Genera Insectorum Linnæi and Fabricii, Iconibus illustrata." The plan pursued in this work is to give, in thirty-seven plates, figures of all the genera, with their several orders, contained in the Linnæan and Fabrician writings. The plates are accompanied with eighty-six pages of letter press, explanatory of both systems, and mentioning the several species figured in the illustration of the work. Every entomologist, whether he belong to the Linnæan or Fabrician school, will find himself much

much indebted to Dr. Roemer, for the neatness and accuracy with which this work is executed.—At Zurich have appeared “Sketches of the Natural and Economical State of the Two Sicilies, by Charles Ulysses de Salis, in 2 Vols.” This work is drawn up in the form of letters, by a person who had every favourable opportunity of informing himself of the state of the country through which he travelled. And, notwithstanding that the ground which he has taken, has been pre-occupied by intelligent and well informed historians, we have found him instructive and entertaining, abounding in interesting facts, and sensible liberal observations. The first volume is divided into four parts. The first part contains what may be properly called the author’s journey to Sicily. The second is a translation of Dolomieu’s Dissertation on an extinct Volcano, in the Val di Noto. The third is a translation of the chevalier Joseph Giveni’s account of the eruption of mount *Ætna*, in July 1787. The fourth part consists of extracts from various letters, on different subjects, relative to Sicily. The second volume contains a minute description of the terrible earthquake which happened in Calabria, in the year 1783, together with much miscellaneous matter; and concludes with an account of the Island of Ponza, drawn up from the communications of the abbate Fortis, sir William Hamilton, and M. Dolomieu. At Geneva, M. Bourrit has published “a Tour of Geneva, Lausanne, and Chamouni,” which, although a small work, contains much information; and is the fullest and completest *Vade Mecum* which we have heard of, for those who intend visiting the places described by the author.—At Zurich, Dr. S. Hefs has

published “an Account of the Life of Erasmus of Rotterdam, in 2 Vols, with a good Head of Erasmus, by Schellenberg” This work is little more than an uniform and improved edition of Reich’s Translation of Burigny’s Life of Erasmus, with notes by Henke. In addition to a better form and arrangement, it contains select fragments from the writings of Erasmus, which are judiciously introduced into the narrative, and some original letters.

In the imperfect account which we have received of the productions in Italian literature, for the year 1791, we have met with no works of a theological nature, if we except \* *Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis, Græco - Copto - Thebaicum, Sæculi IV. &c.*” published at Rome, by father Georgi, an Augustine monk. This work contains a fragment of St. John’s gospel, from chap. vi. verse 28, to chap. viii. verse 31; some liturgical pieces of little or no importance; and a fragment of the eighteenth homily of Chrysostom upon the epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews; the principal value of which consists in their being all written in the Thebaic dialect, which may interest the attention and curiosity of those who are versed in the Coptic language. The long and laborious preface of father Georgi, and his numerous explanatory notes, give sufficient evidence of his industry and learning, while the proofs which they afford of his judgment and taste, are very equivocal.—At Florence, a work in jurisprudence hath begun to make its appearance, entitled “Select Decisions of the Rota of Florence,” containing reports of the most important cases which have been determined at the Rota, commencing with the beginning of the year 1785, at which time, the collection entitled

“*Tesoro*

"Tesoro Ombrosiano," finishes. A volume of this work is intended to be published every year, and to report, in addition to the decision of the capital, those of the most important of the other Tuscan tribunals.

In Mathematics and Philosophy, the first publications which call for our attention, are those which contain the transactions of the royal, and other public institutions. Of this description, are the "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Turin, for the Years 1788 and 1789." Prefixed to this work is a history of the academy, which includes some tables of valuable lives, and a new method of projecting maps, by the chevalier Lorgna. Among the memoirs, there are several curious and interesting ones, on subjects in chemistry, natural history, natural philosophy, physiology, political œconomy, and mathematics. The principal members who have contributed to them are, count Morozzo, M. de Morveau, M. Giobert, count de Saluces, ab. Vasco, the marquis of Breze, M. Parenotti, the chevalier de St. Real, ab. de Caluso, Dr. Bonvoison, M. Brugnani, and M. Suassure. Beside these, the volume contains papers by several learned foreigners.—At Padua have appeared the "Scientific and Literary Essays of the Academy of Padua, Vol. II." This volume is divided into two parts. The first part consists of eulogies of deceased members, and an account of different proceedings of the academy relative to various objects of political œconomy, finance, &c. &c. The second part contains dissertations on subjects in anatomy, surgery, political œconomy, lithology, and meteorology, by M. C. Coldani, M. L. Colza, M. C. Bonioni, count Mark Carburì, P.

Arduin, ab. Joseph Toaldo, ab. Albert Fortis, the marquis Ant. C. Dondi Orologio, and M. Vinc. Chiminello.—At Palermo (for we unite Sicily with Italy in our view of foreign literature), professor D. Jos. Piazzi has published "a Discourse on Astronomy," which was delivered at his opening the chair of astronomy, in the academy of that city. In this discourse, the professor, after reciting in a masterly manner the history of the origin and progress of astronomy, proceeds to pass an eloquent eulogium on the science; to point out the great advantages to be derived from the cultivation of it; and to offer some directions with respect to the proper mode of studying it. Our author is well known to possess eminent abilities for the situation in which he has been placed by his Sicilian majesty; through whose munificence the observatory at Palermo is said to be one of the best provided in Europe.—At Turin, the ab. Ant. Mar. Vassalli, has published a volume of "Physical Essays," on the following subjects: a species of cerambix; different auroræ boreales, observed in the year 1787, with a new method of improving M. Suassure's electrometer; effects produced by lightning on the steeple church of Coire; the influence of electricity in the putrefaction of bodies; and experiments relative to natural and internal electricity peculiar to different animals.—At Florence, a treatise hath been published, by order of government, "on Anthrax, or Pit-Coal, commonly called fossil Coal," containing the necessary information for the working of coal-mines; which it was one of the objects of Leopold II. to encourage in his dominions.—At Pisa, professor G. Santi has published "a Chemical Analysis of the Waters of Pisa and Asciano,"



Afciano," which appears to be more scientific and accurate, than the results of preceding experimentalists. To the naturalist, his mineralogical description of the environs of Pisa will be particularly acceptable.—At Naples, D. Cyrillo has published his "First Four Elementary Plates of Botany; or Delineations of the Parts described in his *Fundamenta Botanica*." These plates are executed with great accuracy and neatness, and accompanied with short descriptions.

Among the historical productions of Italy, we meet with the first volume of "an Universal History, from the Creation to the Christian *Æra*," published at Genoa. This volume commences with technical chronology; which is followed by a preface on the origin and progress of history, on its different classes, on the writers of universal history, the plan of the present work, &c. &c. The history is carried down to the calling of Abraham.—At Rome hath appeared "an unpublished Life of Raphael, of Urbin, with Notes, by Ange Comolli." This anonymous life of Raphael, possesses all the internal marks of having been written by a contemporary of that great painter. The editor, who has enriched it with several valuable notes, considers it to be faithful and accurate.—At Modena hath been published "an Account of J. B. Graferi, to which are added some of his Poems, by C. Vannetti." This is a pleasing piece of biography, in which a masterly delineation of character, and striking apposite reflections are judiciously intermixed.—The "Demonstration of the Utility of the boasted Titles of the Holy See to Sicily, by ab. Jos. Cestari, Vol. I." published at Naples, is a work deserving the attention of those who are studying

the history of the papacy, and of the middle ages. The author has clearly proved, that the claims and assertions of the Holy See are wholly founded on forged documents.—At Rome hath appeared a work, entitled, "a Description of the Circuses, particularly that of Caracalla, and of the Games celebrated in them." This is a posthumous work of the councillor Bianconi, accompanied with a French version, by the advocate Charles Fea, and illustrated with plates by Uggeri, a Milanese architect. The author has judiciously adopted and abridged the best remarks and observations, in the voluminous productions of Paluinus and Boulanger on the same subject, which, by cloathing them in an easy lively style, he has rendered much more interesting and entertaining than most publications on subjects in antiquities.—At Turin, M. Secondo. Guis. Pittarelli has published a treatise "on the celebrated Alimentary Table of Trajan, discovered in the Territory of Placentia, in the Year 1747; read and approved by the Royal Academy;" which is a truly learned antiquarian production, illustrated by a variety of geographical notes. On this table are pointed out, with great precision, various lands and houses, granted to certain persons, on condition that they should pay annually a sum of money, for the support of a specified number of boys and girls, of the city of Velleia.—At Viterbo hath appeared an anonymous "Critico-sepulchral Dissertation on a Monument discovered at the Place called, *Il Poggio delle Fornaci*," in the neighbourhood of that town, which the author supposes to be early Etruscan. Among other curious matter in support of this opinion, we meet with some learned discussions on the practice

tice of the Etrurians, of placing their sepulchres contiguous to the high-ways, or in remote spots near streams, in which they were afterwards followed by the Latins and Romans.—At Leghorn, Ab. Dom. Sestini has published “an Essay on some Armenian Coins of the Princes of the Family of Russia, in the Ainslian Collection.” In this essay, nine coins are described by the Ab. of which he has given a plate, and another containing the Armenian alphabet. Subjoined are tables of the cities in which the kings of the four dynasties, commencing in the year of the world 3254, and ending in the year 1375 of our æra, resided, and a chronological one of their reigns.

The last articles which we have to mention in our catalogue of the productions of Italy, are to be referred, partly to the head of Antiquities, and partly to that of Classical and Polite literature. In this list is the “Collection of Arabic Works relative to the History of Sicily, by Rosario Gregorio,” published at Palermo. This is part of a grand and noble design, undertaken by order of the king of Naples, which, if continued with the same industry and learning as are displayed by the Ab. Gregorio, promises to throw much light on the history of all the Mediterranean islands of Spain, and of the incursions of the Arabs on the coasts of France and Italy, as well as on that of Sicily. To this collection are added an explanation of many Arabic inscriptions found in Sicily, and remarks on the different methods of computing time, employed by the Arabs.—At Venice, Ab. Toures has published an “Essay on the Literature of Numidia,” which is intended to supply the deficiency of Ab. Andres, who, in his *History*

of Literature touched but very slightly on that of Africa. The industry and learning displayed by the author of this essay, entitle him to a considerable share of praise. The treatise of count Francis Riccati, “on the Construction of Theatres, according to the Italian Fashion,” published at the same place, is a little work which contains much useful information for those who are engaged in that department of civil architecture.—At Modena, hath appeared a treatise “on the Origin of Rhyme, by Giannaria Barbieri, published for the first time, with Notes, by Ab. Gir. Tiraboschi.” Barbieri was one of the most industrious and learned men in the sixteenth century, and the first in Italy who thought of writing a complete and universal history of poetry. The work before us, however, is rather valuable as a repository of information with respect to poets, than as an historico-critical publication. It is given to the world from a collation of two manuscripts, in the hand writing of the author.—At Bassano, M. J. Ger. de Rossi, has published the first volume of his “Comedies,” which have been acted with great applause in the theatres of Rome. They are distinguished by simplicity of plot, and simplicity of character; and by the uniform endeavour of the author to observe, in his style, a just medium between the negligence of some writers, and the affectation of others. The comedies in this volume are, “the Day after Marriage;” “the Honest Courtier, or the Vicissitudes of a Day;” “the English Cobbler at Rome;” and “the Family of the Indolent Man.”

The productions in French literature, during the year 1791, of which we have had any information, have been neither so numerous,

nor

not so various, as during some preceding years. In theology and metaphysics, we have no recollection of any publication, except the following: "Thoughts on Philosophy and Faith; or the System of Christianity considered, with respect to its Analogy to the natural Ideas of the human Understanding, by M. l'Abbé Lamourette." The good sense and liberality which this work discovers, are spoken of in warm terms by the French journalists. It is a production altogether metaphysical; and is intended to shew that the most sublime truths of christianity perfectly accord with those of philosophy.

Among the publications in French literature relative to the subjects of Government, Law, and Political Economy, we meet with "the Constitutions of the principal European States, and of the United States of America, by M. de la Croix, Professor of Public Law at the Lyceum, in 3 Vols." This work consists of a series of discourses, forty in number, which were composed while the national assembly were occupied in forming their new constitution. The object of the author was, to present to his legislative brethren the light which history and experience might furnish, in order to enable them to form their new government in the most perfect possible manner. His method is, to take some distinguished historians and political writers of different countries for his guides; to trace the circumstances which led to the formation of their different constitutions; and to intermix observations favourable to the liberties of mankind, and encouraging or monitory to his countrymen. On the whole, we think it a valuable and important work, abounding in much good sense, and interesting observations. At the same time we think, that the author is too frequently the slave of national pre-

judice; and that against Great Britain, in particular, he discovers an inveterate enmity, which is inconsistent with the character of a philosophical politician. — "The Library of a Politician, or an Analysis of the principal Works, Foreign and Domestic, on Politics in general, Legislation, Finance, Police, Agriculture, Commerce, natural and public Law," is a large work, of which ten volumes have already appeared, conducted by M. de Condorcet, M. Chapellier, and other eminent men of letters. From the nature of this publication, as expressed in the title-page, our readers will perceive that it is highly important, and peculiarly seasonable. We have only to add, that it is executed in a manner worthy the talents of the respectable characters who have undertaken it. — The design of M. le Hoc's "Mémorial to the King, upon Ministry and Administration, &c." is to point out the means by which vigorous and uniform motion and life, may be at once infused into all parts of the French dominions. It delivers many plain and blunt truths, not very palatable to courtly politicians. — The treatise "on the Administration of M. Necker, written by Himself," contains an extensive survey of his whole administration, during the space of seven years, and of the important services which he rendered to France in particular, and to society at large; and also his opinion of some of the most essential parts of the new constitution, on which he makes a most severe attack. Much of the information which he conveys is interesting to the politician and to the historian; and his remarks and advices are worthy attention, on account of the celebrity which he has acquired as a statesman, as a moral and political writer, and as a man of unsullied integrity. We cannot, however, ap-  
prove

prove of the temper and spirit, under the influence of which a great part of this work was written. It discovers too keen an irritability on account of the personal sufferings of the author, and too much declamatory complaint and censure of the motives and conduct of the national assembly.

The "Agreement of Revelation and Reason against Divorce:" "Customs and Laws of several Ancient Nations with respect to Divorce, by Mr. L' Abbé de Chapt. de Rastignac, Deputy to the National Assembly;" and the "Observations on the Agreement of Revelation and Reason, &c. by Bouchotte," are two sensible and well written publications on the subject of divorce, in which the authors contend with much calmness of argument, and the urbanity of gentlemen, for the opposite sides of the question which they respectively embrace. The French reviewers, after bestowing a considerable share of applause upon M. Rastignac, submit to the arguments and opinion of M. Bouchotte. "With the greatest simplicity in his plan," say they, "and perspicuity in his divisions of his subject, he subdivides every part in such a manner, that, proceeding from theorem to theorem, he arrives at demonstration. The principles of M. Bouchotte are conformable to reason, advantageous to morals, and agreeable to religion."—"The Theory of the political Laws of France; the Gallican Church, or the Spirit of canonical and political Laws that have governed that Church during the first four Centuries of the Monarchy; a Work in which will be found, with their Authorities, the Extent and Bounds of the Ecclesiastical Powers, the Hierarchy and Composition of the inferior Clergy, and Religious Orders, &c." is a curious

and important work, the result of twenty-five years labour, and of accurate and deep research. The opinions which are laid down in it are drawn from the purest sources; the citations given by scrupulous exactness; the assertions founded on sufficient authority; and the author appears to be attached to no system, but only to truth.—"The Police of Paris unveiled, by Pierre Manual, one of the Administrators in 1789," exhibits such a picture of the evils of the old government, drawn from unquestionable sources of information, as must make every friend to humanity rejoice in its demolition. The chief chapters of this work are on the police relative to bookfellers; to men of letters; to libels and newspapers; to priests; to girls of the town; and to grain.—M. de Montlinot's "Essay on Mendicity," is an interesting and benevolent work, which has engaged the notice of the national assembly, and contributed to the enacting of laws for the relief of the poorer classes of people, that reflect the greatest honour on their wisdom and humanity.—The treatise "on a Domestick Tribunal," contains a number of powerful arguments in favour of a laudable institution, which deserves a place in every well regulated government. It points out the means of constituting an equitable judicature, which might judge of separation between husbands and wives, of testaments, contracts of marriage, guardians, wards, &c. and prevent the two common indecent disputes of near relations before courts of law.

The treatise "on the Ballance of Commerce, and the exterior commercial Relations of France with all Parts of the Globe, particularly at the End of the Reign of Louis XIV. and at the Time of the Revolution,

&c. in 2 vols. octavo, and a volume of Tables in 4to. by M. Arnould, Subdirector of the Board for the Ballance of Commerce," is a very important and interesting work, abounding in useful information, laborious enquiries, and accurate statements of facts, which will be highly acceptable to the political œconomist.

—The "Observations on Commerce in general, and on that of China in particular," will be chiefly useful in a country like France, where all monopolies and exclusive privileges are abolished.—"The Agricultural Journal, for the Use of the Inhabitants of the Country, by the Abbé Tessier," is a periodical work which promises to prove of advantage to the people, now, when their exertions to cultivation and improvement are encouraged by the possession of freedom.—The "Results, extracted from a Work, entitled, of the Territorial Wealth of the Kingdom of France, delivered to the Committee of Taxation, by M. Lavoisier, published by Order of the National Assembly," contain many curious documents relative to the produce, consumption, population, and territory of the kingdom, each distinguished into its proper divisions.—The "Essay on the most important Subject of Agriculture, by M. I. Calignon, Farmer at Arc-sur-Tille," points out some important advantages which he had reaped from liming his seed, during a course of long practice, and repeated experiment, which merits the attention of those engaged in agriculture. His peculiar process is too long to be detailed by us.—The "Essay on the Manner of contracting the Beds of Torrents, and Rivers, by M. Beraud, Professor of Mathematics, and Experimental Philosophy, &c. printed by Order of the Department of the Mouths of  
1791.

the Rhone," suggests a very useful and effectual method of gaining and securing land from the ravages of water, which has stood the test of experience, and is attended with little expence. The principal part of the scheme consists in planting several rows of aquatic trees, parallel to the current, at about two yards distance, and in two or three years bending them down towards the water, first cutting them half through, about two or three feet from the ground. By means of the earth and gravel deposited among their branches, a sufficient bank is formed.—"The Method of making Wine from Grapes, in which the Mistakes of the most celebrated Writers on Wine are corrected; and of making vinous and œconomical Liquors, with divers Substances &c. in two Parts, by M. Jolibet," contains a number of observations, founded not only in theory, but on practice, which may furnish useful hints to those who do not inhabit wine countries, as well as to those for whose benefit it is more immediately calculated.—"The School of rural Architecture, or Lessons by which any one may learn to build substantial Houses, of several Stories, with Earth alone, or other Materials that are common and of low Price, by Francis Cointereaux," suggests useful advice to the peasantry in France, conveyed in clear and intelligible terms; by following which, they may, with little trouble, be much more comfortably and neatly accommodated than they are at present.—The two "Memoirs on the Management of the National Forests, presented to the National Assembly, by the royal Agricultural Society," are the result of measures which have been for a long time taken by that society, to procure every information that could enable it to publish proper  
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instructions respecting the sowing, planting, improving, and preserving woods and forests. It is sufficient to observe, that the principles which they display are clear, precise, conformable to theory, and supported by practice.—The “Memoirs on planting waste Lands, particularly that on the high Roads, &c. by Abbé Teflier,” support the same principles with the above-mentioned Memoirs; and are particularly deserving of attention in a country like France, where wood, which is their principal fuel, is becoming exceedingly scarce.

In Mathematics and Philosophy, the first work which demands our attention is “the History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Paris, for the Year 1787.” This volume contains a rich variety of interesting information, which will be particularly acceptable to the lovers of science. After detailing, as usual, the history of the academy, it presents us with many important memoirs, which, although not classically arranged, may be referred to the heads of general physics, chemistry, anatomy, natural history, astronomy, geography, medicine, mathematics, and political economy. Several of those papers which belong to the classes of general physics, chemistry, astronomy, and geography, are particularly valuable. Among other contributors, M. Charles, M. Sage, M. Baumé, M. Berthollet, M. Fourcroy, M. Fougereux de Bonderoy, M. de la Lande, M. le Gentil, and M. le Gendre, maintain a distinguished rank.—The next article which we have to announce is, the “Account of the Trigonometrical Operations performed in France, in the Year 1787, in order to determine the Meridians of Paris and Greenwich, by M. M. Cassini, Mechain, and le Gendre, Members of

the Royal Academy of Sciences.” This work is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is a kind of journal of the proceedings of the commissioners who met general Roy, and Dr. Blagden, at Dover, in the year 1787, in order to concert their plan of operations. The three following chapters contain a very minute description of the instrument with which the French gentlemen measured their angles, together with directions for using it. In the fifth and sixth chapters, we have tables of several angles measured, together with the reduction of them to the centres of the respective stations, and to the horizon. The seventh contains the calculations of the sides of each triangle, and of the bearings of the several stations from Dunkirk. The eighth contains a view of the results of their operations, compared with those of general Roy. This work, in connexion with the labours of our countryman, the progress of which has been regularly detailed in our Philosophical Transactions, may prove of essential service to the interests of science.—The “Elementary Treatise, or Principles of Natural Philosophy, founded on the most certain Discoveries, ancient or modern, and confirmed by Experience, by M. Briffon, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Teacher of Physics and Natural History to the Children of France,” in 3 vols, is the production of a person well known as a philosophical writer; which from the copiousness of its matter, and the plainness of its style, will be of great service to beginners. M. Briffon is a disciple of the Lavoisierian school.—To the treatises already mentioned, we have to add the titles of the following: “Report made to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, Sept. 7th 1790, of the Hydraulic Expedients presented by

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M. Detrouville, published by the Commissaries of the Academy;" "Military Idées on the Composition of Regiments of Infantry, and the Formation of Battalions, by M. Froment, late Lieut. Col. of the Regiment of Rohan, deputy to the National Assembly;" "a Practical Treatise on the Rigging of Ships, and other Sailing Vessels, published by Order of the King, for the Instruction of those who are intended for the Sea Service, by M. Lescallier, Commissary General of the Colonies, &c. in two Vols;" "History of the principal Experiments relative to the chemical Analysis of atmospheric Air, and the Use of its Principles in the Composition of various natural Bodies, by Fred. Schurer, M. D." of Strasburg;" "a Memoir on the Constitution of Hydrogenous Gas, in close Vessels, read at the Royal Academy of Sciences, May 21st, 1791, by M. M. Fourcroy, Vauquelin, and Seguin;" "Essay on the Theory of the Volcanoes of Auvergne, by the Chevalier de Reynaud de Montlosier;" and "a Table of Plants of the Order of Fungi, by J. James Paulet, M. D. &c. with Plates," which is the herald of a grand work, which the doctor is about to publish in three volumes.

Among the Historical productions of France, we meet with the third and fourth volumes of the Abbé Gerard's "Lectures on History, or Letters from a Father to a Son, on the interesting Facts of Universal History." The former volumes of this work met with so favourable a reception from the public, that the author was encouraged to continue his plan, which promises to be an useful and valuable abridgement of universal history. The present volume reach from 1209 to 530 before Christ.—The "Memoirs rela-

tive to the History of the Revolution of the United Provinces, in the Year 1787, by M. Mandrillon, Member of several Academies, &c." contain an account of the well meant, but unsuccessful endeavours of the author, to bring about a reconciliation between the patriotic party and the stadtholder, at the court of Berlin. M. Mandrillon appears to have higher ideas of his own importance and abilities as a political negotiator, than were entertained by either of the contending parties.—The "Letters from an Inhabitant of Paris to his Friends in Switzerland and England, on the Events of the Years 1789, 1790, and to the 4th of April 1791," as far as they are historical, agree, in the main, with the most accurate and impartial accounts of the period which he undertakes to describe. But as a politician and philosopher, the author possesses but small claims to merit. A great part of his work consists of false reasoning, and vague declamation against the declaration of rights, the application of philosophical principles to government and religion, and the abolition of nobility.—M. Dulaure's "Critical History of Nobility, from the Commencement of the French Monarchy, to our own Times, &c." contains a chronological recital of events from the conquest of Gaul by the Franks, not very honourable to the class of men whose history he writes; and which go a great way in establishing what he meant to prove, that they have been "the scourge of liberty, of reason, and of knowledge, and consequently the enemies of the people, and of the kings."—M. Brizard, in his "Historical Discourse on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and on the Influence of Stangers in France, during the League, in 2

Vols." endeavours to vindicate his country from the guilt of having planned, and perpetrated that infamous and horrid massacre. His design is laudable, and must have arisen from a thorough detestation of the principles which could sanction the proceedings of that black day. And notwithstanding that it is impossible, in our opinion, entirely to wipe off the stain from France, and the Frenchmen of that period, he has succeeded in fixing the greatest part of the criminality on the Italian councils of Catherine de Medicis, composed of the chancellor Birague, a Milanese, Albert de Gondi Marshal Retz, a Florentine, the duke of Vevers Gonzague, and other Italians; and the greatest part of the subaltern infamy on Italians, Lorrainers, Spaniards, Piedmontese, &c. who were their creatures. "The History of the Holy Chapel Royal of the Palace, by M. Morand, Canon of that Church," adorned with seventeen copper plates, will be found more interesting to the antiquary, than to the historian. It is divided into four books. The first contains a brief history of St. Louis, the founder of the chapel, with an account of the reliques and other things which constitute what is called the Treasure. The second and third give an account of the foundation of the ecclesiastical body, established to guard the precious deposits, and to pray for the prosperity of France, the king and royal family; and the fourth describes the ancient statues, with an historical list of persons belonging to the chapel, who have any way distinguished themselves. — The nature of the work entitled "a Collection of the most interesting Narratives of Shipwrecks, Winterings, Derelictions, Fires, Famines, and other fatal Events at Sea,

that have been published from the 15th Century to the present Time, by M. D. in Vols." is sufficiently expressed in the title-page. — M. de St. Mihiel has published the "Real Person called the Man with the Iron Mask, a work in which it is shewn, from incontestible proofs, to whom that celebrated unfortunate owed his birth, and when, and where he was born." These incontestible proofs do not, in our opinion, outweigh the evidence which we have seen in favour of very different hypotheses from that of M. Mihiel. According to his account, Anne of Austria, after the death of Louis XIII. married Cardinal Mazarine, by whom she had a son, born towards the end of 1644, whose existence was concealed, lest the queen dowager should be deprived of the regency. This son, he contends, was the famous man with the iron mask.

In Biography, "the Lives of the Superintendants of the Finances, and Comptrollers General of France, from Enguerrand de Marigny, to the present Time, in 3 Vols." contain an authentic history of the most infamous peculations and oppressions, which were committed under a succession of weak and wretched monarchs: which exhibit human nature in some of its worst colours, and despotism in its genuine tendencies. Jaques Coeur, Sully, Colbert, and a few others, are properly distinguished by the author from the general mass of wretches, whose actions have condemned them to eternal infamy. The historical and biographical anecdotes connected with their history, are interesting and entertaining. — "The Life of Captain Thurot," contains a genuine account of the birth, education, and incidents which marked the career of that distinguished seaman, who was deservedly the idol of



of his countrymen, and highly respected by his enemies. This book is published for the benefit of his daughter, who was left by him in indigent circumstances.—The “Abridgment of the Life and Labours of M. de Mirabeau, &c. by M. Pithon,” consist of a slight and very imperfect sketch of the character of that celebrated politician, and orator, to whose talents, intrepidity, and eloquence, the revolution in France is so highly indebted. Most, however, of the leading circumstances of his life are detailed by our author, in a pleasing and interesting manner; with which are connected several specimens of his forcible and brilliant orations in the national assembly. We wish to see a more ample and complete biography of the French patriot.—The “Eulogy of Cook, by P. L. Member of several Academies;” the “Eulogy of Marshal de Vauban, which obtained the Prize from the French Academy, by Fr. Jos. Noël;” and the “Eulogy of M. de Fourcroy, read at the public meeting of the Royal Academy of Sciences, May 14, 1791, by M. de Condorcet,” are interesting and elegant pieces of biography, which are honourable to deceased merit, and to the masterly hands by which they have been drawn.

Among the books of travels of the year, we meet with a “Voyage to Madagascar, and to the East Indies, by the Abbé Rochon, Member of the Academies of Sciences of Paris and Peterburg, Marine Astronomer, &c.” The principal part of this valuable and interesting work is occupied in a description of Madagascar; which leads us to a better acquaintance with that island, its history, productions, inhabitants, their character, customs, and manners, than we have been

able to obtain from any preceding writers. In a preliminary discourse, the author has given an account of the establishments made by his countrymen in the neighbourhood of Madagascar, at the island of Bourbon, and at the isle of France, which contains some excellent remarks on the settlement and cultivation of those islands; and a number of nautical observations, which seem important to navigators who may pursue the same track. A description of the natural productions, religion, literature, &c. of Cochin China, closes the work. The Abbé Rochon is: scientific, and philosophic traveler; and his work abounds in just, liberal, and humane reflections, which do him the greatest honour.—The “Travels through the United States of America, in the Year 1788, by J. P. Brissot, Citizen of France, in 3 Vols.” were undertaken by the author, in consequence of a plan that was formed, previously to the French revolution by a number of respectable persons, to forsake a country which was so truly despotic, to purchase lands, and to establish a colony under the mild and equal government of the United States. From the introductory part of the work it appears, that M. Brissot was commissioned to collect every necessary information, prior to the execution of so important a plan. And from the manner in which these volumes are written, it seems that he was well qualified to accomplish such an undertaking. His work contains much judicious information with respect to the state, manners, and population of the towns; the political, civil, and military situation of the provinces; soils, products, emigrations, and forming of colonies; the government of the federal states, and of each

each province; civil, political, and criminal laws; climate, commerce, revenues, expenditures, &c. &c. which are interspersed with philosophical investigations, picturesque descriptions, and anecdotes of some of the most distinguished characters in the United States. But the author discovers, on every occasion, the most illiberal prejudices against the English nation, to which, not much to his credit as a man, and a zealous advocate for liberty, he bears the most blind and malignant antipathy.—The “Description of Corsica, by M. Perny de Villeneuve,” gives a very complete and accurate account of the present state of that island, its population, inhabitants, manners, produce, &c. &c. In this description we have abundant proofs of the evils attendant on a confused, unsettled, and bad form of government. It is to be hoped, however, that the freedom which has been imparted to the Corsicans, under the new constitution, will occasion the rapid improvement of their country, and manners.—The “Travels in Italy, by the late M. Ducclos, Historiographer of France, and perpetual Secretary to the French Academy,” although they contain little new information, are written in an agreeable and lively manner, and contain a number of excellent observations and reflections, which were suggested to the mind of the traveller, by the various moral and political objects which presented themselves to him during his journey.—The “Travels by a French Lady, in Switzerland, and Franche Comté, since the Revolution in France, in 2 Vols.” appear to be written by a person who was either well acquainted with the places described, or who has borrowed freely from preceding travellers, with a

small alteration in the style and words. They are drawn up in the epistolary form, by one who assumes the character of a fair royalist, who enjoyed a pension from the late court of France, and fled from her country just before the destruction of the Bastille. What is introduced into them, of a political nature, consists only of trite declamation, and stale exaggerated accounts of some of the disorders which attended the revolution, taken from the public papers.—“The Order of Malta Unveiled, or a Tour to Malta, with Observations historical, philosophical, and critical, on the present State of the Knights of Malta, their Manners, the State and Productions of the Island, and the Religion and Manners of the Inhabitants, by M. Carasi,” in 2 vols. is an interesting and entertaining narrative, which seems to be drawn up with a just regard to truth and impartiality, although the result of it does not give us very favourable impressions of the utility and respectability of the order of Malta.

The last department in our history of the literature of France, we assign to miscellaneous publications. In this number we include “the Ruins: or Reflections on the Revolutions of Empires, by M. Volney, Deputy to the National Assembly in 1789.” This is a very singular production, in which a great variety of topics, moral, religious, and political, are discussed; many of them in a liberal and sensible, and others in a fanciful and very exceptionable manner. The object of the author is, to trace the causes of the dissolution of empires, and to investigate the origin of the differences and disputes, which, at various periods, have agitated the minds of men, and have spread misery over every part of the globe.

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And his sentiments are published by him, to correct and restrain the wanderings of error and prejudice, and by propagating what he deems to be important truth, to promote the public benefit.—“The Dreams and Visions of a Philosopher, by M. Mercier, Author of the *Tableau de Paris*, in 2 Vols.” contains a great variety of remarks, written in the author’s well-known style, on love, war, antiquity, monarchy, tyranny, a happy world, selfishness, opinionism, heraldry, fortune and glory, Mohammed, Semiramis, covetousness, opulence, &c. &c.—The “Letters on the Confessions of J. J. Rousseau, by M. Ginguene,” contain an able apology for the author of the Confessions, which will be read with pleasure by the friends of that philosopher, and which does honour to the talents and judgment of the author.—The “Principles, Sentiments, and Maxims of the the Abbé Maury, Member of the National Assembly,” consist of a crude farra-go of passages, taken from the author’s speeches and papers, thrown together without any order, many of which are worthy the character of the Abbé, as a conspicuous and leading party orator, and others too trifling and unimportant to be obtruded on the public.—The volume of “Memorable Sayings, &c. collected by Gabriel Brotier, formerly Librarian at the College of Louis the Great, &c. published by his Nephew, A. C. Brotier,” consists of a number of apothegms, selected in the manner of Plutarch, commencing at the end of the fifteenth century, when genius began to revive; which will furnish much amusement in the hours of relaxation.—The “Report concerning general Education, made in the Committee of Constitution, to the National Assembly, on the 10th, 11th, and 19th,

of September 1791, by M. de Talleyrand-Perigord, late Bishop of Autun, printed by Order of the Assembly,” after enumerating the differences which are so conspicuous in the present systems of education, proposes a plan for public education for the kingdom at large, in which instruction shall be extended to man’s physical, intellectual, and moral faculties; the particulars of which are too numerous to be recited by us. This work abounds in judicious remarks, striking observations, and excellent sentiments, intermixed with others that appear to us to be more brilliant than solid; and to result from a fondness for system, rather than from the decisions of analogy and experience.—The “New Essays on Education, or a Selection of the most beautiful Passages in ancient or modern History, interspersed with Dialogues, Anecdotes, Fables, Tales, &c. by M. Freville, in 3 Vols.” is a pleasing work, which deserves to be recommended to those who are engaged in the course of a school education.—The “Lessons from a Governess to her Pupils, &c. by Madame de Sillery Brulart,” formerly the countess Genlis, in 2 vols. is a work which the instructors of youth may read with much pleasure and improvement. In it the celebrated authoress descends from theory to practice, and presents us with a journal of the real incidents which occurred in her education of the children of the house of Orleans, three boys and a girl.—“The Education of Henry IV. by M. D. of Bearn, in 2 Vols.” is a work written in imitation of Xenophon’s *Cyropædia*, which is not destitute of merit, notwithstanding that it will bear no kind of comparison with that most excellent model. The narrative part is compiled from various

rious memoirs and histories of the period to which it refers. That part which relates to the education of Henry, consists of conversations between him and his instructors, which turn, chiefly, on well-known historical anecdotes, and abound in just and useful reflections.

"Nicodemus in the Moon, or the Political Revolution, a Trifle in Prose, in 3 acts, interspersed with Songs," is a dramatic piece which has been uncommonly successful on the French stage. It alludes to the circumstances of the nation previously to the revolution, and the important objects intended to be secured by that event.—"Paul, and Virginia," is another comedy, in 3 acts, in prose, interspersed with songs, which has been very favour-

ably received.—"Gonfalso de Cordova, or the Conquest of Grenada, by M. Florian," in 2 vols. is a pleasing and interesting historical romance, written in that kind of poetical prose, of which our neighbours the French are great admirers. Prefixed to the work, the author has given an historical view of the Moors in Spain; which contains a concise account of the revolutions in their empire, composed in a lively elegant style, calculated to give the reader just ideas of their national character and manners.

As we have received no account of the literary productions of Spain, or of Portugal, since the publication of our last volume, we shall, in this place, close our view of Foreign Literature for the year 1791.

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## E R R A T A.

In the last Volume of the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER, p. [180] Poetry, in the second line of the second Sonnet, for *busy* read *breezy*.

In the seventh line of the same Sonnet, p. [181.] for *aim'd* read *arm'd*.

F I N I S.







